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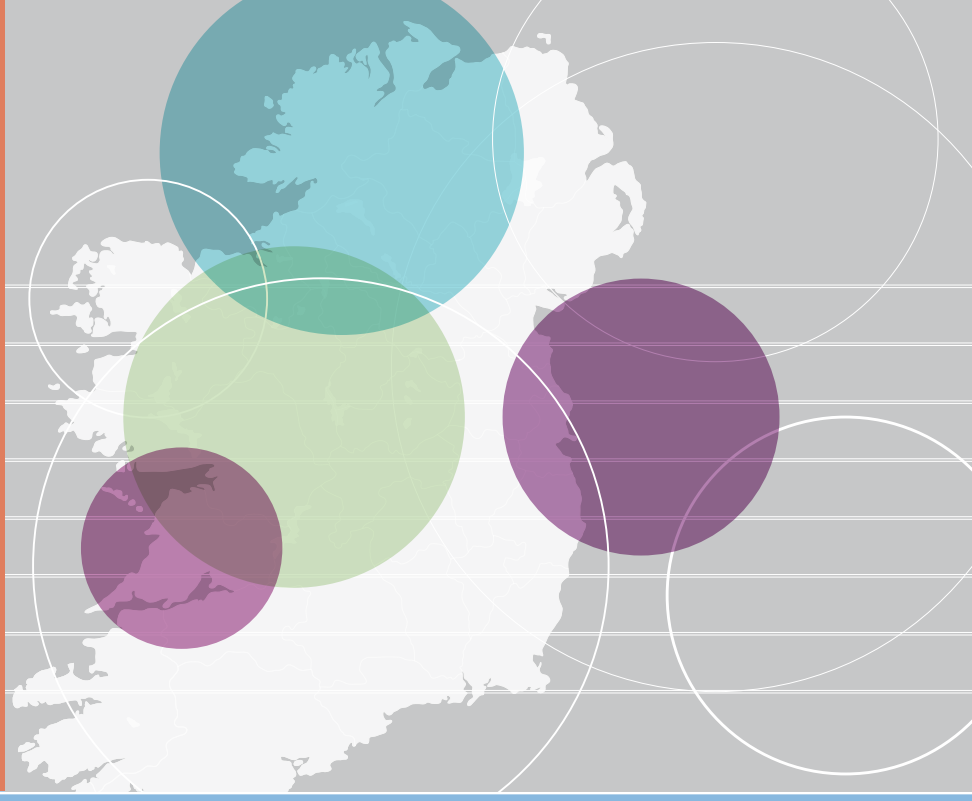

Multiple Disadvantage in Ireland

An Equality Analysis of Census 2006

Dorothy Watson, Pete Lunn,
Emma Quinn and Helen Russell

THE EQUALITY AUTHORITY
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MULTIPLE DISADVANTAGE IN IRELAND:
AN EQUALITY ANALYSIS OF CENSUS 2006

Dorothy Watson, Pete Lunn, Emma Quinn and Helen Russell

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FOREWORD

The Employment Equality Acts 1998 to 2011 and the Equal Status Acts 2000 to 2011 mandate the Equality Authority to work towards the elimination of discrimination on nine specified grounds – gender, civil status, family status, sexual orientation, religion, age, disability, race and membership of the Traveller community – and to promote equality of opportunity in relation to the matters to which the legislation applies.

Data on the nine grounds are essential to underpin the objectives of the equality legislation and more generally to support effective equality strategies at local and national levels. In recent years the Central Statistics Office (CSO) has made considerable progress in the collection of equality data. The inclusion of equality classification variables is particularly advanced in the Census, which now includes specific variables for all the grounds except sexual orientation, where only limited information on same-sex couples may be derived from the household relationship questions.

The collection of data on the equality grounds in the Census provides an essential demographic profile of these groups. It also means that the comparative position of the grounds can be identified in respect of the socio-economic variables – in regard to education, the labour market and so on – collected in the Census.

This report, *Multiple Disadvantage in Ireland: An Equality Analysis of Census 2006*, examines the risk of disadvantage associated with the equality grounds in five areas: low level of education, being outside the labour market, unemployment, lower manual social class and lack of access to a car. In addition to providing data on the overall or 'gross' differences between the grounds, this study statistically models the 'net' risks associated with membership of the grounds when other relevant factors are controlled. This innovative analysis provides important new insights into the nature of inequality in Ireland and into the processes giving rise to it.

On behalf of the Equality Authority I would like to thank the CSO for facilitating access to the detailed census data that made this report possible. I would also like to record our particular thanks to the authors – Dorothy Watson, Pete Lunn, Emma Quinn and Helen Russell of the Economic and Social Research Institute – for their expert report. Thanks are also due to Laurence Bond, Head of Research at the Equality Authority, for his support to this project.

Renée Dempsey

Chief Executive Officer

The Equality Authority

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We are grateful to Jennifer Armstrong for copy-editing and to Regina Moore for formatting the report.

Any remaining errors or omissions are the sole responsibility of the authors.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

The goal of this report is to examine the risk of disadvantage associated with the nine grounds on the basis of which unequal treatment is prohibited under the Equality Acts: gender, marital status, family status, sexual orientation, religion, age, disability, race and membership of the Traveller community. This comprehensive analysis is made possible by access to the full Census 2006 Research Micro-data File. For the first time in Ireland, we are able to examine the consequences of group membership across all of these categories in a single study. Unlike most national surveys, there are enough members of small groups such as Travellers, other ethnic minorities and religious minorities to compare their situations with those of more advantaged groups. Also, unlike most national surveys, which must be concerned with issues of coverage and response, the census coverage of different groups in the population is as complete as it can be. Finally, we were able to investigate whether membership of two disadvantaged groups (e.g. being a woman and having a disability) will always result in significantly worse outcomes. Our analysis in this area shows that this need not always be the case. This highlights the need to consider the processes of disadvantage (such as the operation of the educational system, labour market, family roles, migration and life cycle patterns) and the way these may interact to result in different outcomes.

We examine five different areas of disadvantage: low levels of education, being outside the labour market, unemployment, lower manual social class and lack of access to a car. The report provides figures on the overall or 'gross' differences in disadvantage between the groups and on the 'net' disadvantage that remains after taking account of membership of any of the other groups as well as migration experience, urban/rural location and region. The focus is on adults of working age (25 to 64 years) and we distinguish throughout between two broad age groups: 25–44, where family formation is concentrated, and 45–64.

In the first two chapters of the report we describe the conceptual background to the study, emphasising the importance of understanding processes of disadvantage, and the data used for the analysis.

Gender and Age

In Chapter 3 we examine differences in the risk of the five unfavourable outcomes by gender and age.

- There are large differences in the risk of low education between the younger and the older cohort of adults. Adults aged 45 to 64 years, and particularly those over age 55, are much more likely to have left school before completing second-level education.
- In the older age group, the educational difference between men and women is rather small, particularly when we net out the effect of other factors.
- In the 25–44 age group, however, we see the emergence of a gender gap in education in favour of women.
- The gender difference in labour market participation works in the opposite direction: women are less likely than men to participate. The difference is found for both age groups and remains substantial in the younger cohort with other factors controlled.
- The risk of unemployment was slightly higher for men than for women, but once other factors were controlled there was a slightly higher risk apparent among women. 2006 was close to the peak of employment in Ireland and since

that time unemployment has risen sharply, particularly among males, so that the pattern is, in all probability, reversed at this stage.

- Overall, men are slightly more likely than women to be in the lower manual social class, particularly in the 25–44 age group. When other factors are controlled, the gender difference practically disappears in the younger age cohort and in the older cohort women are slightly more likely than men to be in this social class.
- Access to a car is a proxy measure of living standard. As with most such measures available in Census 2006, it is strongly differentiated by urban/rural location. As married men and women live in the same households, it is the differences between single or formerly married men and women that will drive any overall gender difference in living standards. Before controlling for these differences by location, younger women are very slightly more likely than younger men to lack access to a car. When we include the controls, however, this difference disappears. In the older age group, there is no overall gender difference but a slight net advantage experienced by women when the controls are included.

Family and Marital Status

In Chapter 4 we examine the impact of family status on measures of disadvantage for men and women in two broad age groups. In general, and contrary to what we might have expected, the differences by family type with other factors controlled were as marked for men as for women in both age groups. In the following we discuss a number of key groups in comparison with married men and women with children.

- In general, married fathers and mothers are a relatively advantaged group in terms of labour market and living standards. The exception is that, compared with single childless adults, married mothers are much less likely to participate in the labour market. Married fathers also have a slightly lower rate of participation than single or married childless men in the younger age group. Since preferences as well as constraints may account for this difference, it is not clear to what extent it can be regarded as an unfavourable outcome.
- Older single men – about one man in seven aged between 45 and 64 years – are a particularly disadvantaged group. They are more likely than married men to have low levels of education, to be outside the labour market, to be unemployed or to be in the lower manual social class. With education and labour market status controlled, they are also more likely to lack access to a car.
- In contrast to single men, older single childless women – about 9 per cent of women in the 45–64 age group – are a relatively advantaged group in terms of education and labour market participation. These women are less likely than married women to have low levels of education and they have higher rates of labour market participation. However, their risk of unemployment is similar to that of married women and they have only a slightly lower risk of being in the lower manual social class, when we control for education. Our proxy measure of living standard – lack of access to a car – shows a much higher level of disadvantage for older single women than for married women.
- The measure of being in a same-sex couple is based on describing oneself as the ‘partner’ of someone of the same sex on the census form. Men and women in same-sex relationships are better educated than their married counterparts, but this does not always translate into better labour market circumstances or better living standards. The pattern of labour market disadvantage is clearest for older men living in same-sex relationships. With education and other

characteristics controlled, older men living in a same-sex relationship are more likely than married fathers to be outside the labour market, to face a higher risk of unemployment, and to be in the lower manual social class. They are much more likely to lack access to a car. In the younger age group, the contrast to married fathers is clearest for lack of access to a car and is not apparent at all for labour market participation and unemployment.

- Women in same-sex relationships are also better educated than their married counterparts and they are much less likely to be outside the labour market than married mothers. In the older age group, women living in a same-sex relationship are more likely than married mothers to be unemployed and are slightly more likely to be in the lower manual social class, but do not differ in terms of access to a car. In the younger age group, women in same-sex relationships do not differ from married women in the risk of unemployment, but they are more likely than married mothers to be in the lower manual social class and to lack access to a car.
- Cohabiting has become common among younger adults with one in eight in the 25–44 age group cohabiting, and one-third of these have children. Cohabiting and married childless adults in the younger age group are quite similar to each other. It is cohabiting parents who are most distinct from their married counterparts. Cohabiting fathers have lower levels of education than married fathers; they are less likely to be outside the labour market but are somewhat more likely to be unemployed; they are a good deal more likely to be in the lower manual social class and to lack access to a car. A similar pattern is found for cohabiting mothers with children, compared with married mothers with children: they are disadvantaged in terms of education, unemployment, social class and access to a car, but not in terms of labour market participation.
- In the 45–64 age group, almost one in five women and one in seven men are formerly married. Compared with married adults, formerly married adults are a disadvantaged group. Formerly married men and women are more likely than their married counterparts to have low levels of education, to be unemployed, to be in the lower manual social class and to lack access to a car. While formerly married men are more likely than their married counterparts to be outside the labour market, the reverse is true for formerly married women. These patterns are found both for formerly married adults with children and those without children.
- About one woman in eight is a lone mother, with roughly similar proportions in the 25–44 and 45–64 age groups. Younger lone mothers are somewhat more likely to have never married, whereas the majority of older lone mothers were formerly married. Lone fathers constitute a much smaller proportion of the male population: 1 per cent of the 25–44 age group and 5 per cent of the 45–64 age group. They are more likely to have been married in the past than to be single.
- Compared with their married counterparts, lone parents are a disadvantaged group. They tend to have lower levels of education, are more likely to be unemployed, are more likely to be in the lower manual social class and, particularly among the younger age group, to lack access to a car. Younger lone fathers have a similar rate of labour market participation to married fathers, but the rate of non-participation is higher than their married counterparts among older lone fathers. Lone mothers in both age groups are more likely than married mothers to participate in the labour market.

Disability

In Chapter 5 we examine the association between physical and learning disability and the educational achievement, labour market situation, social class and living

standards of adults. As most disability is acquired throughout the life course, rather than being present from childhood, much of the association results from the impact on health and disability of disadvantaged living and working circumstances, rather than the reverse. This is particularly the case for physical rather than intellectual/ learning disability because the prevalence of physical disability rises at an accelerating rate with age.

- We saw large differences in the risk of low education for people with a disability, particularly for people with a learning disability, compared with non-disabled adults.
- These differences in educational achievement account for much, but not all, of the gap between people with a disability and non-disabled adults in labour market participation, unemployment and social class.
- Similarly, when we control for labour market situation and social class as well as education, much (but not all) of the gap between people with a disability and people without a disability in living standards (as measured by access to a car) is accounted for.

Travellers

In Chapter 6 we examined the risk faced by Irish Travellers of experiencing the five unfavourable outcomes. Because of their difficult living circumstances, Travellers have a lower life expectancy, with the result that only 9 per cent of the Traveller population is over age 50, compared with 28 per cent of white Irish adults.

- The disadvantage faced by Travellers in terms of education is very stark. The nomadic lifestyle of many Traveller families, combined with the prejudice they often encounter, creates severe problems in acquiring basic levels of education. Over eight out of ten Irish Travellers in the 25–44 age group and almost the same number in the 45–64 age group have not completed second-level education.
- Although 61 per cent of Travellers aged 25 to 44 years and 49 per cent of those aged 45 to 64 years are in the labour market, when we control for their level of education and other factors Travellers are less likely than other white Irish adults to be in the labour market. They also face a much higher unemployment rate and are more likely to be found in the lower manual social class.
- Travellers' disadvantage in education and labour market terms translates into poorer living circumstances. Contrary to what we might expect, given their traditionally nomadic culture, Travellers are much less likely than other white Irish adults to have access to a car. This disadvantage virtually disappears when we control for education, labour market position and social class, however, pointing to the importance of educational disadvantage in accounting for poorer living standards.

Migration, Nationality and Ethnic Group

There is a strong association between ethnicity and nationality in Ireland in 2006, as both are linked to migration. Those who have lived abroad tend to have better levels of education than those who have always lived in Ireland, but differences between those who lived abroad based on the date they moved (or moved back) to Ireland are minor. Differences in labour market participation and social class are very minor once other factors (including education) are controlled. Those who moved to, or returned to, Ireland more recently are at a higher risk of unemployment, however, and are slightly more likely to lack access to a car. If there is a 'disruption effect' of migration,

then its impact is mainly evident in terms of the risk of unemployment. Those who have lived outside Ireland (migrants or Irish people who have lived abroad) tend to have better levels of education than those who have never lived abroad and this is likely to reflect a greater tendency on the part of people with higher levels of education to move in search of work.

The focus in the report was on differences in disadvantage by nationality and ethnic group with other factors, particularly migration, controlled.

- People from the ten countries that joined the European Union in 2004 (EU10), although they are better educated, on average, than the native population, are more likely to be in the relatively disadvantaged lower manual social class and to live in households that lack access to a car.
- The highest unemployment rate is found among adults from outside the EU, but it is also high for those with dual Irish–other citizenship.
- In terms of ethnic group, we saw that African adults, particularly in the younger age group, are most disadvantaged in terms of risk of unemployment and being in the lower manual social class.
- With other factors controlled, all of the ethnic groups, except older people of Chinese origin, were more likely than white Irish adults to be in the lower manual social class.

Religion

In general, the differences by religious group are small when we control for migration, nationality, ethnicity and other variables.

- Muslims are disadvantaged in terms of education, non-participation in the labour market and unemployment, but not in terms of social class or access to a car, when other factors are controlled. Muslims are the religious group most likely to have been born outside Ireland, and these findings are consistent with a group experiencing the disruptive impact of migration.

Multiple Group Membership

In Chapter 10 we use the example of gender and disability in the 25–44 age group to examine the way in which multiple group membership can shape disadvantage. It might be assumed that membership in two groups (e.g. being a woman and having a disability), both of which are disadvantaged with respect to an outcome (e.g. labour market participation) would result in 'double disadvantage'. Our results show that this is not necessarily the case.

We outline three possible patterns of multiple disadvantage and illustrate them with examples of the five outcomes. For each of the five outcomes, we presented results for two interactions: being female (or male for outcomes where men are at a disadvantage relative to women) and having a physical disability and being female (or male) and having a learning disability.

- In general, for the groups and outcomes examined, the most common pattern was that of *non-additive disadvantage*: each of two groups is disadvantaged relative to non-members, but membership of both groups is associated with less disadvantage than we would expect from adding the two together. This pattern was found for five of the ten interactions examined.
- There were four examples of *additive disadvantage*: the pattern where membership of both groups is associated with a level of disadvantage approximately equal to what we would expect from the combination of membership of each. In this sense, membership of both groups is 'worse' than

membership of either one, but not to an extent that would prompt us to examine the circumstances in detail in order to seek an explanation.

- There was only one weak example of *exponential disadvantage*: membership of each group is associated with negative outcomes and members of both groups are even more disadvantaged than we would expect from combining the effects of membership of each one. This example was found for being male and having a physical disability for the outcome unemployment: the impact of physical disability on unemployment risk was very slightly greater for men than for women, with other characteristics controlled. This finding is likely to reflect the greater importance of physical strength to many of the traditionally male-dominated occupations, so that physical disability may be a greater barrier for men than for women when it comes to finding suitable work.
- The pattern of multiple disadvantage can vary depending on the outcome we are examining. For instance, being male and having a physical disability fits the pattern of non-additive disadvantage for low levels of education, weakly fits the pattern of exponential disadvantage for unemployment and fits the pattern of additive disadvantage for lack of access to a car.

Policy Issues

The analysis in the report was designed to provide a broad picture of groups in Ireland at risk of disadvantage, rather than to study the circumstances of any one group in depth. As a consequence, the lessons for policy are about dimensions of inequality in general rather than concerning specific groups. Some of these general issues are listed below.

- Educational disadvantage plays an important part in accounting for later outcomes in terms of labour market and living standards for several groups. This was particularly marked in the case of Irish Travellers and people with a disability.
- Disadvantage can emerge in different arenas (education, labour market, living standards). This was clearest in the case of nationals of the EU10: although they tended to have higher levels of education than Irish nationals, they were much more likely to be in unskilled or semi-skilled manual occupations and to lack access to a car.
- The role of choice and constraint needs to be considered, particularly in the case of the labour market participation of parents. Since the lower labour market participation of parents, particularly mothers, may partly reflect their preference to care for their children themselves, it is difficult to determine the extent to which reduced labour market participation represents a 'disadvantage'. If childcare was more readily available and more affordable, the outcome would more clearly be interpretable as one of different preferences rather than constrained choice.
- Our analysis of multiple group membership shows that membership of two disadvantaged groups does not necessarily result in the 'double disadvantage' we might expect and that the impact can differ across outcomes. This points to the importance of careful consideration of how the processes involved may interact for a particular group.
- The analysis revealed the value of census data for studies of group disadvantage. Although the number of indicators is more limited than many dedicated surveys on equality issues, the number of cases allows us to assess in broad terms the situation of even very small groups in the population.

1 CONTEXT AND PROCESSES OF DISADVANTAGE

1.1 Introduction

The goal of this report is to examine the risk of disadvantage experienced by groups covered in the Equality Acts[1]. The Equality Acts identify nine grounds on the basis of which unequal treatment in employment and service provision is prohibited. The nine grounds are gender, marital status, family status, sexual orientation, religion, age, disability, race and membership of the Traveller community.

This comprehensive analysis is made possible by access to the full Census 2006 Research Micro-data File, access to which was granted under a formal agreement by the Central Statistics Office (CSO). This allows us to examine the risk of disadvantage experienced by relatively small groups. For the first time in Ireland, we are able to examine the consequences of group membership across all of these categories in a single study. Unlike most voluntary national surveys, which must be concerned with issues of coverage and response, the census coverage of different groups in the population is as complete as it can be.

We examine five different areas of disadvantage: education, labour market participation, unemployment, social class and lack of access to a car. We concentrate on disadvantage in each of these areas – such as low levels of education – rather than on inequality across the whole spectrum of experience. The focus of the report is broad and the emphasis is on offering general insights into the processes that can result in disadvantage rather than on providing a detailed analysis of the circumstances of any one particular group.

In the context of research on disadvantage, it is more usual to examine one group at a time, such as women, older adults or a particular ethnic group, rather than to look at the effects of group membership while controlling the effects of membership of several other groups. Among the reasons for this is that many vulnerable social groups, such as Travellers or other minority ethnic groups, are small in size and best studied using dedicated surveys. However, census of population data offer a sufficiently large number of cases to examine the impact of several different dimensions of inequality.

The large size of the Census 2006 dataset means that population groups not usually covered in sufficient numbers by household surveys can be studied in a comparative perspective. This approach has the potential to yield important insights into where disadvantage is emerging – in the education system, in the labour market or, more broadly, in the family and cultural sphere – and also into the way that educational disadvantage can affect outcomes later in a person's life. This report builds on the CSO Equality Release (CSO, 2007f) to explore this potential.

1.2 Two Concepts of Multiple Disadvantage

The term 'multiple disadvantage' is used in a number of different senses. Sometimes it refers to the experience of multiple different types of negative outcome (e.g. Whelan et al., 2001). In other contexts, it refers to the presence of multiple relatively independent risk factors (Nolan and Whelan, 2009; Berthoud, 2003; Whelan et al., 2007). We use the term in both senses in this report, as we examine the risks of

[1] Equality legislation in Ireland includes the Employment Equality Acts 1998–2008 and the Equal Status Acts 2000–2008. These Acts prohibit direct and indirect discrimination in employment, vocational training, advertising, collective agreements and the provision of goods and services.

several different, though related, unfavourable outcomes and, in Chapter 10, we examine the impact of gender and disability taken together.

A common question regarding multiple disadvantage in the second sense is whether membership of two groups, both of which are disadvantaged in some respect, is 'worse' than membership of either one. Barrett and McCarthy (2007), for instance, find that immigrant women in Ireland suffer an additional pay penalty, compared with men and native women. Other research has also shown interactions between life events and social class position in accounting for poverty (Vandecasteele, 2005 and 2011; Whelan and Maître, 2008a).

In Chapter 10 we look at the consequences of membership of two relatively independent groups: based on gender and having a disability. We ask whether membership of both groups results in greater disadvantage and, if so, what form this greater disadvantage takes, and whether the pattern differs across outcomes. We outline the conceptual issues involved in more detail in the introduction to Chapter 10.

1.2.1 Multiple disadvantage and cumulative disadvantage

The concept of multiple disadvantage used here is different from the concept of cumulative disadvantage, which has been used to refer to processes that operate over time, with earlier disadvantage persisting or even interacting with later events to exacerbate disadvantage (e.g. Nolan and Whelan, 1999; Layte and Whelan, 2002; Vandecasteele, 2011). The best way to examine cumulative disadvantage is to use longitudinal data that follows the same people over time. A census of population does not offer this possibility. However, by examining several outcomes, we are able to address this question to some extent. We are able to ask whether risks cumulate across education, labour market participation and unemployment. In other words, are less favourable labour market outcomes accounted for by earlier differences in education, or do certain groups face further barriers to participation in the labour market?

1.3 Outline of the Report

In the remainder of this chapter we outline the context in which Census 2006 took place in Ireland and discuss the different processes that can lead to unfavourable outcomes for some groups. We also summarise some key previous research findings on the groups identified on the basis of the nine grounds. In Chapter 2 we discuss in more detail the methodology, analysis strategy and the measures used in the report. We also examine the relationship between the outcomes.

In Chapters 3 to 9 we present the 'gross' and 'net' risks of the five unfavourable outcomes (low education, being outside the labour market, unemployment, lower manual social class and lack of access to a car) for different groups. The 'gross' figures are the overall differences between, for example, men and women. The 'net' figures show the differences that remain when we have controlled for other characteristics (such as age and family status). In a sense, the net differences are an attempt to get at the 'pure' effects of the nine dimensions identified in the Equality Acts.

In Chapter 3 we focus in detail on the risks of unfavourable outcomes by age and gender. In interpreting the differences in levels of education between age groups, it is important to take account of the fact that older adults will have completed their education at a time when the typical school-leaving age was lower. We discuss these 'cohort' effects further later in this chapter. In Chapter 4 we examine the impact of family and marital status on the five outcomes separately for men and women. In

Chapter 5 we consider differences between people with a disability, distinguishing between physical and learning/ intellectual disabilities. The large number of cases in the Census 2006 data allows us to compare the situation of Irish Travellers with that of other white Irish adults in Chapter 6. Few other data sources have enough Irish Travellers to allow such a detailed analysis. In Chapter 7 we examine differences in outcome between other ethnic groups and in Chapter 8 we consider differences by nationality. Both nationality and ethnicity will be closely linked to migration, and we outline the recent experience of migration in Ireland below. In Chapter 9 we examine differences in the risk of the five unfavourable outcomes by religious denomination.

As noted above, we turn to the second sense in which 'multiple disadvantage' is used in Chapter 10 when we examine the impact of membership of two groups (based on gender and disability) on the risk of negative outcomes. The final chapter, Chapter 11, organises the results with respect to the nine grounds identified in Ireland's equality legislation and suggests a number of broad policy areas where the results are relevant.

1.4 Context: Ireland in 2006

Census 2006 took place at the height of the economic boom in Ireland, following two decades of rapid economic growth. The country's gross domestic product had risen from €43.2 billion in 1993 to €176.8 billion in 2006. Employment rates of males and females in 1994 were 65 and 40 per cent respectively of the population aged 15 to 64 years; the corresponding figures had risen to 77 and 59 per cent by 2006 (CSO, 2005 and 2008a). The unemployment rate was 12 per cent in 1996 and had fallen to 4 per cent (compared with 7 per cent in the EU27[2]) by 2006 (CSO, 2003 and 2009).

Rapid economic progress since the mid-1990s turned around Ireland's history of net emigration and attracted immigrants in increasing numbers. The nationality breakdown of immigration flows is significant to migrants' experience of disadvantage for a range of reasons. European Union migrants have superior rights and entitlements to those of non-EU migrants, particularly in relation to freedom of movement and accessing the labour market. At first the inward flow was dominated by returning Irish nationals (55 per cent of the flow in 1999). By 2003 the proportion of Irish migrants returning had fallen to 29 per cent and non-EEA[3] migrants made up over 40 per cent of the flow.

Ireland was one of just three EU15 states to grant full access to its labour market to nationals of the ten states that acceded to EU membership in 2004. As a result, net immigration reached new peaks and was heavily dominated by EU25 nationals from 2005 on. With the exception of Romanian and Bulgarian nationals, EU migrants do not need permission to work in Ireland. Most immigrants of other nationalities must hold an employment permit or, if students, they may be permitted to work part time.

The speed with which Ireland changed from a country characterised by emigration to one of immigration is unusual. As a result the non-Irish population has also increased rapidly, from 7 per cent in 2002 to 10 per cent in 2006. Due to the very recent nature

[2] The EU27 refers to all twenty-seven member states of the European Union, including the fifteen countries that were members prior to 2004 (the EU15 – Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and United Kingdom) and the ten member states that acceded in May 2004 (the EU10 –Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) and the two countries that joined in January 2007 (Bulgaria and Romania).

[3] The EEA or European Economic Area comprises the EU member states plus Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway.

of these changes it is likely that the majority of immigrants in Ireland are first generation.

1.5 Processes Leading to Disadvantage

In the following we examine the processes that may lead to unfavourable outcomes for certain groups in the population. Baker et al. (2004) identify four sets of social relationships where unequal treatment can emerge: economic, political, cultural and affective. Given the nature of the Census 2006 data, our focus in this report will mainly be on outcomes in the economic arena, although the cultural arena, as we will see below, is also relevant to educational outcomes.

In this section we discuss the literature on the processes that lie behind disadvantage in the economic sphere, broadly defined to include educational as well as labour market outcomes, for different groups. The five main processes we examine are educational attainment, the labour market, migration, life cycle processes and the historical macro-environment.

1.5.1 Educational disadvantage: reproduction of disadvantage

There is significant evidence that educational opportunities in Ireland are still strongly stratified by social background (Smyth and Hannan, 2000). While expansion in third-level education has broadened the intake, there are still persistent inequalities in the proportions of young people from different backgrounds that make the transition from second-level to third-level education. For example, in a study of those who entered third-level education in 2004, those with fathers in the higher professional category had a participation rate two and a half times greater than their representation in the population, whereas those from manual backgrounds were considerably under-represented among college entrants (O'Connell et al., 2006).

The class divisions in second-level education are also stark. A study of change between 1979 and 1998 showed that while there had been a significant increase in the numbers of young people from working-class backgrounds completing the Leaving Certificate, there was no significant reduction in relative inequalities between the different social classes in upper second-level completion rates (Smyth, 1999a). Between 1998 and 2004 there was an increase in the percentage of those from semi-skilled and unskilled manual backgrounds completing the Leaving Certificate, while the percentage from other backgrounds remained stable, suggesting an improvement in relative chances (O'Connell et al., 2006).

Members of the Travelling community in Ireland experience severe educational disadvantage. Figures from Census 2006 show that less than 1 per cent of Travellers aged 15 years or over have a third-level qualification; only a further 4 per cent have completed upper secondary level and 16 per cent have lower secondary qualifications (Nolan and Maître, 2008).

There are a variety of explanations for the association between social background and educational attainment. Some emphasise concrete resources such as differences in income, which are used to leverage educational advantage, for example through attendance at private schools. Others have highlighted the crucial role of social and cultural capital, which allows middle-class, ethnic-majority children (and their parents) to 'speak the language' of their middle-class teachers (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979) and have uncovered the cultural bias in teaching materials, methods and evaluation. Some have focused on the socialisation of working-class children to frame their expectations of education and future occupational positions (Willis, 1977). The rational choice models argue that the pay-off structure is rather different for working-class and middle-class children, so the costs and benefits of

continuing in education can add up rather differently (Gambetta, 1987; Breen and Goldthorpe, 1997).

Change has been much more marked in the gender distribution of educational attainment. In the early 1980s a higher proportion of males than females went on to third-level education, but by the mid-1990s female participation rates had overtaken those of men. In addition, young women now achieve higher results at Leaving Certificate level, controlling for initial ability and social background (Smyth, 1999b). However, there are still very significant differences in subject choice among young women and men (Russell et al., 2005), which has implications for labour market segregation and rewards.

The experience of non-Irish nationals within the Irish education system is receiving considerable attention for the first time. A study by Smyth et al. (2009) on the experiences of newcomers in Irish primary and secondary schools suggests that these children are disadvantaged in a number of respects. For example, school admissions policies that favour siblings, or those who have been longest on a waiting list, will disadvantage more recent migrants. The study shows that, in common with other countries (OECD, 2006), immigrant students often attend schools with relatively disadvantaged intakes in terms of economic and social background.

Lack of English language proficiency can be a major barrier to educational achievement among non-native English speakers (Keogh and Whyte, 2003; Cummins, 2001). Smyth et al. (2009) highlight a lack of adequate supports in some schools to provide for the language needs of newcomer students, particularly at primary level. Across primary schools, 63 per cent of non-native speakers were receiving language support, with 36 per cent of schools reporting that all relevant students were receiving support. In second-level schools, 68 per cent of non-English-speaking newcomers were receiving language support. The gaps in provision are likely to mean that some students will fail to reach their full potential.

Research has suggested that the families of recent migrants may also lack relevant social and cultural capital, such as knowledge of the local educational system, and the language skills needed to communicate with teachers and other staff. As noted above, educational research has highlighted the crucial role of social and cultural capital in reproducing educational inequalities.

People with disabilities, particularly a learning or intellectual disability, face some particular challenges in achieving their potential in the education system. Most adults with a disability were not limited by their disability during their school years, because most disability is acquired during the life course rather than being present from childhood (Watson and Nolan, 2011). Learning/intellectual disability is an exception to this, however. The prevalence of these disabilities reaches a peak at the point where young people are typically making the transition from primary to secondary education: a time when difficulties related to learning/intellectual disability will be very salient (Watson and Nolan, 2011). Part of the reason for this is that learning disability is most likely to be noted during the school years. We also know that people with severe learning disability have a reduced life expectancy (Moss, 1991), so that fewer of them will survive into older age groups. In all, 45 per cent of males and 37 per cent of females with a disability of any kind were affected by their disability before they had completed their education. The proportion is lower (less than 10 per cent) among adults aged 65 years and over (Watson and Nolan, 2011).

1.5.2 Labour market processes

Along with education, the labour market is a key mechanism through which opportunities are distributed in society. A key prediction of the 'liberal theory of industrialism' or the modernisation hypothesis (see, for example, Treiman, 1970) is

that the allocation of job opportunities will increasingly be made on the basis of merit and that, as the link between social origins (or ascribed characteristics) and social destinations declines, the association between education and destination will strengthen. However, as we have seen from the discussion above, educational achievement is a product of a range of factors that make it a far from perfect measure of merit. Similarly, the neo-classical economic perspective would lead us to expect that labour market opportunities and rewards would be distributed purely on the basis of human capital – that is, skills and abilities as embodied in education, training, on-the-job experiences and factors such as motivation and effort.

There is a strong link between educational attainment and labour market position in Ireland. Young people who leave school early – before completing second level – are particularly prone to unemployment. Among those leaving school in 2006, 48 per cent of those with no qualifications and over 20 per cent of those with Junior Certificate were unemployed, compared with 10 per cent of those with Leaving Certificate (Byrne et al., 2009). Those with low levels of qualifications are concentrated in low-skilled jobs and have lower average earnings throughout their career, although the effects of qualification level tend to decrease in the longer term.

The evidence suggests, however, that there has not been an increase in the strength of the relationship between education and labour market rewards. Between 1997 and 2001 there were fairly stable earnings returns to education because of a strong demand for unskilled labour and the introduction of the minimum wage, which led to wage growth among the low-skilled group (McGuinness et al., 2009).

In terms of the allocation of job opportunities, Whelan and Layte (2004) argue that increased levels of education across the population may mean that many applicants have now reached the educational threshold required and therefore employers use other 'non-merit-based' selection criteria such as ascribed characteristics or performance-related criteria unconnected to education (e.g. social skills). The authors argue that there is no reason why these non-education criteria should favour those from one class over another. However, it is more likely that they will lead to inequalities across other dimensions such as race, sex and age group.

A wide range of studies shows that the variation in occupational position and rewards cannot be fully accounted for by differences in educational attainment or other dimensions of human capital. These studies tend to focus on gender and race/ethnic inequalities (and, to a lesser extent, on disability) rather than on social background. Explanations of this 'non-merit' variation range from those that emphasise personal choice or structural impediments to equality of opportunity, and explanations based on discrimination. A key institutional factor invoked in the gender literature is occupational segregation, that is, the concentration of women and men into different types and levels of occupation. Sex segregation has declined in the Irish labour market in recent decades yet many jobs are still occupied largely by one sex (Russell et al., 2009; Hughes, 2002). Research has shown that female-dominated jobs pay less than male-dominated jobs, after controlling for differences in skill levels, educational requirements and working conditions (England, 2005b; Karlin et al., 2002; Steinberg, 2001).

Preference theory argues that occupational segregation is due to choice and that women often prefer to work in female-dominated occupations because these jobs better facilitate part-time working and breaks in employment and that women trade off better pay against flexibility and convenience factors (Hakim, 1996 and 2002). In the classic human capital paper on the topic, Polachek (1981) argues that, because they anticipate more disrupted work lives, women will choose jobs that do not penalise discontinuity and avoid jobs where the rate of technological change is high or where firm-specific training is involved.

Alternative accounts of occupational segregation and low pay among female-dominated occupations focus on demand-side mechanisms. The queuing theory suggests that employers in general prefer to employ men so that it is only when jobs pay badly relative to their educational requirements that employers will not be able to employ enough men and the jobs are likely to be filled by women (Reskin and Roos, 1990). Therefore, in queuing theory, low pay leads to feminisation of occupations. The devaluation theory suggests that the causality is the other way around, that is, that the feminisation of a job leads to lower pay and status; as Karlin et al. put it, 'the low status of women "rubs off" on employers' evaluation of the job' (2002, p. 4). The devaluation of women's work is believed to be particularly strong in caring work (England, 2005a). Both the queuing and devaluation theories involve sex discrimination: a less favourable attitude on the part of employers towards women than men.

The queuing and devaluation theories can also be applied to labour market inequalities on the basis of race/ethnicity, nationality and disability. The assumption is that employers also prefer to employ white nationals without a disability. It is less easy to make the argument that non-nationals or minority ethnic groups have a preference for more flexible or intermittent employment. Therefore, the human capital explanations focus more on differences in type of education and productivity than on preferences in this case. For example, it is argued that there may be different returns to education and labour market experience obtained by migrants in their country of origin.

Similarly, it has been argued that although immigrants may have equal amounts of schooling and work experience, they may still lack 'country-specific' human capital, such as language skills and cultural knowledge. However, such accounts apply only to recent migrants, and are less useful in explaining ethnic or race pay/occupational penalties in long-established populations.

O'Connell and McGinnity (2008) find that migrants to Ireland from non-English-speaking countries have a significantly higher risk of unemployment than Irish nationals, and the risk is particularly high for black and Asian migrants. The difference in the risks of unemployment for ethnic-minority Irish nationals or migrants from English-speaking countries is not statistically significant, although in the former case this is likely to be due to small numbers. The study also found no difference in the wages of black, Asian and white work-permit-holders, controlling for age and work experience, whereas there was a penalty for work-permit-holders with poor English language skills. However, as these figures are only for work-permit-holders they cannot establish whether there is a pay penalty compared with Irish nationals or other groups of migrant workers such as EU nationals. Barrett and McCarthy (2007) also find a wage gap for migrants from non-English-speaking countries, and find that immigrant women experience a 'double disadvantage' in that they earn 14 per cent less than Irish women and 12 per cent less than migrant men.

1.5.3 Migration

Migration is significant to understanding the experiences of several groups in Ireland, particularly ethnic, racial and religious[4] minorities. As noted above, in-migration on a large scale was something new in Ireland in the years leading up to 2006. Here we are concerned not so much with the ethnicity, nationality and religion of migrants, which may also be related to disadvantage in the educational system or labour market, but with the processes surrounding migration itself. These processes include selective migration and the disruption associated with migration.

[4] Secularisation is another factor that is important in understanding religious diversity, as seen in the increase in the proportion of adults who belong to no religious denomination (CSO, 2007d, Table 9).

Much of economists' research into migration focuses on migrants as either positively or negatively selected on the basis of characteristics related to labour market success. This selective nature of migration and the consequent impact on labour market outcomes is a subject of some debate. Chiswick (1978) argues that immigrants to the post-war United States were positively self-selected, more able and more highly motivated than the native-born. Data from Australia (Chiswick et al., 2005) suggest that immigrants experience a decline in occupational attainment from their last job in their country of origin to their first job in the country of destination, but due to post-immigration investments in human capital move up through the occupational structure. In the Irish context, Barrett et al. (2006) and Barrett and Duffy (2008) show that Ireland's immigrants are a highly educated group.

On the other hand, Borjas (1985) argues that the earnings convergence, interpreted by Chiswick (1978) as evidence of unobserved qualities in immigrants such as drive and ambition, is in fact a result of a change in the composition of immigrant inflow. According to Borjas (1987), the labour market outcomes of immigrants depends heavily on their country of origin and it is immigrants from countries with high levels of GNP, low levels of income inequality and politically developed systems that tend to achieve higher incomes in the United States, while immigrants from less developed countries fare less well. It is proposed that immigrants may be 'negatively selected' in terms of human capital. Further, the expectation of returning to their home country may lead immigrants to invest less effort in developing the skills and contacts that would help them in the labour market (Dustmann, 1993; Kalter and Granato, 2007).

Heath et al. (2008) observe that migrants tend to be at a disadvantage because the process of migration itself is disruptive. In this respect they are similar to other groups who are making a transition to work, such as young people and women returning to work following a period spent caring for family. During this period of transition we might expect to see an initial disadvantage associated with job search, the acquisition of language and other skills and experience and the establishment of social networks. Immigrants may lack fluency in the language of the majority population and may possess qualifications and work experience from another country that are not fully credited in the host country.

There is evidence of this kind of disruption in the Irish context. O'Connell and McGinnity (2008) find that language skills are positively related to earnings and that immigrants from English-speaking countries, although they are more likely than Irish nationals to report discrimination in looking for work, are no more likely to report discrimination in the workplace. Similarly, Barrett and McCarthy (2007) find a larger wage gap for migrants from the non-English-speaking EU10 than from English-speaking countries. Also in the Irish context, Barrett and Duffy (2008) show that immigrants who arrived more recently have lower occupational attainment relative to earlier arrivals. However, the improved occupational attainment of earlier arrivals can be explained by a change in the national origin mix of Ireland's immigrants, with immigrants from the EU10 states (the more recent immigrants) having the lowest occupational attainment. The authors conclude that there is insufficient evidence of increased labour market integration of immigrants over time. Further, there is likely to be a skills mismatch, with immigrants tending to be over-qualified for their jobs (McGinnity et al., 2006; Barrett et al., 2006; Barrett and Duffy, 2008).

However, if disruption and the time needed to integrate are the driving forces, we would expect the gap between migrants and natives to narrow over time, and to disappear for second-generation immigrants. Heath and Yu (2005) compare the labour market fortunes of first- and second-generation immigrants in the United Kingdom. They argue that black Caribbeans, Indians and Pakistanis who arrived in Britain in the 1950s and 1960s were clearly disadvantaged by their lack of human capital. Even those migrants with fluency in English and with British qualifications

experienced high rates of unemployment and reduced access to the more privileged professional and managerial jobs, when compared with equivalent natives.

Disadvantage that persists as time goes on or carries over to the second generation is likely to arise from the fact that immigrants are different in terms of ethnicity or culture, rather than from their language abilities or qualifications. In this regard, how similar or different the migrants are from the native population is likely to matter. Reviewing the educational outcomes of second-generation immigrants in Western Europe, Heath et al. (2008) find that, in general, ethnic minorities whose parents come from less-developed non-European origins tend to have substantially lower educational achievement than the majority groups, while children of immigrants from Europe tend to do better. Patterns of outcomes in the labour market tend to parallel those described for educational outcomes. Similarly, Cheung and Heath (2007) argue that visible minorities in the United Kingdom face significant discrimination in accessing employment. Given the recent nature of much migration to Ireland, it is hard to disentangle the impact of recent migration from ethnic or cultural differences.

The consequences of migration may be different for women and men, and several studies find a greater 'penalty' for women who migrate. Mincer (1978) argues that the migration decisions of women are closely linked with those of their male partner. Although the family income may be increased by migrating, female immigrants may find themselves in unfavourable labour market situations. Barrett and McCarthy (2007) find a larger wage gap for immigrant women, particularly those with third-level qualifications, than for immigrant men in Ireland. Beach and Worswick (1993) find that a double-negative effect of nationality and gender on earnings in Canada is quite marked for highly educated women and that, in contrast to men, the initial earnings gap relative to native-born women does not tend to close over the female's career.

Ethnic inequality cannot be reduced to inequalities in the economic sphere or those due to the disruption associated with migration, however. Ethnic stereotypes and prejudice also affect interactions in the cultural and affective dimensions of life. For instance, members of ethnic minorities are often viewed by the dominant ethnic group as 'representatives of their race' and are more likely to 'suffer the effects of collective remorse when a member of their group is portrayed in a negative light' (Marger, 2009, p. 39). As the analysis in this report uses census data, however, we are limited mainly to socio-economic indicators.

1.5.4 Life cycle processes

In this section we are concerned with the key periods of transition in people's lives and the way in which disadvantage of a more or less temporary nature may be associated with these. The key transitions are: (a) from school to work, (b) from single person to married or cohabiting person, (c) from childless person to parent, (d) from parent to empty nest, and (e) from working to retirement. Not all adults will make all of these transitions and sometimes the ordering is different. Broadly, however, the transitions tend to be associated with different age groups and have a strong impact on the age-related differences we observe.

The transition from education to work is much smoother for young people with good educational qualifications. As noted earlier, young people who leave school early face a higher risk of unemployment (Byrne et al., 2009; Watson et al., 2006). Better qualifications are also associated with higher earnings throughout the life course: those with low levels of qualifications are concentrated in low-skilled jobs and have lower earnings (Brunello and Comi, 2004). Because of differences between age cohorts in the percentage completing second level and going on to third level (see next section), the meaning of 'low education' is different for younger and older adults.

The transition to forming partnerships and having children is not one that all adults make but it is important in shaping their living circumstances. In terms of partnership, the 1990s and 2000s saw a growth in cohabiting and an increase in the age of marriage (Lunn et al., 2010). The rise in cohabiting has been particularly sharp, growing fourfold between 1996 and 2006. The growth in cohabiting has not been sufficient to offset the later age of marriage, however, so that young adults today spend longer as single childless persons than their counterparts two decades ago.

In the Irish context, analysis of Census 2006 data reveals that a strong connection exists between unemployment and being single: at ages 35 and 40 years, the unemployed are only about half as likely to have entered marriage as those who are not unemployed (Lunn et al., 2010). Research on marriage has generally found that married men tend to have higher earnings than single men (e.g. Lundberg and Rose, 2000; Pollmann-Schult, 2011). There is disagreement regarding whether this is mainly due to a selection effect (where successful men are more likely to marry) or due to the benefits to men of being married (such as a gender division of labour, which allows men to devote their energies to their employment). Recent longitudinal results from Germany suggest that selection effects do not account for the observed benefits of marriage for men (Pollmann-Schult, 2011). The literature on the benefits of marriage to women has been more equivocal, with a possible selection effect operating in the opposite direction (England, 2005b).

Given the growth in cohabiting, an important question is whether there are differences between married and cohabiting couples in education levels, labour market participation and living standards. Research on cohabiting based on longitudinal data from the United States (which controls for differences that select into cohabiting or marriage) suggests that marriage and cohabiting are very similar in their beneficial effects on happiness, depression, contact with parents, time spent with friends, health, self-esteem, intergenerational relationships and couple relationships (Musick and Bumpass, 2006).

The trend in Ireland has been towards having children later (Lunn et al., 2010). Because of the traditionally different roles of fathers and mothers, becoming a parent has very different implications for the labour market participation of men and women. Using longitudinal data on married people from the United States, Lundberg and Rose (2000) find that, on average, the birth of the first child is associated with a 5 per cent reduction in the mother's wage rate and a 9 per cent increase in the father's.

There has also been an increase in lone parenthood, which has roughly doubled since 1986 (Lunn et al., 2010). Most lone parents are mothers and lone parenthood is associated with lower levels of education and lower earnings potential.

Another important change in Irish families is the increased incidence of marriage breakdown and the transition to being formerly married. Traditionally, this transition was associated with widowhood and was more common among women because they tend to live longer. While every marriage that ends in divorce or separation involves a man and a woman, there are much fewer men than women who are recorded as divorced or separated in Census 2006. This may be because men are more likely to remarry, but it is also because men who are divorced or separated are more likely to be recorded as 'single' on the census form (Lunn et al., 2010).

Retirement is a life cycle transition that is largely outside the scope of the present study, which focuses on adults in the 25–64 age group, although some adults in the older part of this range will have retired early or will be married to a partner who has retired. There has been a trend towards early retirement throughout the developed world since 1960 (Gruber and Wise, 1999), particularly in European countries (Henkens and Van Dalen, 2003). Retirement is associated with a drop in earnings, especially in Ireland, which is at the bottom of the OECD league table of incomes for

those aged 65 years relative to the population as a whole and which is second only to Korea in the poverty rate of older adults (OECD, 2009, Figures 2.1 and 2.5).

Age is important to the labour market in another respect. As we will see in the next section, the 25–64 age group is made up of people who were educated and trained in very different periods of Ireland's recent history. Older adults who lose their jobs are likely to have levels of education and skills that are not suited to the growth areas of the economy, which leaves them at risk of long-term unemployment. Health problems also become more common with age, particularly for those in lower socio-economic groups (Mackenbach et al., 2008). As a consequence, we see an increase in physical disability with age (Watson and Nolan, 2011).

1.5.5 Historical macro-environment

Decisions made by individuals at key points in their lives – whether to stay in school or seek work, to stay in Ireland or migrate, to marry, to have children – are shaped by the social and economic environment at the time these decisions are made. This will have an impact on the comparisons between age groups.

As well as the life cycle processes discussed in the previous section, major changes in the social and economic environment, especially when these occur at key decision points in the life cycle, will have an impact. In this report, we focus on adults aged 25 to 64 years in 2006. These adults were in their early teens in very diverse periods of Ireland's economic and social history, ranging from the ending of protectionism in the early 1960s to the boom years of economic growth in the late 1990s.

To the extent that education is a 'positional good' (Hollis, 1982) – something that matters in terms of employment outcomes when compared with the level of education achieved by others seeking jobs or promotions – the impact of different levels of education will very much depend on the historical period. Up until 1967, second-level education in Ireland was the preserve of those who could afford to pay for it. The introduction of free second-level education in 1966, and its implementation in 1967, led to a sharp rise in the numbers attending second level.

Figures from the 1971 Census indicate that the proportions still in school at each age from 15 to 17 years increased dramatically from 1966 to 1971. For instance, 57 per cent of 15-year-old boys and 61 per cent of 15-year-old girls were still in school in 1966, but this had increased to 74 and 76 per cent respectively by 1971 (CSO, 1978, Table 1a). From Census 2006, we can see this change in the contrast between those in their early and late fifties, with a jump in the completion of at least some second-level education between those aged 50 to 54 years and aged 55 to 59 years. The former group were 5 to 10 years old when free education was introduced – still young enough to plan to attend second level – whereas the latter were 10 to 15 years old and many would have left, or decided to leave, school (CSO, 2007d, Table 1).

The take-up of free second-level education was greater among young women than among young men, so that the gender gap in education that was already present in the early 1960s was exacerbated and still persists today. Part of the explanation for this pattern was the pull of employment in agriculture for young men. In 1966 almost one-third of young men aged 14 to 19 years at work had jobs in the agriculture sector, 23 per cent worked in manufacturing and 20 per cent in commerce. Very few young women worked in agriculture (3 per cent), 37 per cent worked in manufacturing and 22 per cent in commerce. Some second-level education was more likely to be of benefit for the kinds of jobs in commerce that were relatively more important among women (CSO, 1975, Tables 2 and 3).

The introduction of equality legislation since Ireland joined the EU in 1973 was also very significant. The Equal Pay Directive of the Anti-Discrimination (Pay) Act 1974

required that women and men receive equal pay for work of equal value. At the same time, changing social norms regarding the roles of married women were important. From the mid-1930s until 1973 the 'marriage bar' in the public service and teaching meant that women had to leave these jobs on marrying. This bar was also widely applied in many white-collar private-sector jobs in areas such as clerical work and banking (Fahey, 1992).

Joining the EU in 1973 opened up the European market to Ireland's products, particularly agricultural produce, and the EU Structural Funds underpinned national investment in infrastructure (FitzGerald, 2000). The period from 1972 to the mid-1990s was marked by painful adjustment, with unemployment rising from 5 per cent in 1972 to 17 per cent by 1988 (Breen et al., 1990) as many traditional manufacturing firms closed down and emigration slowed down. The emphasis on education in this period, perhaps helped by the reduced 'pull' of low-skilled jobs in manufacturing, expanded Ireland's education level, with a steady increase in the proportion of young people completing second level and going on to third level (Breen et al., 1990).

The 1990s were characterised by an emphatic fall in out-migration and, as noted above, the emergence of in-migration, which accelerated further with the opening up of the labour market to the EU accession states in 2004.

Labour force participation of women has increased in Ireland, particularly from the mid-1990s. The female employment rate increased from 39 to 56 per cent and the female share of employment increased from 36 to 42 per cent during the boom years of 1991 to 2004. Much of this growth is in part-time employment, which increased from 21 to 32 per cent of women's jobs (O'Connell and Russell, 2007).

1.6 Summary

The disadvantage of some groups is centred on their experience in the educational system (such as people with a disability they have had from childhood, or migrant children whose first language is not English). For women, particularly mothers, disadvantage can be linked to their role in the family and the resulting constraints on their labour market participation (i.e. reduced participation, labour market segregation). Life cycle processes are important in terms of differences by age, marital status, family status and disability (the risk of disability increases with age). Migration is crucial to understanding disadvantage based on race, ethnicity and religion as Ireland's diversity in these respects is relatively recent.

Discrimination can affect any of these processes and groups. It can be difficult to pinpoint in data such as that provided by a census because it operates throughout the different channels via which people advance. In the educational system, despite formal meritocracy, prejudice and discrimination can affect one's chances of entry into high-status educational establishments and, once admitted, it can affect the evaluation of performance by instructors. In the labour market, discrimination can occur at the point of recruitment or promotion. In social class terms, discrimination could negatively affect entry to professional occupations where the favourable judgement of peers is essential or someone's ability to obtain a business loan (e.g. for self-employment). Prejudice can affect life cycle transitions in a number of ways (apart from education and work) through, for example, the available choice of marriage partner, choice of neighbourhood in the accommodation rental sector and access to housing loans. In terms of migration, there are different requirements for migrants from different countries (arising from the legal obligations on Ireland as an EU member) or with different skills, but employer-sponsored work permits are an avenue where prejudice may colour perceptions of job applicants with different characteristics or from different parts of the world.

Limitations of the data available mean it is not possible to identify directly the operation of prejudice or discrimination in bringing about different outcomes. Instead, we will focus on the outcomes themselves in the areas of education, labour market, housing and living standards.[5]

[5] McGinnity et al. (2009), in an experimental study, show the impact of discrimination based on ethnicity and national origin at the point of recruitment in Ireland.

2 DATA AND METHODS

2.1 Introduction

This report draws on special analysis of Census 2006 data to examine the impact of gender, age, disability, nationality, ethnicity, religion and family status on five measures of disadvantage. The analysis is performed separately for two age groups: adults aged 25 to 44 years and adults aged 45 to 64 years. These groups typically represent different lifestyle stages and face different challenges and issues. In this chapter we discuss the data, the choice of outcome measures and the relationship between the outcome measures.

2.2 Outcome Measures

The choice of outcome measures was limited, to some extent, by the data available from Census 2006. We wanted to select a small number of key outcomes that would allow us to examine whether disadvantage cumulates across different domains (e.g. from education to the labour market) and that would work well in highlighting important differences between groups in Ireland.

The outcomes we examine are:

- Low education. This refers to less than full second-level education. Students are excluded from this analysis.
- Being outside the labour market. Although some people may choose to be outside the labour market, particularly those who retire early or parents (usually mothers) who remain at home to care for their children, these choices will always be made in the context of constraints. Labour market participation is a key element in social inclusion (Berkel and Møller, 2002). Women's labour market participation is lower than that of men, as they remain most likely to take time off paid work to care for their children (Treas and Drobnič, 2010) and other family members (Bolin et al., 2008). However, women who do combine work and family tend to have higher levels of life satisfaction (Kotowska et al., 2010) and improved mental health (Barnett, 2004). In the models for labour market participation, students are excluded from the analysis.
- Being unemployed (for those in the labour market). Students, those engaged in home duties and other people outside the labour market are excluded from this analysis.
- Being in the lower manual social class. The unskilled and semi-skilled manual social classes have been shown elsewhere to be more at risk of poverty and disadvantage (e.g. Elias and McKnight, 2003; Goldthorpe and McKnight, 2006; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007; Watson et al., 2009). Social class is based on the occupation of the reference person on the census form and is the same for all persons in the household. We chose household-level social class, rather than social class based on the person's own occupation, because it gives a sense of the command over resources enjoyed by the household as a whole and is available for groups such as young adults seeking their first job and people with a disability who have never worked who would otherwise have to be excluded from this analysis.
- Lack of access to a car. This is taken as a proxy measure of living standards. Being unable to afford a car has been one of the nine common EU deprivation indicators since 2008 (CSO, 2009, p. 84) – a person is considered deprived if they lack three or more of these goods and services. While people may choose not to have a car, rather than being unable to afford it, we do not have a

measure in Census 2006 of whether the household is able to afford a car. As such, it must be considered an approximate indicator of living standards.

The choice of access to a car as an indicator of living standards was made after checking the potential of other possible indicators in the Census 2006 data. Housing tenure, housing quality and access to the Internet were each considered but abandoned as unsuited to capturing the situation of specific groups. Housing tenure is particularly sensitive to the individual's age, family status and intention to remain in Ireland. Very few migrants who have been in Ireland for a relatively short period will own their own home. This might just as well be related to their intention to remain in Ireland for a short period only as to their capacity to afford to buy. A similar issue was identified with respect to age and either PC ownership or broadband access. The percentage of people in older age groups who lack access to these is quite low and this is related to their lack of familiarity rather than to an ability to afford it. Access to a car is also affected by preferences and the quality of the local transport network, but initial checks in the data indicated that it performed better than the alternative indicators as a proxy measure of living standards in general.

2.3 Gross and Net Risks

In this report we present the gross and net risks of the five unfavourable outcomes for different groups. The 'gross' figures are the overall differences between, for example, men and women. The 'net' figures show the differences that remain when we have controlled for other characteristics (age, family status and so on). This calculation is based on the results of the statistical models shown in Tables A1 and A2 in the Appendix. In a sense, the net differences are an attempt to get at the 'pure' effects of the nine dimensions identified in the Equality Acts. The net figures control for gender, age group, family type, disability, religion, nationality, migration, location and region. We further control for education in estimating the net figures for the labour market, social class and access to a car outcomes and we control for education, labour market situation and social class in estimating the models for access to a car.

The list of variables and the reference categories used in estimating the net figures are shown in Table 2.1. The reference category is the group for whom the net figures are estimated for each outcome. So, for instance, apart from the analysis by gender in Chapter 3 which presents net figures calculated for both women and men, the net figures are presented for men.

Similarly, when presenting the net figures for other groups, we control other characteristics – ethnicity, religion, marital and family status, age group, location and migration status. For instance, the net results on gender in Section 3.8 are the expected results for a white, Irish, Catholic, married adult with children, in the first five-year age group in each age band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age band and 45–49 for the older age band), living in Dublin and who has never lived outside Ireland.

When we move to a consideration of labour market (being outside the labour market and unemployment) and social class outcomes, we control for any differences in education. When we consider lack of access to a car, we control for differences in education, labour market participation, unemployment and social class. That means that the net effects are those remaining or persisting when we remove the impact of prior influences. By 'prior' we mean that we have already considered or discussed them, not necessarily that they occur earlier in time. Educational qualifications will usually be completed before labour market entry, which will, in turn, affect the risk of unemployment and living standards. However, there may also be some effects operating in the opposite direction: access to a car may widen the geographic area

over which a person can search for a job, and social class position may be derived from the occupation of another person in the household, such as the parent in the case of many young adults or the spouse or partner in the case of those who are married or cohabiting. The net effects should, therefore, be interpreted as the remaining direct effects of group membership whereas the gross figures show overall group differences, before account is taken of other factors.

Table 2.1: Measures used in models and reference groups

Measure	**Reference category** (group for whom net figures are presented)
Gender	Men
Age group (five-year age groups)	The first five-year age group. For the 25–44 age band, the net figures refer to adults aged 25 to 29 years; for the 45–64 age band, the net figures refer to adults aged 45 to 49 years
Family type by gender (never married, no children; never married, lone parent; never married, cohabiting; never married, cohabiting and children; married, no children; married and children; ex-married, no children; ex-married, lone parent; ex-married, cohabiting and children; in same-sex couple)	Married adults with children
Disability (no disability; physical disability; learning/intellectual disability)	People without a disability
Religion (Catholic; Church of Ireland; other Christian; Muslim; other non-Christian; no religious affiliation)	Catholics
Ethnicity (Irish Traveller; white Irish; other white; African; Chinese; other Asian; other)	White Irish
Nationality (Irish; Irish and other; British; other EU15 country;[6] EU10 country;[7] rest of world)	Irish adults
Migration (when the person moved/returned to Ireland: never lived abroad; before 1990; 1990–1999; 2000–2003; 2004–2006)	Never lived outside Ireland
Location (large town or city, population of 20,000 or more; town or village, population of 1,500 to 20,000; rural area)	Large towns/cities
Region (Border; Dublin; Mid-East; Midlands; Mid-West; South-East; South-West; West)	Dublin
Education (primary or less; lower second level; upper second level; diploma; degree or higher). Level of education is controlled when we move to the labour market outcomes, social class and access to a car.	Upper second-level education (Leaving Certificate or equivalent)
Labour market status (at work; unemployed; otherwise inactive). Labour market status is controlled when we examine social class and access to a car.	At work
Social class refers to the five Irish social class categories and is based on the social class of the reference person on the census form. It is controlled when we examine the access to a car.	Skilled manual

[6] This refers to the countries, other than Ireland and the UK, that were members of the European Union before May 2004: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden.

[7] This refers to the ten countries that acceded to the EU in May 2004: Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia.

2.4 Association between Outcomes

In this section we examine the association between education, labour market participation, unemployment, social class and access to a car. This is important because, as noted above, when we analyse the labour market and social class outcomes later, we control for level of education; and we control for education, labour market and social class in examining the impact of group differences on access to a car.

2.4.1 Level of education

Figure 2.1 shows the gross and net figures for the 25–44 age group. Turning first to the gross figures, the chart shows the percentage of younger adults in each education category who are outside the labour market, who are unemployed, who are in the lower manual social class and who do not have access to a car.

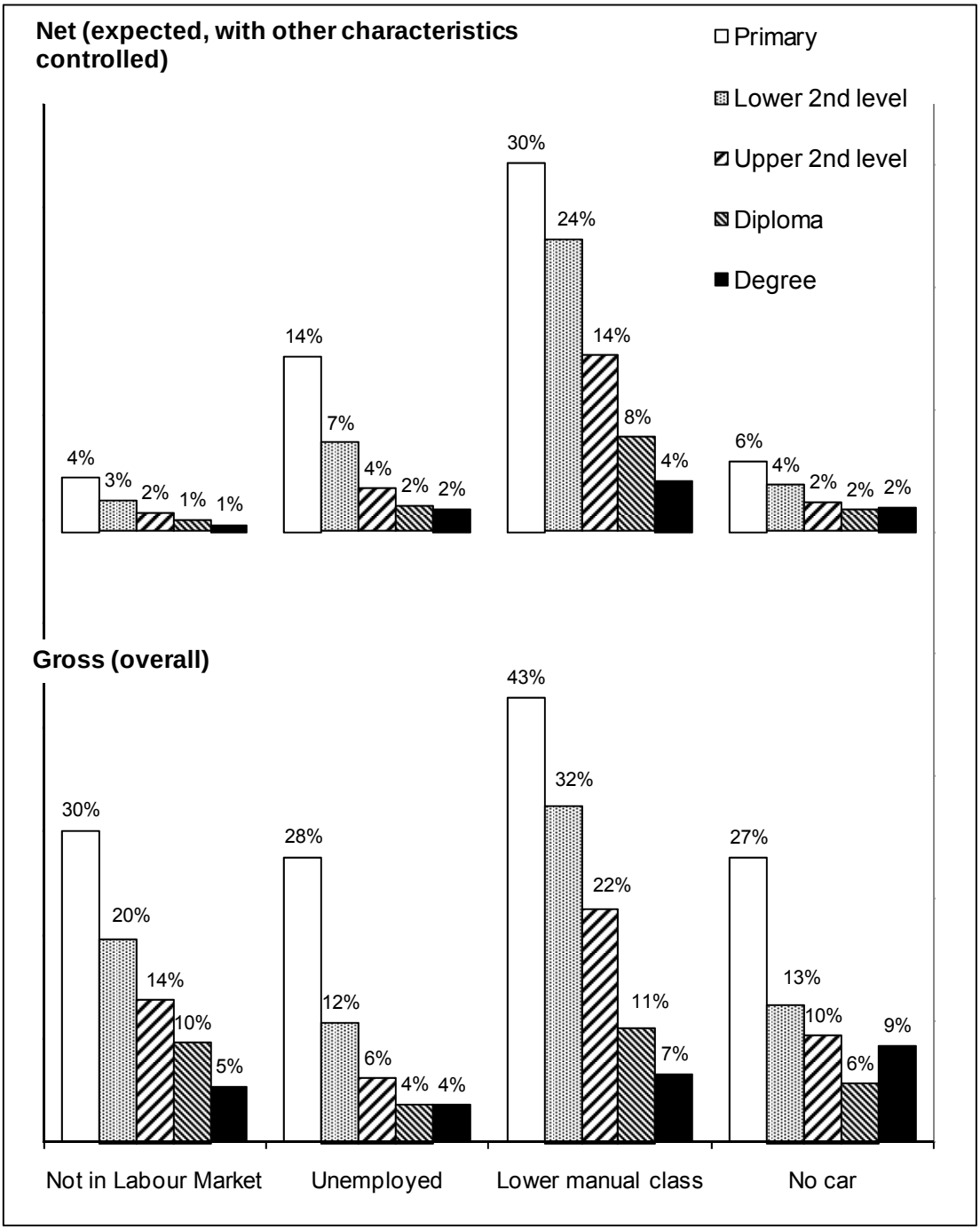
There is a very clear association to the risk of each of these outcomes by level of education, with the contrast particularly marked at lower levels of education. For instance, 30 per cent of younger adults with primary education or less are outside the labour market. This drops to 20 per cent for those with lower second-level education; to 14 per cent for those with upper second-level education; to 10 per cent for those with a diploma; and to 5 per cent among those with a degree. In terms of the risk of unemployment for those in the labour market the contrast between those with primary education and those with lower secondary education is particularly strong, with a 16 percentage point gap and we find a similar very marked gap between these two groups for lack of access to a car.

The net figures are based on the model in Table A1 in the Appendix. These figures show the expected group percentages with other factors controlled: gender, five-year age group, marital and family status, disability, migration, nationality, ethnic group, religion, location and region. The net percentages are lower, because we present the expected figures for a relatively privileged group on most dimensions: white, Irish, Catholic, married men with children, aged 25 to 29 years, living in Dublin, with no disability and who have never lived outside Ireland. In addition, the net figures for access to a car include controls for labour market and social class and are presented for a person with all of the characteristics above who is working in a skilled manual occupation.

The net figures show that even with all of these controls included, the differences by education persist, though they are much smaller. This is particularly true of being outside the labour market, because we know there are large differences in this respect between men and women and the net figures are presented for men only.

The only exception to the clear decrease in the risk of disadvantage with rising levels of education concerns the contrast between those with a degree and those with a diploma. The two groups are very similar in having a low unemployment risk (4 per cent overall) and those with a degree are more likely to lack access to a car than those with a diploma (9 and 6 per cent respectively), but this latter difference disappears when we control for other characteristics (both 2 per cent in the net figures). The net figures also show no difference in the expected risk of being outside the labour market between those with a diploma and those with a degree (both 1 per cent).

Figure 2.1: Gross and net differences in risk of negative outcomes by level of education for adults aged 25 to 44 years



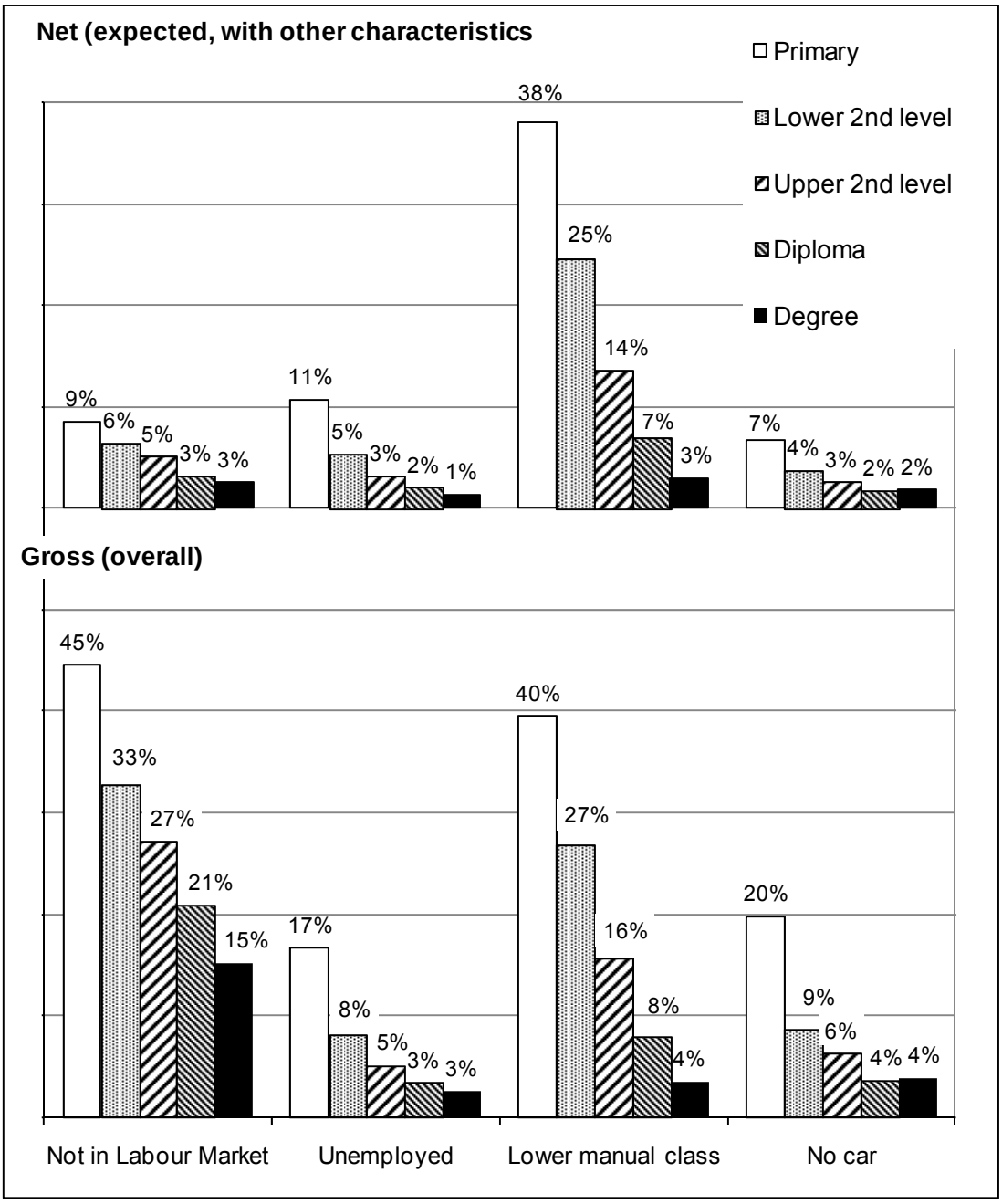
Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures show the overall differences between education groups. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white, Irish, Catholic, married men with children, aged 25 to 29 years, living in Dublin, with no disability and who have never lived outside Ireland.

Figure 2.2 shows the gross and net risk of negative outcomes by level of education for the 45–64 age group. The net figures, which show the pattern by education with other characteristics controlled (based on the model in the Appendix, Table A2) are presented for someone aged 45 to 49 years, but with other characterises the same as the net figures for the younger age group.

The pattern is similar to that for the younger adults: there is a clear drop in the risk of negative outcomes with rising levels of education; there is a smaller gap between those with a degree and those with a diploma than between the other levels of education; and the net figures are lower overall (as they are presented for a relatively advantaged group), but still show a substantial drop in the risk of disadvantage with rising levels of education.

Figure 2.2: Gross and net differences in risk of negative outcomes by level of education for adults aged 45 to 64 years



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures show the overall differences between education groups. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white, Irish, Catholic, married men with children, aged 45 to 49 years, living in Dublin, with no disability and who have never lived outside Ireland.

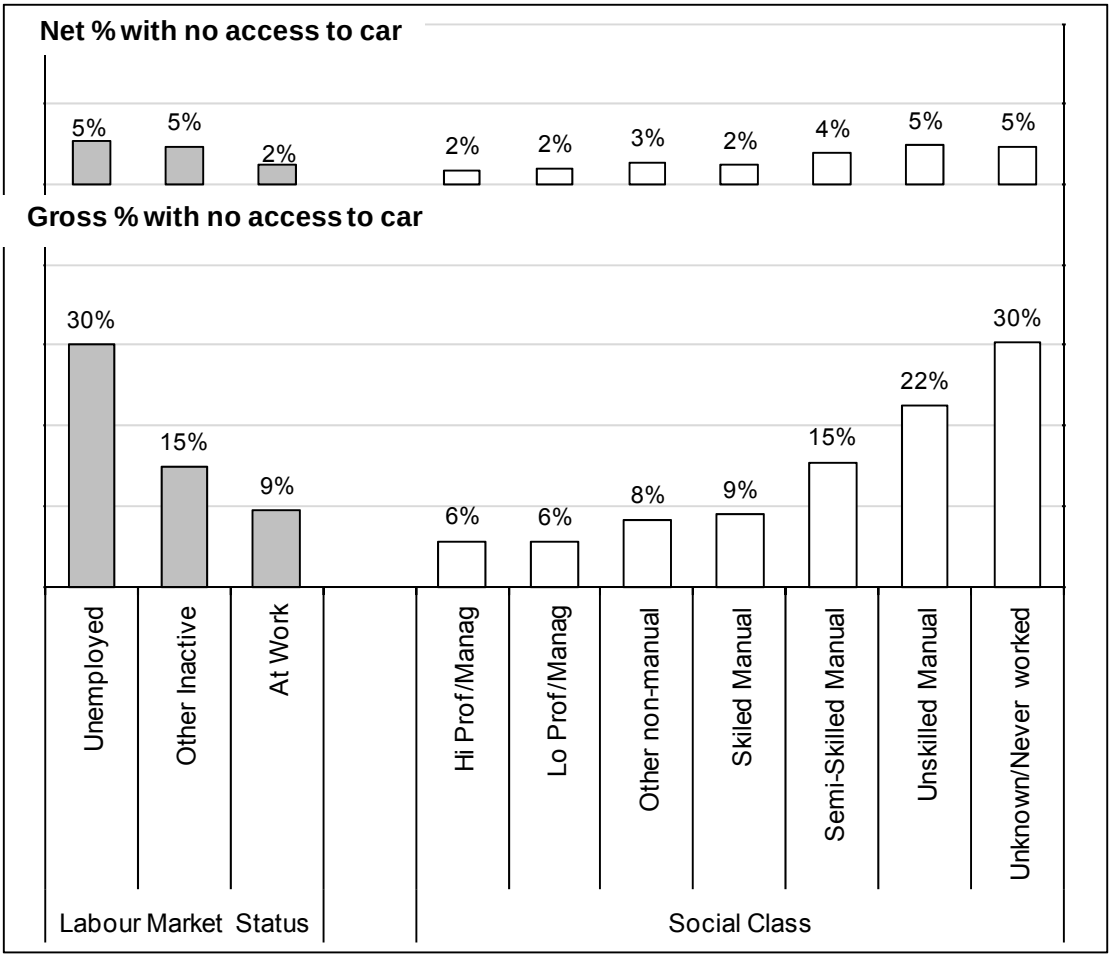
2.4.2 Lack of access to a car by labour market and social class

Figure 2.3 shows the gross and net percentages of adults aged 25 to 44 years in different labour market situations and social classes who lack access to a car.

The gross figures, which show the overall percentages living in a household that lacks access to a car, demonstrate a very clear relationship with both labour market status and social class. Only 9 per cent of those at work lack access to a car, compared with 15 per cent of those who are inactive in the labour market and 30 per cent of those who are unemployed. The social class differences are even larger, ranging from 6 per cent of those in either the higher or lower professional/managerial classes to 22 per cent of those in the unskilled manual social class and 30 per cent of those who have never worked.

The net figures here control for level of education as well as the other characteristics. The net percentages are much lower – largely reflecting the impact of education on these outcomes – but the differences by social class and between the unemployed and those at work are still evident.

Figure 2.3: Gross and net differences in risk of lacking access to a car by labour market status and household social class for adults aged 25 to 44 years

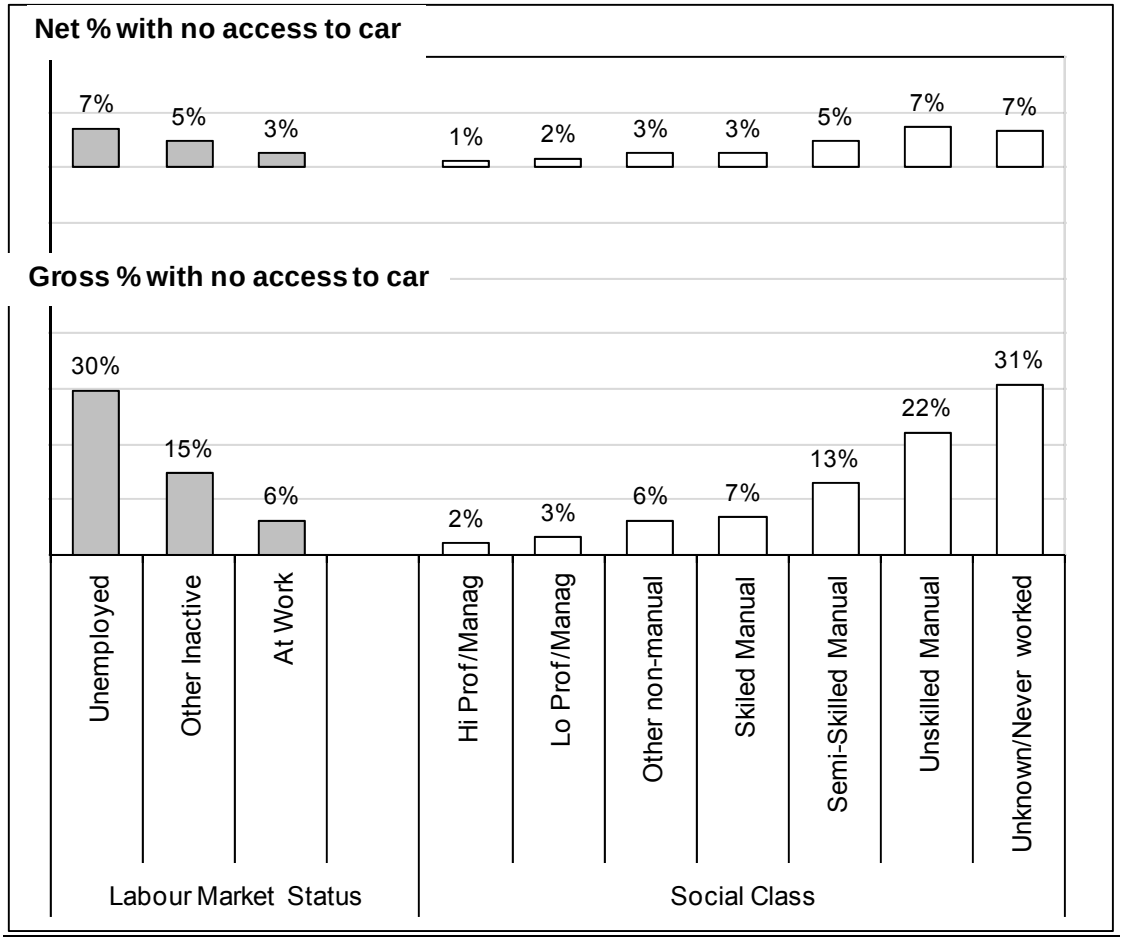


Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures show the overall differences between groups. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white, Irish, Catholic, married men with children, aged 25 to 29 years, living in Dublin, with no disability and who have never lived outside Ireland.

Figure 2.4 shows the figures for older adults (aged 45 to 64 years). In this age group the differences by social class and by labour market status are larger for both the gross and the net figures. This partly reflects the fact that a higher proportion of the younger adults will still be living with their parents, so their access to household resources will not depend on their own labour market status to the same extent. However, this is not the explanation for the stronger social class effects, as both social class and access to a car are measured at the household level. Instead, the stronger social class effects for the older age group arise because social class measures relatively enduring aspects of people's life chances and the living standards of older adults – for which access to a car is a proxy measure – will be affected by the accumulation or erosion of resources over time.

Figure 2.4: Gross and net differences in risk of lacking access to a car by labour market status and household social class for adults aged 45 to 64 years



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures show the overall differences between groups. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white, Irish, Catholic, married men with children, aged 45 to 49 years, living in Dublin, with no disability and who have never lived outside Ireland.

Having discussed the methodology and the relationship between education, labour market, social class and access to a car, in the next chapter we examine how each of these negative outcomes is related to age and to gender.

3 AGE GROUP AND GENDER

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter we examine the experience of disadvantage by age group and gender. The pattern of disadvantage among older adults represents the playing out of decisions they made regarding work and schooling in social and economic contexts that offered very different challenges and opportunities from those of today. In the early 1960s, for instance, second-level education was not free in Ireland and the Irish economy was still largely agrarian. The introduction of free second-level education in 1966, combined with the increasing pace of industrialisation, created a rapidly shifting environment for young people. Those who were in their early teens in the mid-1960s were in their early fifties by 2006.

We present the results by looking at the overall or gross levels of disadvantage experienced by each group. We then turn to the net disadvantage once we have controlled for other factors: family type, disability, religion, nationality, ethnicity, five-year age group, migration and location. The gross and net percentages will be different to the extent that there are compositional differences between the groups. For instance, most migrants coming to Ireland are young, male and have relatively high levels of education. As a result, when we control for migration, we would expect the gender difference in education to widen and the gap between older and younger adults to narrow.

3.2 Differences by Age Group

At this point we turn to the differences by age in the five outcomes: having low levels of education, being outside the labour market, unemployment, being in the lower manual social class and lack of access to a car. In Chapter 1 we noted some of the major changes in the macro-social environment that have taken place since the 1950s. The average school-leaving age, the relative importance of agriculture, industry and services and women's labour force participation have all undergone major changes. This means that young adults coming into the labour market in the years immediately prior to 2006 faced a very different environment and set of expectations than those who were finishing school in the 1960s. As a result, we would expect to see marked differences by age in the outcomes we examine here.

3.3 Low Education

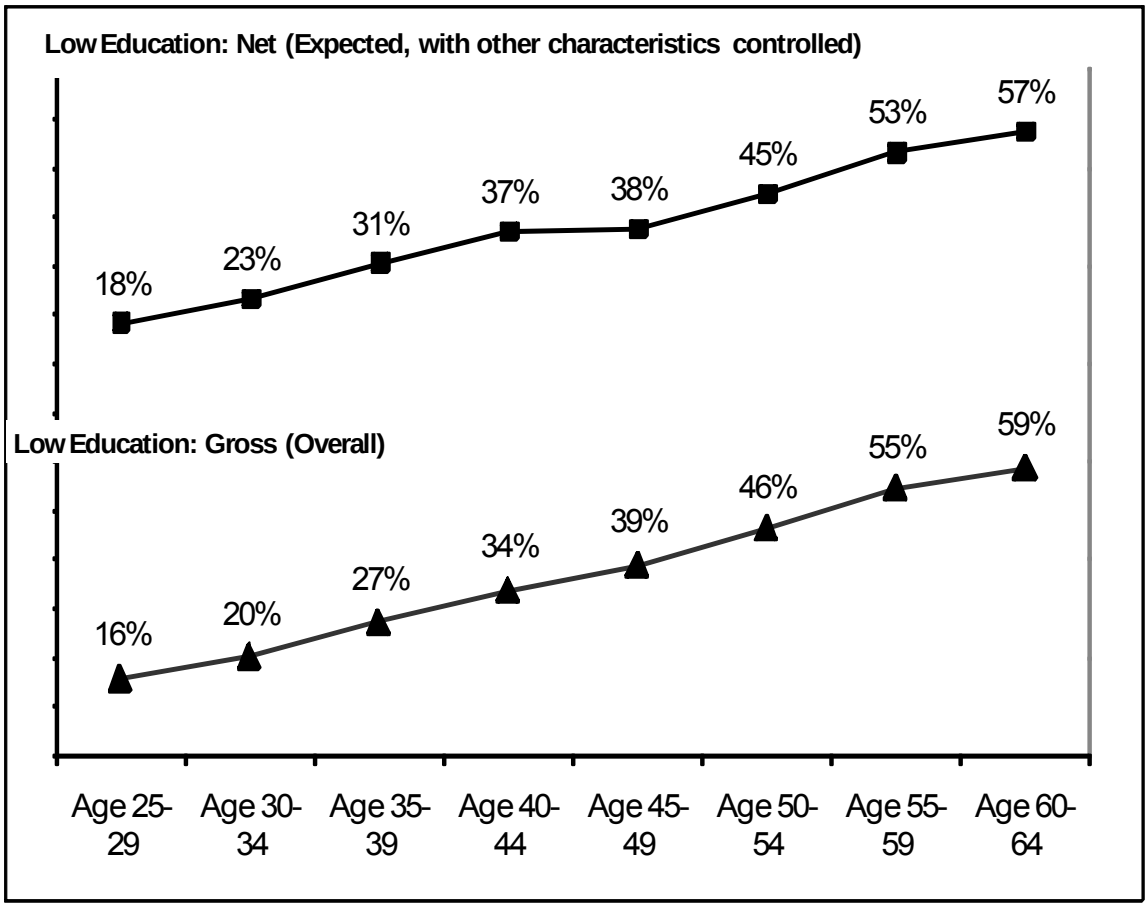
Figure 3.1 shows the gross and net percentages of adults with less than full second-level education by age group. The net figures show the percentage for white, Irish, Catholic, married men with children, living in Dublin and with no disability. The chart clearly shows the differing levels of education between the youngest and oldest cohorts of adults.

The differences by age are very dramatic. People in the 60–64 age group would have been in their early teens in the late 1950s when second-level education was not free, and 59 per cent of these adults left school before completing second-level schooling. By the early to mid-1990s, when those in the 25–29 age group were in their early teens, completing second level was the norm and only 16 per cent of this age cohort had left school before completing second-level schooling.

The gross and net figures are very similar, but the net percentages are slightly higher for the younger age cohorts, largely reflecting the fact that men are less likely than

women to have completed second-level education and also that the levels of education of migrants to Ireland tend to be higher than the average.

Figure 3.1: Gross and net differences in risk of low education by age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures show the overall differences between age groups. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white, Irish, Catholic, married men with children, living in Dublin and with no disability.

3.4 Being Outside the Labour Market

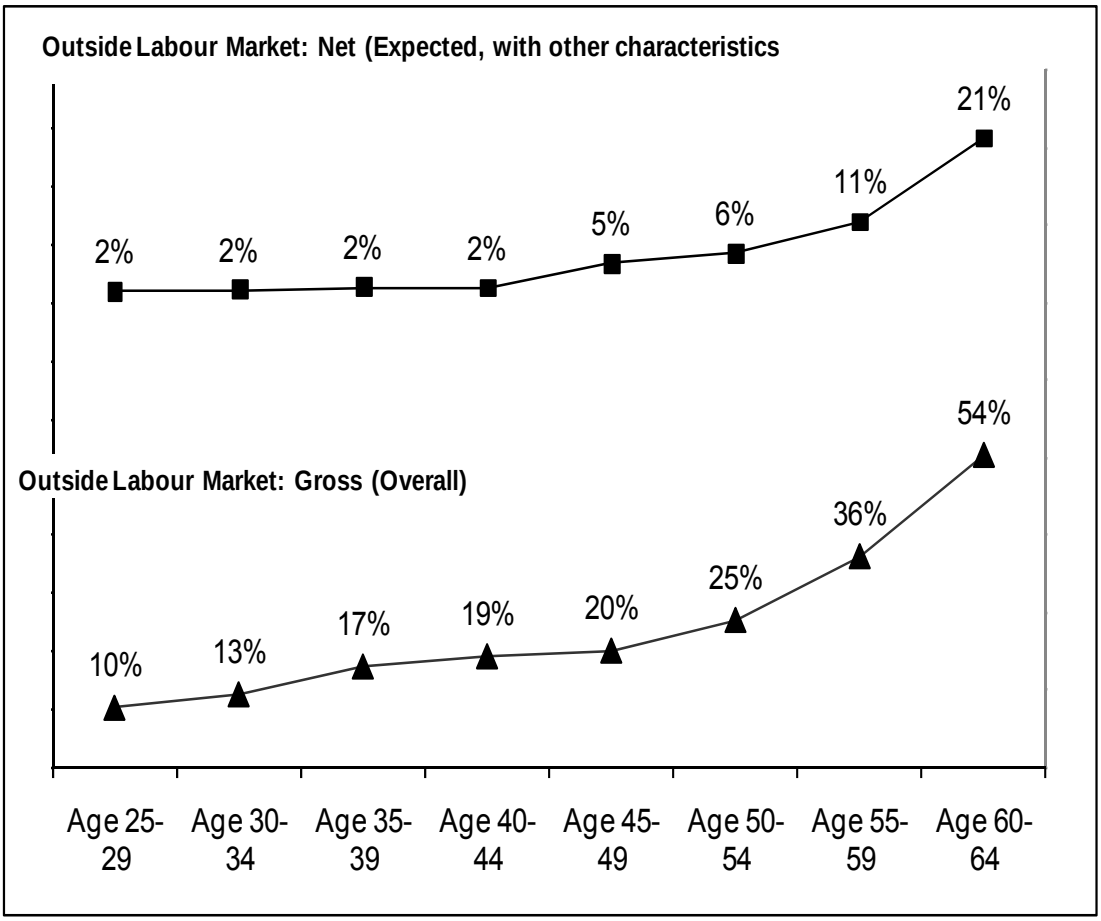
In Figure 3.2 we examine the gross and net percentages outside the labour market by age group. Both the net and gross figures increase with age, as adults enter early retirement or, in some cases, have to leave work because of health problems that increase with age.

There are very substantial differences between the gross and net figures here, particularly for the older age groups. The net figures are presented for men, and the gap between the gross and net figures is wider for the older age groups, reflecting the dramatic shifts in the norms for labour market participation of women between the 1960s and the 1990s. Only 10 per cent of adults aged 25 to 29 years are outside the labour force. This rises steadily across the age groups, reaching 20 per cent of those aged 45 to 49 years. Thereafter, the rate of increase across the five-year age bands accelerates, reaching 25 per cent of the 50–54 age group, 36 per cent of the 55–59 age group and 54 per cent of the 60–64 age group.

The net figures are the expected percentages outside the labour market for men in each five-year age band, controlling for education, family status, religion, nationality, ethnicity, disability, migration and location. The net figures are much lower, ranging

from 2 per cent of the 25–29 age group to 21 per cent of the 60–64 age group. They follow a similar pattern of acceleration across the older age groups, but beginning at age 55 rather than at age 50 as we saw from the gross figures.

Figure 3.2: Gross and net differences in risk of being outside the labour market by age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures show the overall differences between age groups. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white, Irish, Catholic, married men with children, living in Dublin and with no disability.

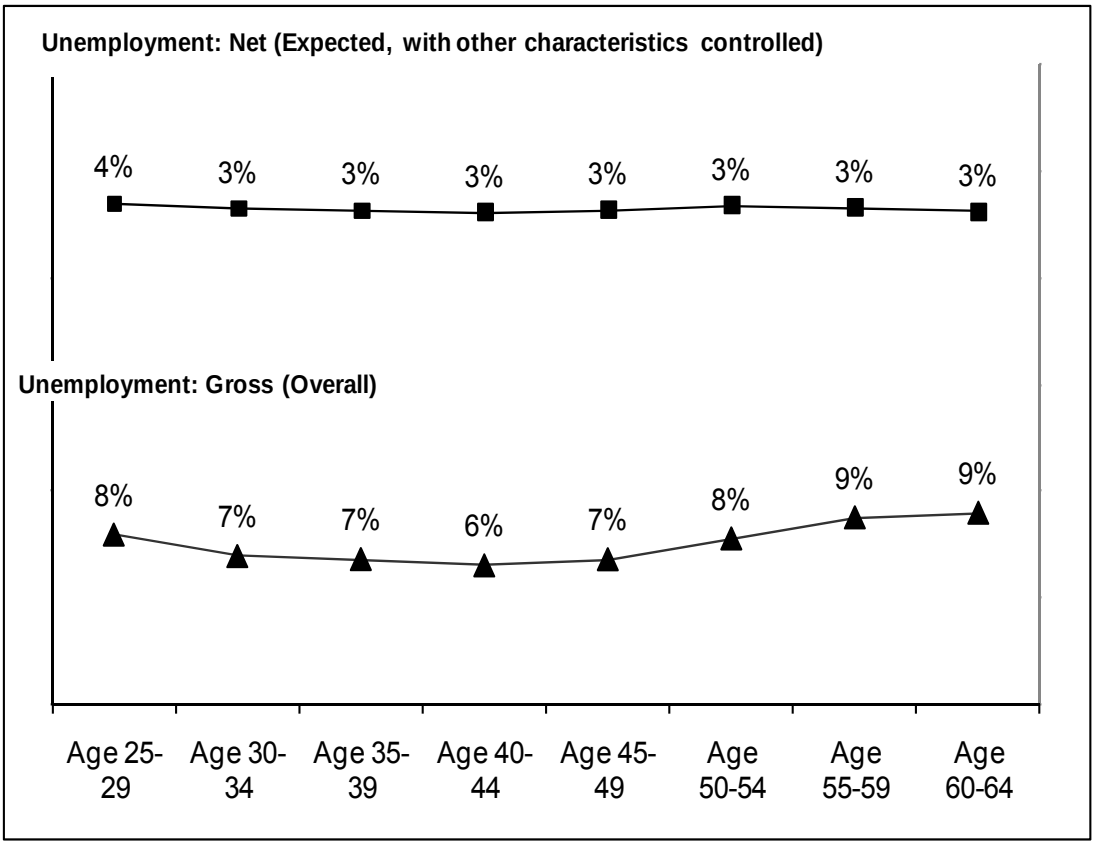
3.5 Unemployment

Figure 3.3 shows the gross and net differences in the risk of unemployment by age group. Note that this measure of unemployment differs from the standard International Labour Organization (ILO) definition in that it is based on the individual's self-designated principal economic status. It does not require, as the ILO definition does, that the individual be immediately available to start work or have taken definite steps to obtain work in the previous four weeks. In addition, we have included in the model for the net unemployment rate the highest level of education completed. The net figure is calculated as the unemployment rate for white, Irish, Catholic, married men with children, with full second-level education and living in Dublin.

Overall, the risk of unemployment is highest for the two oldest age cohorts (9 per cent) and is also high for the youngest adults (8 per cent), with a fall to 6 per cent among adults in the 40–44 age group. The net risk of unemployment is lower for all ages, as it represents the estimate for white, Irish, Catholic, married men with children, with full second-level education, no disability and living in Dublin.

As we will see in Chapter 7, the presence of greater numbers of migrants in the younger age cohort is contributing to the gap between the gross and net figures for the younger age group. The greater number of adults in the older age group who have less than full second-level education is contributing to the gap between the gross and net figures in this age group.

Figure 3.3: Gross and net differences in risk of unemployment by age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

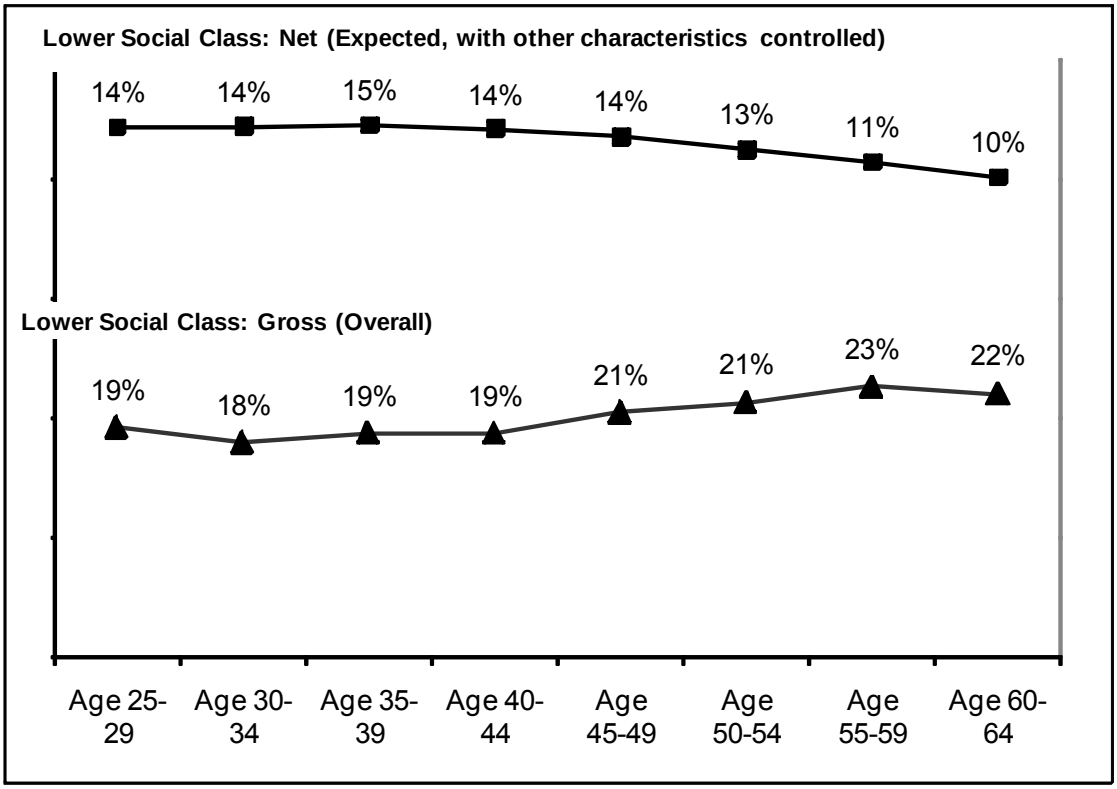
Note: Gross figures show the overall differences between age groups. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white, Irish, Catholic, married men with children, with full second-level education, living in Dublin and with no disability.

3.6 Lower Manual Social Class

Figure 3.4 shows the gross and net percentages in the lower manual (unskilled or semi-skilled manual) social class. Note that social class is measured based on the occupation of the reference person in the household and that level of education is controlled in calculating the net figure.

The overall figures show an increase in the percentage of adults in the lower manual social class across the age cohorts from 19 per cent of adults aged 25 to 29 years to 23 per cent of those aged 55 to 59 years and 22 per cent of those aged 60 to 64 years. The net figures, calculated for white, Irish, Catholic, married men with children, living in Dublin, with no disability and who had completed second-level education, are lower and show a fall from 14 or 15 per cent for those aged under 50 years to 13, 11 and 10 per cent respectively for each five-year cohort to age 64. The larger gap between the gross and net figures for the older age cohort reflects the fact that having a full second-level education is a mark of relative advantage in the labour market for these older adults, who were in their teens at a time when completing second-level schooling was more unusual.

Figure 3.4: Gross and net differences in risk of being in the lower manual social class by age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures show the overall differences between age groups. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white, Irish, Catholic, married men with children, living in Dublin and with no disability.

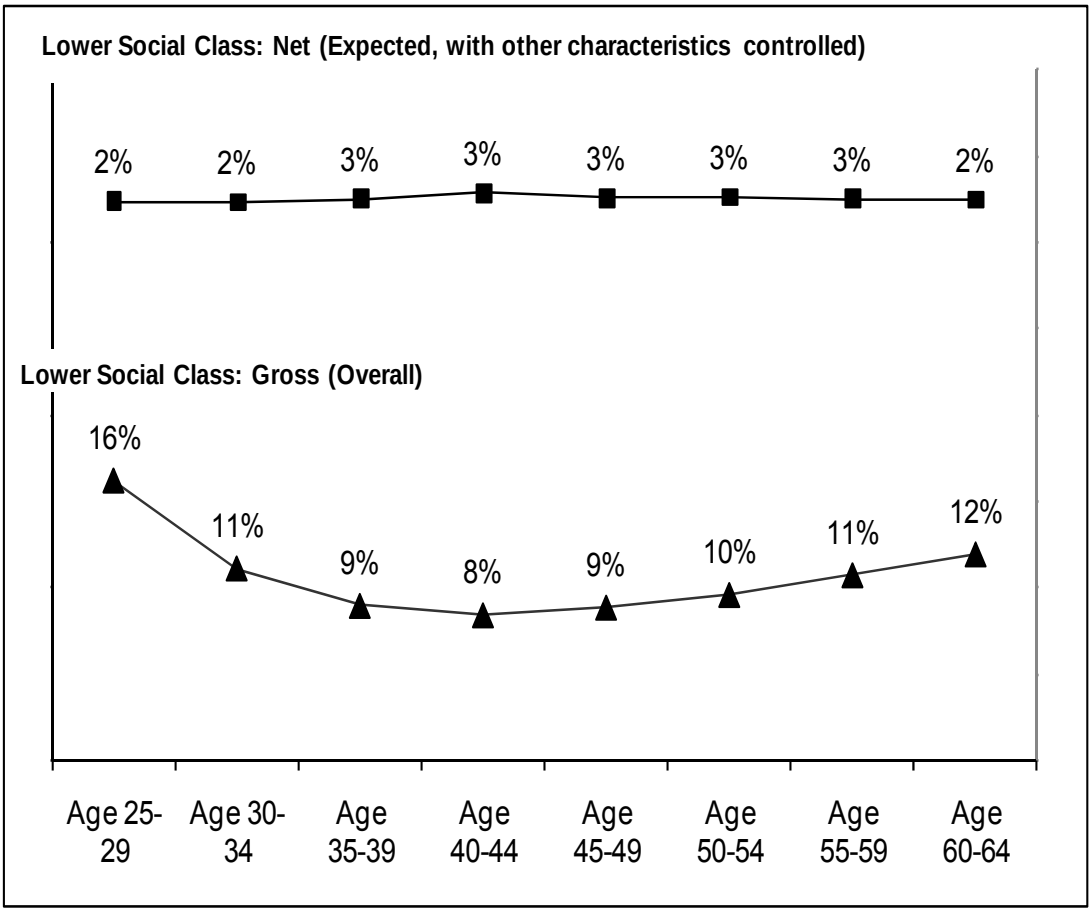
3.7 Lack of Access to a Car

Figure 3.5 shows the gross and net differences in having access to a car by age group. Controls are included in this model for education, labour market situation and social class so that the net figures represent the estimated percentages for white, Irish, Catholic, married men with children, with no disability, living in Dublin, with full second-level education and working in a skilled manual occupation.

The gross figures indicate an increase in access to a car across the age groups to age 40 and a small decline for older adults. The overall percentage who lack access to a car is highest in the 25–29 age group at 16 per cent. It drops sharply to 11 per cent of those aged 30 to 34 years and continues to decline, reaching 8 per cent of those aged 40 to 44 years. It rises slowly for older age groups, reaching 12 per cent of those aged 60 to 64 years. The net figures are much lower, however, indicating that men at work and with full second-level education are in a relatively more privileged position, and there is little difference across the age groups (2 to 3 per cent for each).

Differences in education level and social class account for the widening of the gap between the gross and net figures among older adults. The differences in migration in the younger age group are behind some of the observed gap between the gross and net figures for those aged 25 to 44 years.

Figure 3.5: Gross and net differences in risk of lacking access to a car by age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures show the overall differences between age groups. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white, Irish, Catholic, married men with children, living in Dublin and with no disability.

3.8 Gender Differences

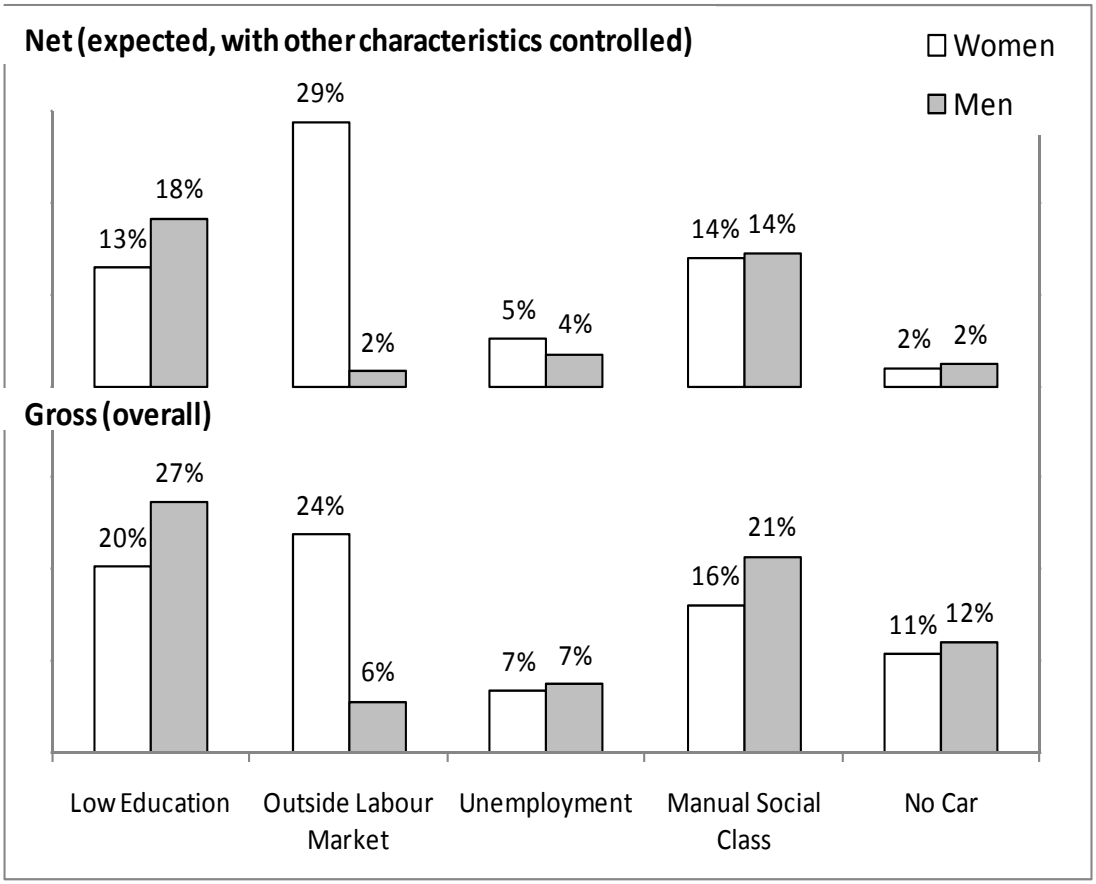
We saw from the review of literature in Chapter 1 that different roles played by men and women with respect to family and work may result in women experiencing disadvantage in the areas under consideration here. However, we will also see in this section some evidence that the pull of work for men, particularly those who are age 50, may have drawn them out of the education system early with sub-optimal levels of qualifications for today's labour market. Notions as to the proper roles for men and women were rather rigid. Women were expected to leave work on marriage and particularly on the birth of their first child to become full-time homemakers. In the Irish civil service it was only in 1973 that the 'marriage bar' (see Section 1.5.5) was lifted and married women were allowed to retain their jobs. Women who were age 25 in 1970 were in the 60–64 age group in 2006.

3.8.1 Gender differences in the 25–44 age group

Figure 3.6 shows the gross and net patterns for women and men for the five outcomes: having low education (less than full second-level schooling), being outside the labour market, being unemployed, being in the lower manual social class and not having access to a car.

The gross figures show the overall percentages of women and men experiencing each type of disadvantage. The net figures show the differences we would expect after controlling for family type, disability, religion, nationality, ethnicity, migration experience, location and five-year age group. The net figure is the percentage experiencing disadvantage for a white, Irish, Catholic man or woman aged 25 to 29 years, married with children, who never lived outside Ireland, has no disability and is living in Dublin.

Figure 3.6: Gross and net differences in risk of disadvantage between women and men aged 25 to 44 years



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures show the overall differences between women and men. Net figures are those for married, white, Irish, Catholic adults with children, living in Dublin, aged 25 to 29 years and who have never lived outside Ireland. Education is controlled in the models for being outside the labour market, unemployment and manual social class. Education, labour market status and social class are controlled in the model for lack of access to a car.

Low education identifies those whose highest level of education is the Junior Certificate or less. In the 25–44 age group, most men and women have completed full second-level education, so it refers to a relatively disadvantaged group. Men are more likely to have lower levels of education (27 per cent) than women (20 per cent) and this pattern persists even when we control for other factors (18 and 13 per cent respectively). Traditionally, many young men left school after junior cycle to take up apprenticeships while young women stayed until the end of second level so that they would qualify for clerical jobs such as those in the civil service or banks. In recent years, however, the Leaving Certificate at the end of second level has been a requirement for apprenticeships, so this pattern of early leaving has tended to result in disadvantage in terms of employment prospects for young men (e.g. Byrne et al., 2009).

In the models for labour force participation, unemployment, social class and access to a car we control for education as well as for family type, disability, nationality, ethnicity, migration experience, religion, five-year age group and location. The net percentage is calculated for men and women who have completed second-level schooling but have not gone on to further education.

The trend in recent years has been towards a rise in the labour force participation of women, with the rise particularly marked for married women. Nevertheless, more young women than young men are outside the labour market and this pattern persists even when we control for other factors. After controls, 29 per cent of young women and only 2 per cent of young men are outside the labour market. It is interesting that the net percentage for women is higher than the gross percentage: if women had the same educational and other characteristics as men, and if education had the same impact on the labour force participation of men and women, we would expect even more women to be outside the labour market (29 per cent net versus 24 per cent gross).

The measure of unemployment is based on the percentage of those in the labour market (at work or unemployed) who state that their principal economic status is 'unemployed'. The overall unemployment rate is slightly higher for men (7.4 per cent) than for women (6.7 per cent). When we control for other factors (including education), women's unemployment rate (5.0 per cent) is slightly higher than men's (3.5 per cent).

Social class is based on the occupation of the reference person in the household. This is the person who appears on the first line of the census form and would normally be the householder. Before controlling for education and other characteristics, men are more likely to be in the lower manual social class (21 per cent) than women (16 per cent). When we control for other factors, however, there is no difference between men and women (both 14 per cent).

Overall, men are slightly more likely than women to lack access to a car (12 and 11 per cent respectively), but when other factors are controlled, there is no difference between men and women (both 2 per cent).

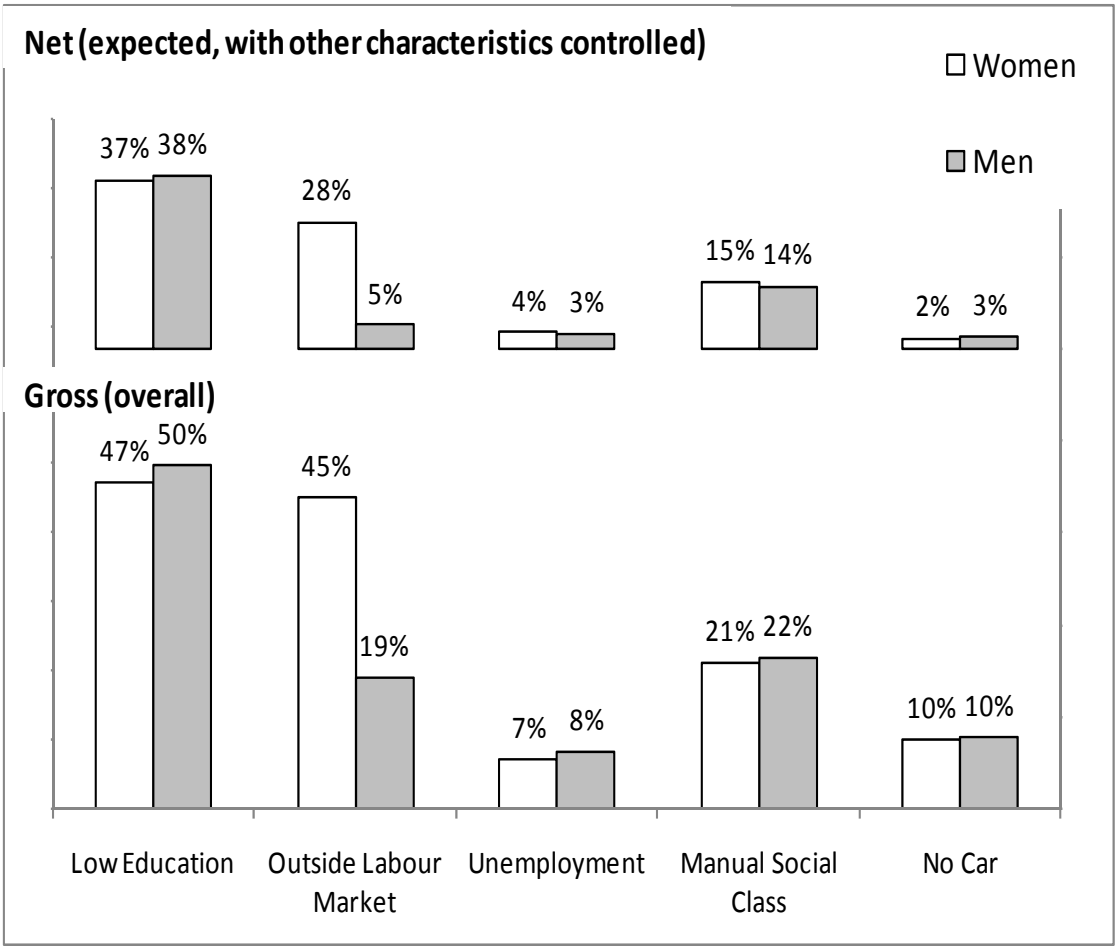
3.8.2 Gender differences in the 45–64 age group

Figure 3.7 shows the five measures of disadvantage for women and men in the 45–64 age group. The first point, which is obvious if we compare Figure 3.7 with Figure 3.6, is that the proportion of adults with less than complete second-level education is much higher in the older age group. Half of men aged 45 to 64 years and 47 per cent of women in this age group left school before completing second-level education. Many of those in the older part of this age group would have already left school by 1966 when free second-level education was introduced in Ireland. Those who were 12 years old, the typical end of primary school, in 1966 were aged 52 years by 2006.

The difference between men and women in this age group, while still apparent, is smaller than for the younger age group and, when other factors are controlled, the difference is only 1 percentage point (38 per cent for men and 37 per cent for women). The emergence of a gender difference in favour of women, then, is linked to the availability of free second-level education and the economic growth beginning in the 1960s. As noted earlier, young men were often drawn out of education by the availability of manual work in factories or apprenticeships as the Irish economy abandoned its protectionist policies and began to industrialise in the 1960s. Access to the more attractive jobs for women at that time, particularly the civil service and clerical work, is more likely to have been enhanced by going on to do the Leaving Certificate.

Compared with the younger age group, adults, particularly women, aged 45 to 64 years are more likely to be outside the labour market. Overall, 45 per cent of women and 19 per cent of men in this age group are outside the labour market. When other factors are controlled, the difference is very marked (28 per cent of women and 5 per cent of men). The older women in this age group belong to a cohort that was expected to leave employment on marrying[8] or, especially, on the birth of their first child.

Figure 3.7: Gross and net differences in risk of disadvantage between women and men aged 45 to 64 years



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures show the overall differences between women and men. Net figures are those for married, white, Irish, Catholic adults with children, living in Dublin, aged 45 to 49 years. Education is controlled in the models for being outside the labour market, unemployment and manual social class. Education, labour market status and social class are controlled in the model for lack of access to a car.

We see a similar gender pattern for unemployment in the 45–64 age group as for the younger adults. Unemployment is overall slightly higher for men (8 per cent) than for women (7 per cent). When we control for other factors, including education, however, women are at a slight disadvantage (4 per cent) compared with men (3 per cent).

Men in the 45–64 age group are slightly more likely than women to be in the lower manual social class. When we control for other factors, including education, however,

[8] Until 1973 women working in the Irish public service and in many private-sector clerical positions had to leave their jobs on marriage. Women who were in their early twenties in 1973 were in their mid-fifties by 2006.

women are, once more at a slight disadvantage (15 per cent) compared with men (14 per cent).

Access to a car is a proxy measure of material standard of living. There is no overall difference between men and women aged 45 to 64 years in terms of the percentage who lack access to a car (both 10 per cent), but when we control for other factors, including education, labour force status and social class, men are slightly more likely (3 per cent) than women (2 per cent) to lack access to a car.

3.9 Summary

The most notable finding in this chapter is the large difference in low education levels between the younger and the older cohort of adults. Adults aged 45 to 64 years, and particularly those over age 55, are much more likely to have left school before completing second-level education. In the older age group, the difference between men and women is rather small, particularly when we net out the effect of other factors. In the 25–44 age group, however, we see the emergence of a gender gap in education in favour of women. The large differences by age group are due to changes in the macro-social environment as different cohorts of young adults were coming to the transition from school to work. In earlier times, and particularly before the introduction of free second-level education in Ireland in 1966, this transition was made at a younger age and so levels of education are lower among older adults. The strong relationship between age and education means that it will be important to control for age differences when comparing the education levels of other groups.

The gender difference in labour market participation is in the opposite direction, with women less likely than men to participate. The gender gap is found for both age groups and remains substantial in the younger cohort with other factors controlled.

The risk of unemployment in 2006 was slightly higher for men than for women, but once other factors were controlled there was a slightly higher risk apparent among women. The census year was close to the peak of employment in Ireland and since that time unemployment has risen sharply, particularly among males, so that the pattern is, in all probability, reversed at this stage. The loss of employment in construction fell particularly on male manual workers.

Overall, men are slightly more likely than women to be in the lower manual social class, particularly in the 25–44 age group. When other factors are controlled, the gender difference practically disappears in the younger age cohort, and in the older cohort women are slightly more likely than men to be in this social class, which has been shown elsewhere to be at higher risk of poverty and deprivation (e.g. Whelan and Maître, 2008a and 2008b).

Access to a car is a proxy measure of living standard. Before controlling for differences by location and other characteristics, younger women are very slightly more likely than younger men to lack access to a car. When we include the controls, however, this difference disappears. There is no overall gender difference in the older age cohort, but there is a slight net advantage experienced by women when the controls are included.

In this chapter we focused on the overall gender differences in the five measures of disadvantage and on the net difference observed for married men and women with other factors controlled. As married men and women live in the same households, however, it is the differences between single men and women that will drive any overall gender differences in living standards. We turn to this issue in Chapter 4, where we focus on family types and examine the implications separately for men and for women.

4 FAMILY AND MARITAL STATUS AND GENDER

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter we examine the differences in disadvantage experienced by men and women in different family types. We had considered presenting the overall figures by family type, but interpreting early results suggested that this would be difficult as the implications of marital and family status for men and women are very different. As noted in Chapter 1, we would expect the impact of family type to be different for women and men because of differences in the expected roles of women and men in the family and the world of work. Since ideas about appropriate gender roles have changed over time, we would also expect to see differences between the younger and older age cohorts. However, the discussion of gender differences in the previous chapter also led us to expect that the pull of the labour market, especially in periods of high employment, would differentially impact on the levels of education achieved by men and women. This, in turn, will have an impact on their future prospects in the labour market.

The family types we examine, and the percentages of men and women in the two age cohorts living in each type are shown in Table 4.1. In the 25–44 age group, the most common family types are single (never married) with no children and married with a child or children. Since women tend to marry slightly younger than men, the 'single with no children' type dominates among men (37 per cent of men, compared with 24 per cent of women), while the 'married with children' family type dominates among women (40 per cent of women and 35 per cent of men). Among those over age 45, being married with children is the dominant family type for both men (68 per cent) and women (69 per cent). About one in ten younger adults is married with no children, but this drops to 1 per cent of women and 3 per cent of men in the 45–64 age group.

Table 4.1: Family types by gender and age group

	25–44 age group		45–64 age group	
	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %
Single (never married), no children	24.4	37.1	8.7	13.8
Single (never married), lone parent (child(ren) aged 19 or under)	6.7	0.4	1.5	0.5
Single (never married), cohabitee	7.5	8.0	0.0	0.2
Single (never married), cohabitee, child(ren)	4.2	4.3	0.3	0.5
Married, no children	9.6	10.7	1.1	3.3
Married, child(ren)	39.7	34.5	68.8	67.7
Ex-married, no children	1.9	2.9	6.8	7.0
Ex-married, lone parent	4.2	0.6	11.0	4.3
Ex-married, cohabitee, child(ren)	1.6	1.2	1.6	2.6
In same-sex couple	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1

Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

About 11 per cent of women in the 25–44 age group are lone parents; 7 per cent are single lone parents and 4 per cent are formerly married (separated, divorced or widowed) lone parents. Only about 1 per cent of men in this age group are lone parents, and lone fathers are more likely to be formerly married (0.6 per cent of men) than never married (0.4 per cent). The proportion of women parenting alone in the 45–64 age group is somewhat higher (13 per cent) and they are much more likely to have been married (11 per cent) than to be never married (1.5 per cent). The rate of parenting alone is also higher for men in the 45–64 age group (5 per cent) and most male lone parents have been married in the past. Overall, both male and female lone parents are more likely to be separated, divorced or widowed than to be never married, but the pattern is much stronger for male lone parents.

Cohabiting has increased markedly among young adults in recent years, with a fourfold increase from a very low base (by international standards) in the two decades to 2006 (Lunn et al., 2010). In the younger age group, about one in eight adults has never been married and is cohabiting and about one in three of these has children. In the 45–64 age group, less than 1 per cent of men and women have never been married and are cohabiting. Formerly married parents who are now living with another partner make up a very small proportion of the population, with the highest figure found for men aged 45 to 64 years (2.6 per cent).

Same-sex couples are somewhat imprecisely identified in the Census 2006 data as there is no direct question on sexual orientation. We have identified them based on their stated relationship of 'spouse or partner' and their gender. On this basis, the data suggest that 0.2 per cent of younger women and 0.3 per cent of younger men live in same-sex couples, while the figure is 0.1 per cent for older men and women. This is a very small group and it undoubtedly understates the true proportion of adults living with same-sex partners, but as little research has been previously conducted on their living circumstances in Ireland, it is worth reporting what we can here.

4.2 Low Education

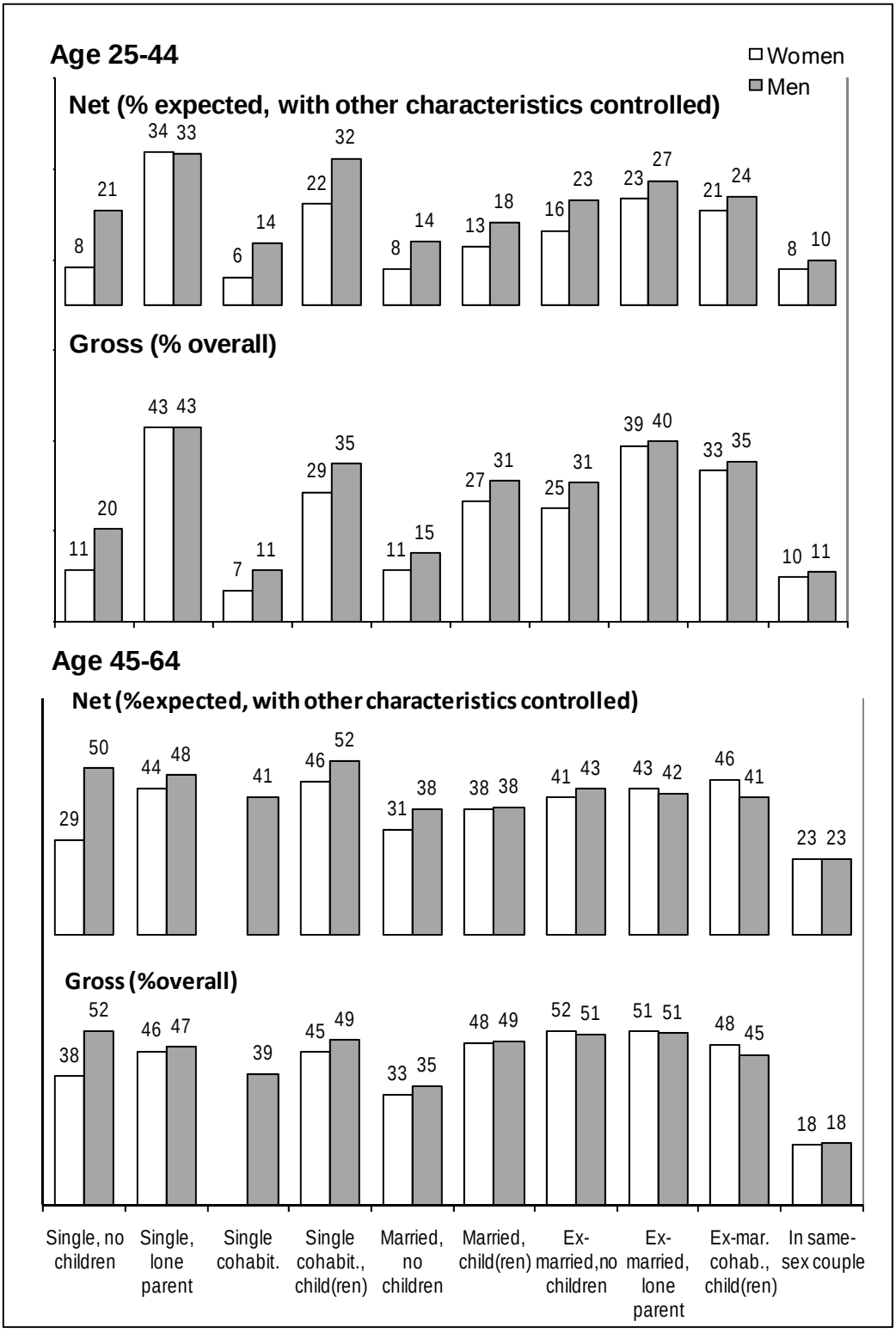
In Figure 4.1 we show the results for low education (less than Leaving Certificate or equivalent) by family type for men and women in the two age groups. We will focus on the net differences (after controls), but the overall or gross differences are also shown. The net figures show the expected risk of low education for white, Irish, Catholic adults, living in Dublin in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

The most striking finding in Figure 4.1 is the large difference between the two age groups with, as we saw in the previous chapter, adults in the 45–64 age group having a higher risk of low levels of education. There are also substantial net differences in the risk of low education between men and women, particularly in the younger age group.

Among those aged 25 to 44 years, for all family types except single lone parents, the risk of low education is higher for men than for women. The net gender differences are largest for single childless adults (13 percentage points) and single cohabitees with children (10 percentage points). For single lone parents in this age group there is virtually no difference between men and women and the differences in net risk are also small for same-sex couples (2 percentage points).

In the older age group, the net gender gap in the risk of low education is 21 percentage points for single childless adults and the gender gap is much smaller (7 percentage points or less) for the other family types.

Figure 4.1: Gross and net risk of low education by family type and gender



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for white, Irish, Catholic men with children, living in Dublin and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group). There are too few female never married cohabitees in the 45–64 age group to provide reliable estimates.

The second finding that is striking in Figure 4.1 is that, contrary to expectations that family type would make more of a difference to women, the differences across family type are also very pronounced for men. In the 25–44 age group, there is a net 23 percentage point gap between men with the highest risk (single lone parents) and men with the lowest risk (those living with a same-sex partner), while the largest net gap for women (between lone mothers and single cohabitees with no children) is 26 percentage points. The net risk of low education among men aged 25 to 44 years is lowest for same-sex couples (10 per cent), but it is also relatively low among married childless men and single childless cohabitees (both 14 per cent). Among women in this age group, cohabiting childless women have the lowest net risk of low education (6 per cent) and this risk is also low among single childless women, married childless women and women living with a same-sex partner (all 8 per cent).

In the older age group, there is a 29 percentage point gap between men with the highest net risk of low education (single cohabiting men with children) and those with the lowest risk (men in same-sex partnerships), while the corresponding gap for women is 23 percentage points (between formerly married cohabiting mothers and women in same-sex relationships). The greatest net risk of low education in this age group is found among single cohabiting men with children (52 per cent) and single childless men (50 per cent). In this age group, two groups of women have a higher net risk of low education than their male counterparts: formerly married cohabiting mothers (46 per cent) compared with formerly married cohabiting fathers (41 per cent) and formerly married lone mothers (43 per cent) compared with formerly married lone fathers (42 per cent).

In both age groups, adults living with a same-sex partner are less likely to have low levels of education than most other family types. In the younger age group, the pattern is more marked among men than among women. If we compare the net risk of low education for younger adults in same-sex couples with that of younger adults who are married with children, we find a smaller gap for women (5 percentage points) than for men (8 percentage points).

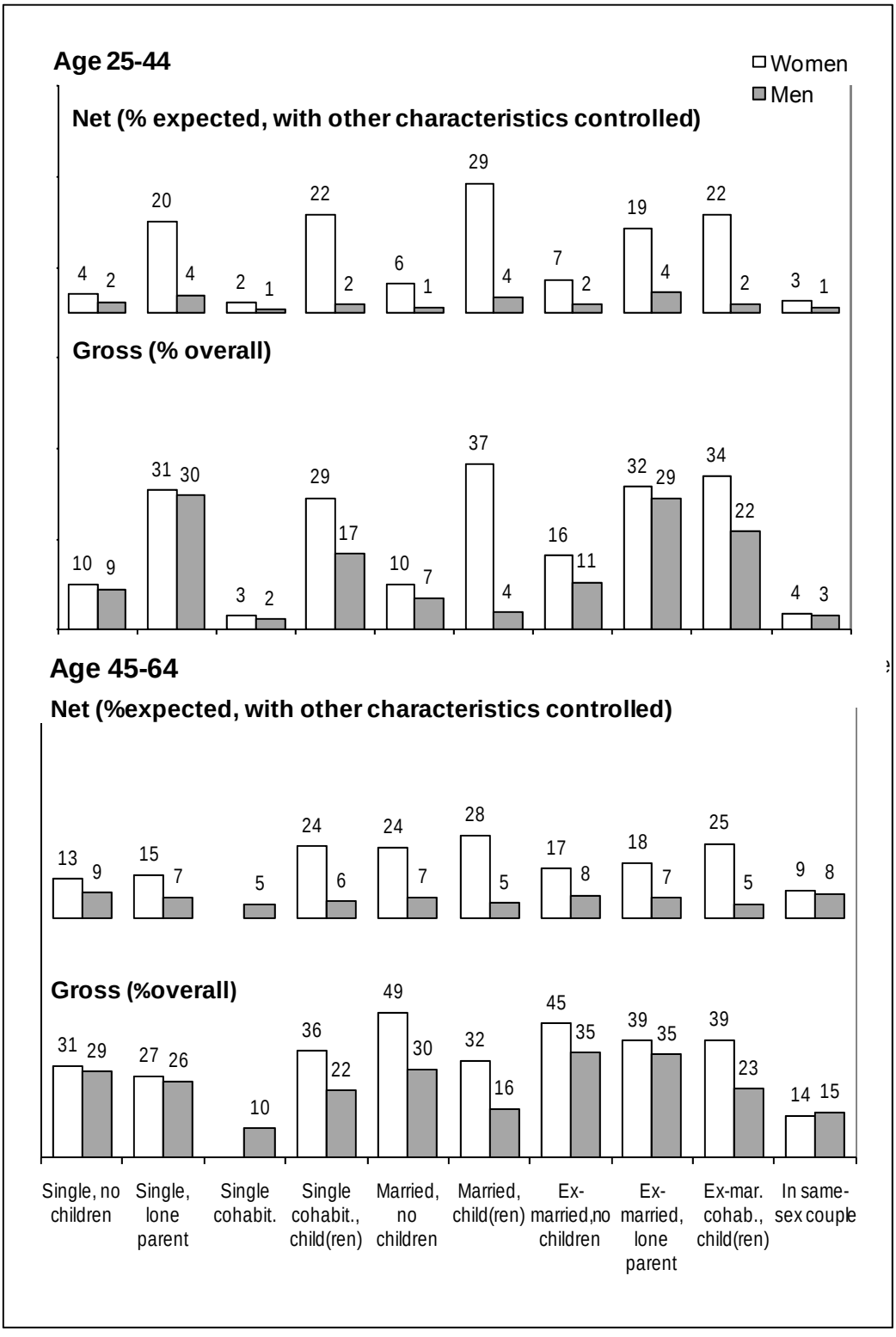
4.3 Being Outside the Labour Market

We would expect to find markedly different associations between family type and labour market participation for men and women. The different roles of men and women with respect to family and work, particularly in the older age cohort, would be expected to have an impact on labour market participation. We turn to this issue in Figure 4.2. Whether non-participation in the labour market in the context of this kind of division of labour is associated with poorer living circumstances is something we can explore only in a preliminary way using Census 2006 data, and we turn to this later when we examine social class and access to a car, both of which are measured at the household level.

Note that in Figure 4.2 we control for level of education in calculating the net risk. Education has the expected impact on labour market participation, with higher levels of education being associated with a reduced risk of being outside the labour market (see Appendix, Tables A1 and A2).

The net figures show the risk of being outside the labour market expected for white, Irish, Catholic adults, educated to Leaving Certificate level, living in Dublin and in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

Figure 4.2: Gross and net risk of being outside the labour market by family type and gender



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for white, Irish, Catholic adults, educated to Leaving Certificate level, living in Dublin and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group). There are too few female never married cohabitees in the 45–64 age group to provide reliable estimates.

As we would expect, the gender differences in labour market participation are large in both age groups and the differences between men and women are larger than the differences between the age groups or family types. In both age groups and all family types the net risk of being outside the labour market is higher for women than for men, with the largest gender gap found among those who are married with children (25 percentage points in the younger age group and 23 percentage points in the older age group).

Looking across family types for men aged 25 to 44 years, the range is narrow from 1 per cent of married childless men, single cohabiting childless men and men in same-sex partnerships to about 4 per cent for married men with children, single lone fathers and formerly married lone fathers. It is interesting that for men in this age group, living with a partner is associated with a reduced net risk of being outside the labour market, whereas having children is associated with an increased risk. For instance, 1 per cent of cohabiting single men are outside the labour market, but this rises to 2 per cent among cohabiting men with children; and 1 per cent of married childless men are outside the labour market compared with 4 per cent of married fathers. The latter finding may be an early indication of fathers taking a greater level of responsibility for childcare, but the pattern is not a strong one and it could equally indicate different decisions about the timing of fertility.

The range is greater among women aged 25 to 44 years, from a net risk of 2 per cent of single, cohabiting childless women to 29 per cent for married women with children. Having children is clearly associated with a greater propensity to be outside the labour market for women, but living with a partner has a mixed pattern. Married childless women (6 per cent) and formerly married childless women (7 per cent) are more likely than single childless women (4 per cent) to be outside the labour market. On the other hand, cohabiting childless women (2 per cent) and women living with a same-sex partner (3 per cent) are less likely than single women to be outside the labour market.

In the older age group, the range in the net risk of non-participation in the labour market is also greater for women (from 9 to 28 per cent) than for men (5 to 9 per cent). Among women in this age group, both living with a partner and having children are associated with an increased risk of being outside the labour market. Married mothers are most likely to be outside the labour market (28 per cent), with high rates (24/25 per cent) among married childless women, formerly married cohabiting mothers and single cohabiting mothers. Lone mothers have an intermediate risk of being outside the labour market (15 per cent for never married lone mothers and 18 per cent for formerly married lone mothers). The net risk is lowest for women living in same-sex partnerships (9 per cent), followed by single childless women (13 per cent).

Among men in the 45–64 age group, as we saw above among their younger counterparts, living with a partner is associated with a reduced risk of being outside the labour market. For men in this age group, however, having children is also associated with a reduced risk of being outside the labour market. The highest net risk in this age group is found among single childless men (9 per cent) and the lowest among married fathers, single cohabiting childless men and formerly married cohabiting fathers (all 5 per cent).

4.4 Unemployment

In Figure 4.3 we examine the unemployment rate for both age groups, focusing only on those who are in the labour market and controlling for level of education as well as for five-year age group, religion, nationality, ethnicity and location.

The highest net unemployment risk is found among single lone mothers (13 per cent) and single lone fathers (11 per cent) in the 25–44 age group. None of the other family types has a net unemployment risk above 10 per cent. In the older age group, the highest risk for women is found for single lone mothers (8 per cent), followed by formerly married childless women (7 per cent). Among men in the 45–64 age group, the highest net risk of unemployment is found for single childless men (9 per cent), followed by formerly married childless men and single cohabiting fathers (both 8 per cent).

The lowest net unemployment risk in the younger age group is for childless married men and childless cohabiting men (both 3 per cent). Among women in this age group, the lowest net risk is found for childless cohabiting women (4 per cent). In the older age group, the lowest net unemployment risk among men is found among those who are married, with or without children (both 3 per cent) and the rate is also low for married women with children (4 per cent). We saw in Figure 4.2 that married women are most likely to be outside the labour market and so the low unemployment rate is partly reflecting the interdependence between labour market prospects and labour market participation.

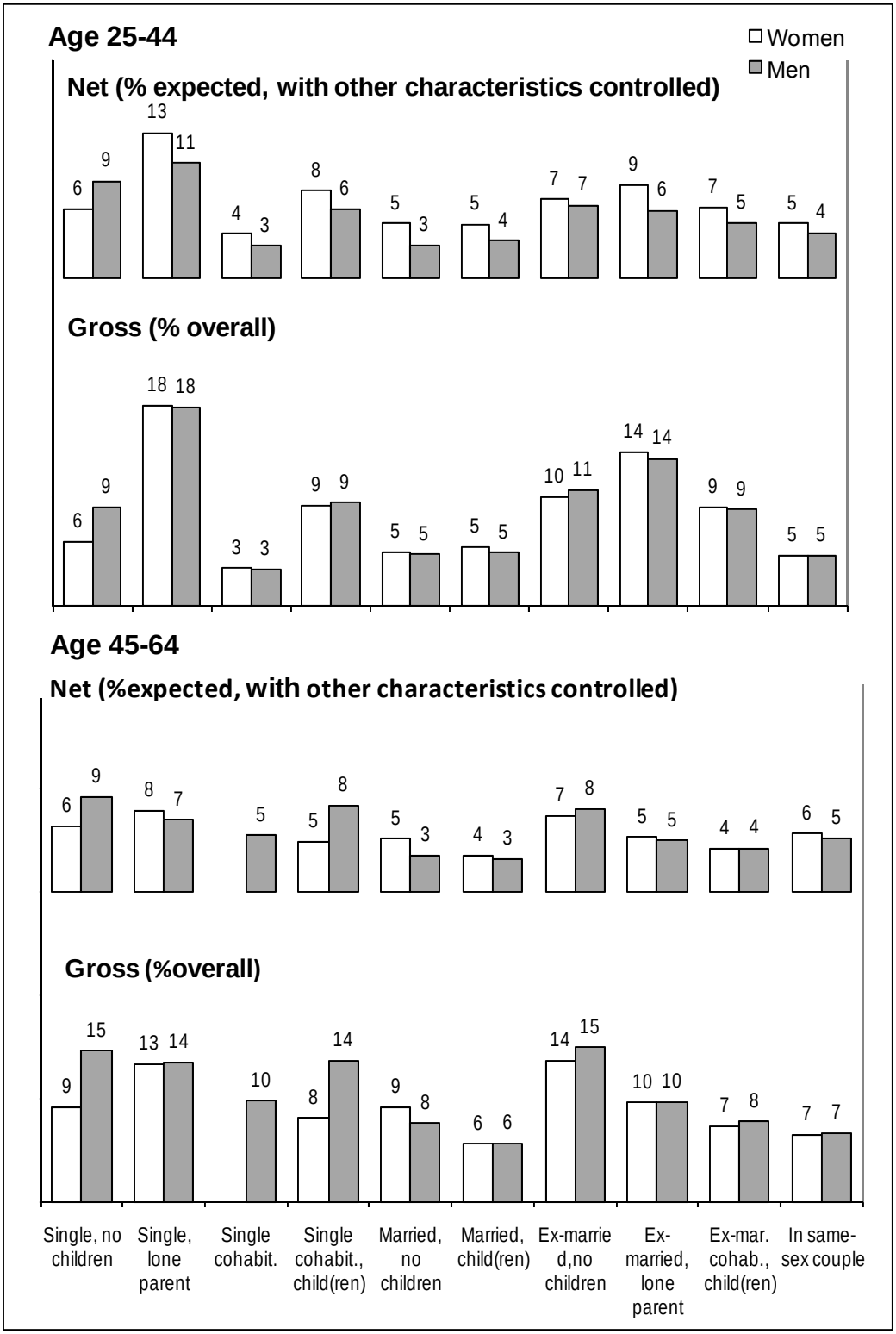
In both age groups, men without a partner generally have a higher risk of unemployment than those who are partnered (see also Lunn et al., 2010). For instance, the net unemployment risk is 9 per cent for single childless men, but drops to 3 per cent for married childless men. Living with children, on the other hand, has a mixed impact that varies by age group and marital status. For men who have never been married, who are cohabiting and, to a lesser extent, who are married, the presence of children is associated with a higher risk of unemployment in the 25–44 age group but this pattern is only found among never married men in the older age group. For formerly married men in both age groups, the presence of children is associated with a lower risk of unemployment.

Among women, living with a partner is associated with a reduced risk of unemployment in both age groups. The impact of motherhood on unemployment risk differs somewhat depending on age group. Being a mother is associated with an increased risk of unemployment among women in the 25–44 age group who have never been married, who are cohabiting or who were formerly married but not among married women. In the older age group, having children is associated with a higher risk of unemployment among never married women only: the risk is actually lower for those with children among married and formerly married women. Again, since both marriage and being a mother are associated with lower labour market participation among women, the pattern of unemployment among women is likely to reflect a selection into the labour market of women with better skills and job prospects.

We might expect that the interruption in labour market participation traditionally experienced by women who leave work to care for their family might be associated with a greater difficulty in securing work on return to the labour market. We do not observe this pattern in the net unemployment risk, which is quite low for older married women with children, partly because (as we saw in Figure 4.2) this group has a higher rate of non-participation in the labour market. The unemployment figures do not tell the full story because women who have become discouraged from looking for work are likely to classify themselves as engaged in home duties and, therefore, as outside the labour market.

Adults living with a same-sex partner have an intermediate risk of unemployment in both age groups, with a slightly higher risk for women than for men.

Figure 4.3: Gross and net risk of unemployment by family type and gender



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for white, Irish, Catholic adults, educated to Leaving Certificate level, living in Dublin, who have never lived outside Ireland and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group). There are too few female never married cohabitees in the 45–64 age group to provide reliable estimates.

4.5 Lower Manual Social Class

Figure 4.4 shows the percentage of men and women who are in the semi-skilled or unskilled manual social classes by family type. Since social class is based on the occupation of the reference person in the household, men and women in the same household will be in the same social class.[9] The net figures presented in Figure 4.4 include controls for education as well as five-year age group, nationality, ethnicity, religion, migration and location.

Most of the gender differences appear among never married and formerly married adults. Among never married adults in the younger age group, men are more disadvantaged than women. For instance, the net risk of being in the lower manual social class is 20 per cent for single childless men and 17 per cent for cohabiting childless men, compared with 15 and 14 per cent respectively for their female counterparts. A similar pattern is found for older adults who have never been married. Among formerly married adults, on the other hand, women are more likely than men to be found in the lower manual social class, although the gender gap is smaller. For instance, 20 per cent of formerly married childless women aged 45 to 64 years are in the lower manual class, compared with 17 per cent of men in this category. The pattern among formerly married adults will be affected by differences in the risk of marital breakdown by social class and also by gender and class differences in the propensity to form new partnerships.

Comparing the net effects of partnership status, we see that, for both age groups, men and women who are cohabiting or married are generally less likely to be in the unskilled or semi-skilled manual class. For instance, among younger single childless adults, the risk of being in the lower manual class is 20 per cent for men and 15 per cent for women. This drops to 17 per cent of men and 14 per cent of women among those cohabiting and to 14 per cent of men and 13 per cent of women among those who are married with no children. A similar pattern is found for formerly married adults when we compare those who are cohabiting with those living as singles.

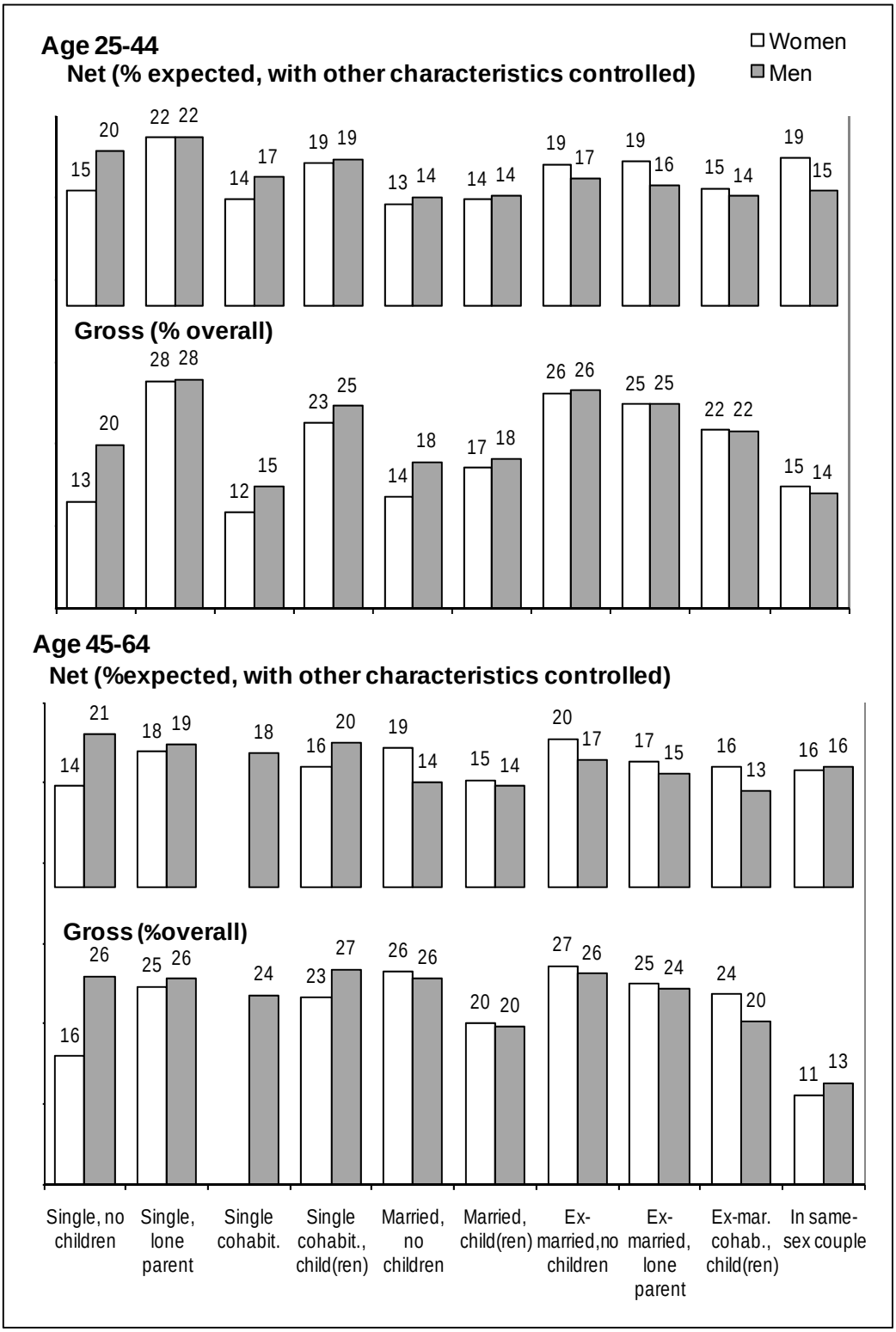
An exception to this pattern is found for older childless women, where we see that those who have never married have a lower risk (14 per cent) than married childless women (19 per cent) or formerly married childless women (20 per cent) of being in this social class. This relatively privileged position of older single women reflects the stark choice between marriage and career faced by many women before 1973, when a ‘marriage bar’ operated in the public service and teaching and in many clerical jobs in the private sector (Fahey, 1992). Women who wanted to continue to work in these jobs would have had to remain single. About half of the women in the 45–64 age group in 2006 (those aged about 55 years and over) would have made their decisions about career and marriage against the backdrop of the ‘marriage bar’ in their early to mid-twenties.

Never married lone parents in the younger age group, both male and female, have the highest net risk of being in the lower manual social class (22 per cent). Their risk is also relatively high in the older age group (18/19 per cent), but the risk is highest in this age group for single childless men (21 per cent) and is also high for single cohabiting fathers and for formerly married childless women (both 20 per cent).

When we control for education and other characteristics, younger women in same-sex partnerships have a relatively high net risk of being in the lower manual social class (19 per cent), but the net risk is close to the median for older women and men in both age groups living in same-sex partnerships.

[9] There may be some differences between married men and women or between cohabiting men and women to the extent that the two partners may be in different age groups.

Figure 4.4: Gross and net risk of being in the lower manual social class by family type and gender



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for white, Irish, Catholic adults, educated to Leaving Certificate level, living in Dublin, who have never lived outside Ireland and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group). There are too few female never married cohabitees in the 45–64 age group to provide reliable estimates.

4.6 Lack of Access to a Car

Lack of access to a car is our proxy measure of lower living standards. We saw in Chapter 3 that there are only very slight gender differences in lack of access to a car and there is a curvilinear pattern by age where lack of access to a car is highest among young adults, lowest among adults in their middle years but rising again among older adults.

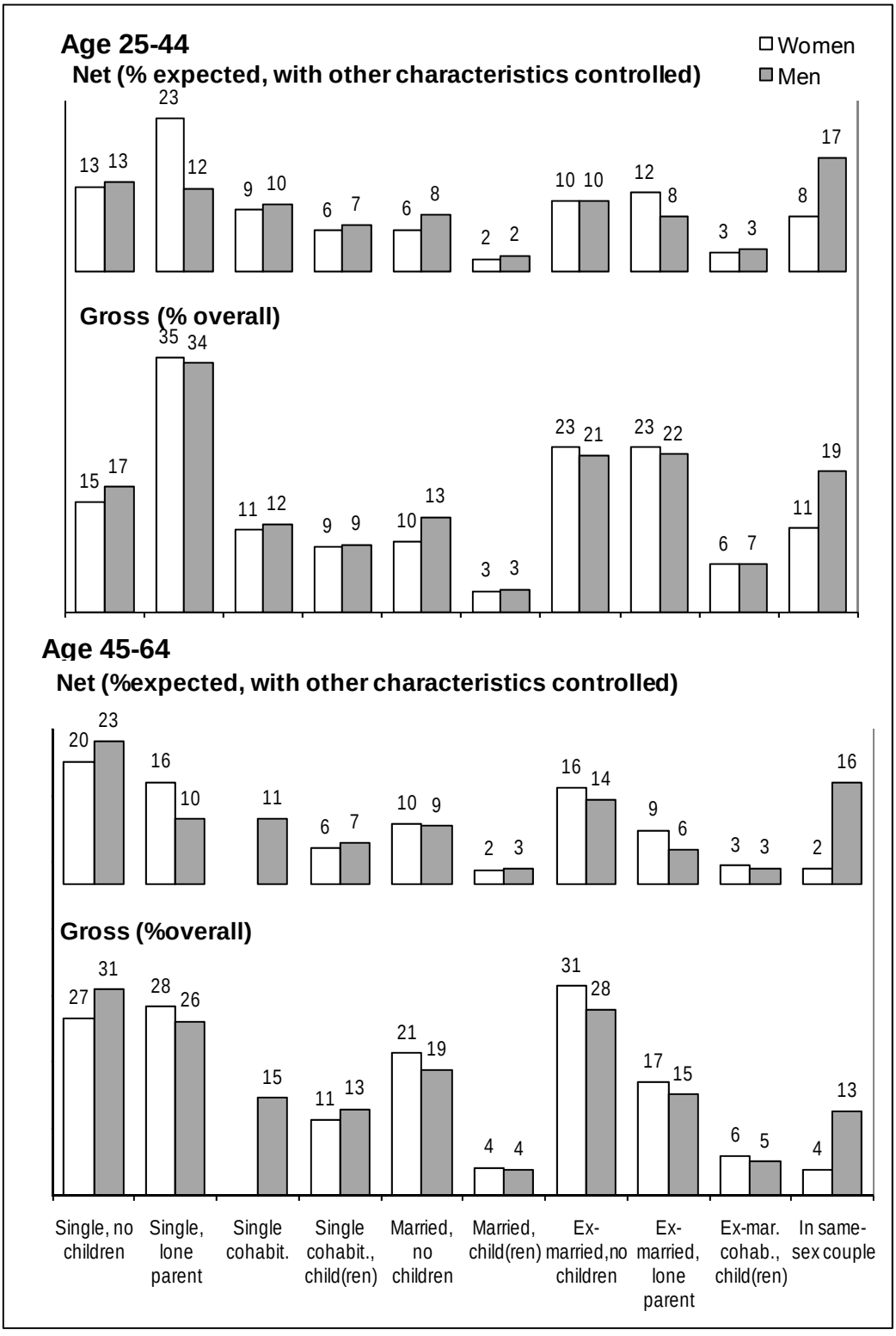
The gross and net percentages of adults lacking access to a car by family type are shown in Figure 4.5. As with social class, this is measured at the household level, so it gives an indication of the living circumstances of the household as a whole. In estimating the net figures, we include controls for education and labour market situation as well as nationality, ethnicity, migration, age group and location.

The net figures are presented for white, Irish, Catholic adults, educated to Leaving Certificate level, working in a skilled manual job, living in Dublin and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

The patterns for the two age groups are similar for men. Among men, being single and childless or being in a same-sex couple are most strongly associated with lack of access to a car. Single men in the 45–64 age group are particularly disadvantaged (23 per cent lack access to a car). Married men with children are least likely to lack access to a car (2 per cent in the younger age group and 3 per cent in the older age group), followed by formerly married cohabitees with children (3 per cent).

Among women in the younger age group, never married mothers face the highest risk of lacking access to a car (23 per cent), followed at some distance by single childless women (13 per cent). In the 45–64 age group, single childless women are most likely to have no car (20 per cent), followed by never married lone mothers and childless formerly married women (both 16 per cent).

Figure 4.5: Gross and net risk of lacking access to a car by family type and gender



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for white, Irish, Catholic adults, educated to Leaving Certificate level, working in a skilled manual job, living in Dublin and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group). There are too few female never married cohabitees in the 45–64 age group to provide reliable estimates.

4.7 Summary

In this chapter, we examined the impact of family status on measures of disadvantage for men and women in two broad age groups. In general, and contrary to what we might have expected, the differences by family type with other factors controlled were as marked for men as for women in both age groups. In the following we discuss a number of key groups and compare them with married men and women with children. The figures we present are the net risks, controlling for nationality, ethnicity, religion, migration, location and detailed age group.

4.7.1 Older single men

Single men aged 45 to 64 years are a particularly disadvantaged group. About one in seven men in this age group has never married. Single men are more likely than married childless men to have low levels of education (50 and 38 per cent net risk respectively). Their disadvantage does not spring solely from their lower levels of education, however. Even with education controlled, single men are more likely to be outside the labour market (9 per cent), compared with married men with children (5 per cent). Once in the labour market, single childless men are more likely to be unemployed (9 per cent, compared with 3 per cent for married men) or to be in the lower manual social class (21 per cent, compared with 14 per cent of married men). With education and labour market status controlled, single men are also more likely to lack access to a car (23 per cent, compared with 3 per cent of married men with children).

The reasons posited in the literature for the disadvantage of single men relative to their married counterparts fall into two broad groups: those that emphasise selection effects and those that emphasise the beneficial effects of marriage. The argument regarding selection effects is that men with unmeasured characteristics associated with success in the educational system and labour market are more likely to marry. The alternative argument is that marriage benefits men by reducing the amount of domestic labour they need to perform so that they can devote more time and effort to paid work. With either of these two processes, we would expect the gap between single and married men to be larger in the older age group (where most men have married). The relative importance of these two processes is still a matter of debate, but recent research based on longitudinal data in Germany finds that that the impact on male earnings of the selection into marriage is small and suggests that married men's higher level of dissatisfaction with their earnings motivates them to put more effort into their paid work (Pollmann-Schult, 2011).

4.7.2 Older single women

In contrast to single men, older single women are a relatively advantaged group in terms of education and labour market participation. Single childless women account for about 9 per cent of women in the 45–64 age group. These women have a lower risk of having low levels of education (29 per cent) than married women (31 per cent for married childless women and 38 per cent for married women with children). With education and other characteristics controlled, single women have higher rates of labour market participation (87 per cent) than married childless women (76 per cent) and a slightly lower risk of being in the lower manual social class (14 per cent) than married childless women (19 per cent). However, their risk of unemployment is similar to that of married women (6 per cent, compared with 5 per cent of married childless women).

The absence of a clear net benefit in terms of unemployment risk and social class partly reflects the fact that married women in the labour market tend to be a select group with better labour market prospects than married women in general. However,

our proxy measure of living standard – living in a household with access to a car – shows a higher level of disadvantage for older single women (20 per cent lack access to a car) than for married women with children (2 per cent) or married women without children (10 per cent).

As with single men, there are two possible explanations of the differences between single and married women: selection into marriage and impact of marriage on women's careers. The selection argument is that women who are committed to their labour market role are likely to invest more heavily in education and put more effort into their career. The impact of marriage argument is that women who marry specialise in child and family care, sacrificing some of their labour market human capital as a result. For women in their mid-fifties or older, decisions taken in their early twenties about career and family were made against the backdrop of the 'marriage bar' in the public service, teaching and many white-collar private-sector jobs. This gives a very real impetus to the selection argument, as many women in that age group would have been forced to decide between family and career. The lack of a definite pay-off in terms of living standards is a clear indictment of the continuing negative impact in women's lives of this discriminatory policy of more than three decades ago.

4.7.3 Same-sex couples

The measure of being in a same-sex couple is based on the stated relationship 'partner' with someone of the opposite sex in Census 2006. The most notable finding in this chapter is that men and women in same-sex relationships are better educated than their married counterparts, but this does not always translate into better labour market circumstances or better living standards.

Men in same-sex relationships are better educated than their married counterparts. The net risk of low education among men in same-sex relationships is 10 per cent in the 25–44 age group and 23 per cent in the 45–64 age group, compared with the considerably higher figures for married fathers (18 and 38 per cent net respectively).

The pattern of labour market disadvantage is clearest for older men living in same-sex relationships, with education and other characteristics controlled. In the 45–64 age group, men living in a same-sex relationship are more likely to be outside the labour market (8 per cent) than married fathers (5 per cent). They also face a higher risk of unemployment (5 per cent, compared with 3 per cent), are more likely to be in the lower manual social class (16 per cent, compared with 14 per cent) and are much more likely to lack access to a car (16 per cent, compared with 3 per cent). In the younger age group, the contrast to married fathers is clearest for lack of access to a car and is not apparent at all for labour market participation and unemployment.

Women in same-sex relationships are also better educated than their married counterparts. The net risk of low education among women in same-sex relationships is 8 per cent in the 25–44 age group and 23 per cent in the 45–64 age group, compared with the somewhat higher figure of 13 per cent of younger married mothers and the considerably higher figure of 38 per cent of older married mothers.

In both age groups, women in same-sex relationships are much less likely to be outside the labour market (3 per cent in the younger and 9 per cent in the older age group) than married mothers (29 and 28 per cent respectively). In the 45–64 age group, women living in a same-sex relationship are more likely than married mothers to be unemployed (6 per cent, compared with 4 per cent), are slightly more likely to be in the lower manual social class (16 per cent, compared with 15 per cent) but do not differ in lack of access to a car (both 2 per cent). In the younger age group, there is no difference between women in same-sex relationships and married women in the risk of unemployment (both 5 per cent), but women in same-sex relationships are

more likely than married mothers to be in the lower manual social class (19 per cent, compared with 14 per cent) and to lack access to a car (8 per cent, compared with 2 per cent).

As the number of men and women in same-sex relationships in Census 2006 is rather small, and is undoubtedly an underestimate of the true number of gay and lesbian adults, we need to be careful in generalising these patterns to an overall conclusion. The apparent advantage of this group in terms of education may reflect the fact that those who are ready to identify themselves as gay or lesbian and to live in a same-sex relationship are likely to be pioneers. As such, those who have 'come out' are likely to be in a more privileged position and less concerned about the risk of prejudice and discrimination than gay and lesbian adults generally.

4.7.4 Cohabiting couples

Cohabiting has become common, especially among younger adults. One in eight adults in the 25–44 age group has never married and is cohabiting, and one-third of these have children. The results here suggest that cohabiting and married adults without children in the 25–44 age group are quite similar to each other. It is cohabiting parents who are most distinct from their married counterparts.

Cohabiting fathers are more likely to have low levels of education than married fathers (32 per cent, compared with 18 per cent); they are less likely to be outside the labour market (2 per cent, compared with 4 per cent), somewhat more likely to be unemployed (6 per cent, compared with 4 per cent) and a good deal more likely to be in the lower manual social class (19 per cent, compared with 14 per cent) and to lack access to a car (7 per cent, compared with 2 per cent). A similar pattern is found for cohabiting mothers with children when compared with married mothers with children: they are disadvantaged in terms of education, unemployment, social class and access to a car but not in terms of labour market participation.

This pattern of disadvantage could arise from a higher rate of selection into marriage of couples whose labour market and living standard situation has reached a certain level of stability.

4.7.5 Formerly married adults

The number of formerly married adults is a product of two processes: marital breakdown and entry into new marriages. In the 45–64 age group, almost one in five women and one in seven men are formerly married. The difference in the figures for men and women may arise because some formerly married men record their status as 'single' and because the rate of entering new relationships is higher for men than for women.

Compared with married adults, formerly married adults are a disadvantaged group. Formerly married men and women are more likely than their married counterparts to have low levels of education, have a higher risk of unemployment, be in the lower manual social class and in some cases to lack access to a car. While formerly married men are more likely than their married counterparts to be outside the labour market, the reverse is true for formerly married women. These patterns are found for formerly married adults with children and without children.

4.7.6 Lone parents

About one woman in eight is a lone mother, with roughly similar proportions in both the 25–44 and 45–64 age groups. Younger lone mothers are somewhat more likely to have never married, whereas the majority of older lone mothers were formerly married. Lone fathers constitute a much smaller proportion of the population of men:

1 per cent of the 25–44 age group and 5 per cent of the 45–64 age group. They are more likely to have been married in the past than to be single.

Compared with their married counterparts, lone parents are a disadvantaged group. They tend to have lower levels of education and, with education controlled, are more likely to be in the lower manual social class and, particularly among the younger age group, to lack access to a car. They also tend to have higher unemployment rates than married parents. Younger lone fathers have a similar rate of labour market participation to married fathers, but the rate of non-participation is higher among older lone fathers than among their married counterparts.

Lone mothers in both age groups are more likely than married mothers to participate in the labour market. What we may be seeing for this group of mothers is the impact of reduced choice. In the absence of a partner to share the earning burden, mothers are less free to choose to devote their time to caring for their family. Lone mothers who would prefer to remain outside the labour force to care for children are likely to find they are unable to afford this option. The same dynamic may be operating for men, though on a reduced scale because fewer men, for cultural reasons, choose to remain outside the labour market to care for children.

5 DISABILITY

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we examine the overall differences between men and women with disability and those without disability using the Census 2006 data. While the National Disability Survey (CSO, 2008b) has numerous advantages in terms of allowing a detailed analysis of disability, the large number of cases in the Census 2006 data allows us to compare certain outcome variables for people with a disability with those for other vulnerable groups. We distinguish between adults with a physical disability and those with a learning or intellectual disability because outcomes – particularly educational outcomes – are likely to be very different for these two groups. Another important difference between the two groups is that learning/intellectual disability differs from other types of disability in its age profile: it is the only type of disability that peaks in young adults (Watson and Nolan, 2011). The prevalence of other types of disability increases with age.

5.2 Disability by Age

Table 5.1 shows the percentage of adults in each age group who experience a physical or learning/intellectual disability. Note that there may be some overlap, as it is possible for adults to have a physical as well as a learning disability. Physical disability, as captured by Census 2006, is experienced by 4 per cent of adults, and is more common in the older age group (7 per cent) than in adults in the 25–44 age group (2 per cent). Learning/intellectual disability is found less often than physical disability, and is somewhat more common in adults aged 25 to 44 years (1.1 per cent) than in adults aged 45 to 64 years (0.96 per cent).

Table 5.1: Adults with a disability by age group

	Physical disability %	Learning/intellectual disability %
Total: 25–44 age group	2.2	1.05
Total: 45–64 age group	6.9	0.96
Total: adults	4.1	1.01

Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Some adults may have a physical and a learning disability.

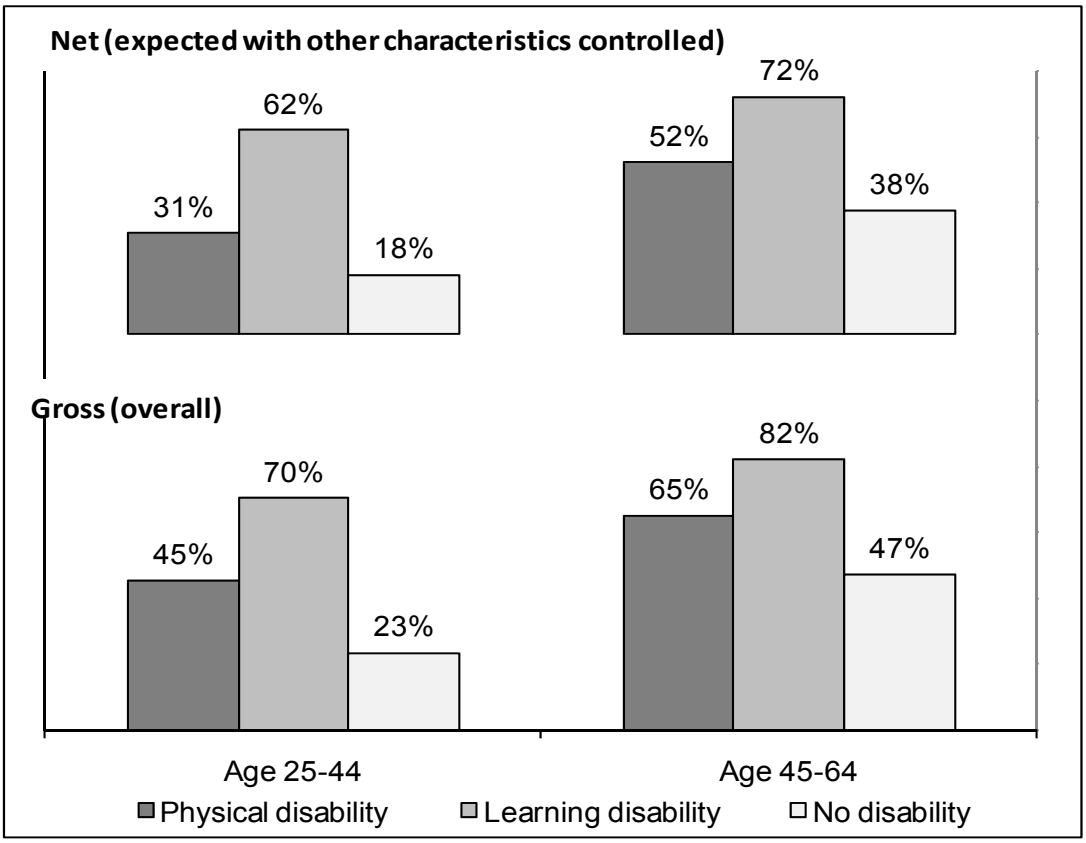
One point worth noting regarding learning disability and age is that there are differential mortality rates depending on the severity of the learning disability. People with more severe learning disabilities have a reduced life expectancy (Moss, 1991). This means that the disability level of those with a learning disability in the older age group will, on average, be less severe than it is among those in the younger age group. Figures from the National Disability Survey suggest that adults aged 55 years and over with an intellectual/learning disability are more likely than younger adults to report 'just a little' difficulty (CSO, 2008a, Table 19.1, p. 126). Therefore, we may see a difference in the extent of disadvantage experienced by people with learning disability in the two age groups.

In the following we present the gross and net risk of disadvantage associated with having a disability. The gross figures are the overall rates of disadvantage for the group and the net figures are presented for white, Irish, Catholic, married men with children, living in Dublin and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

5.3 Low Education

Figure 5.1 shows the percentage of adults with less than completed second-level education by age group and presence of disability. In both age groups, people with a disability are more likely than those without a disability to have low levels of education. With other factors controlled, people with a physical disability aged 25 to 44 years are 13 percentage points more likely to have low levels of education than non-disabled people; the figure is 14 percentage points for the 45–64 age group. People with a learning/intellectual disability are even more likely to have low levels of education: a gap of 44 percentage points when compared with non-disabled adults in the 25–44 age group and a gap of 34 percentage points in the 45–64 age group. The majority of people with a learning/intellectual disability in both age groups have not completed second-level schooling: 62 per cent (net) of those aged 25 to 44 years and 72 per cent of those aged 45 to 64 years, with other factors controlled.

Figure 5.1: Gross and net risk of low education by presence of disability and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

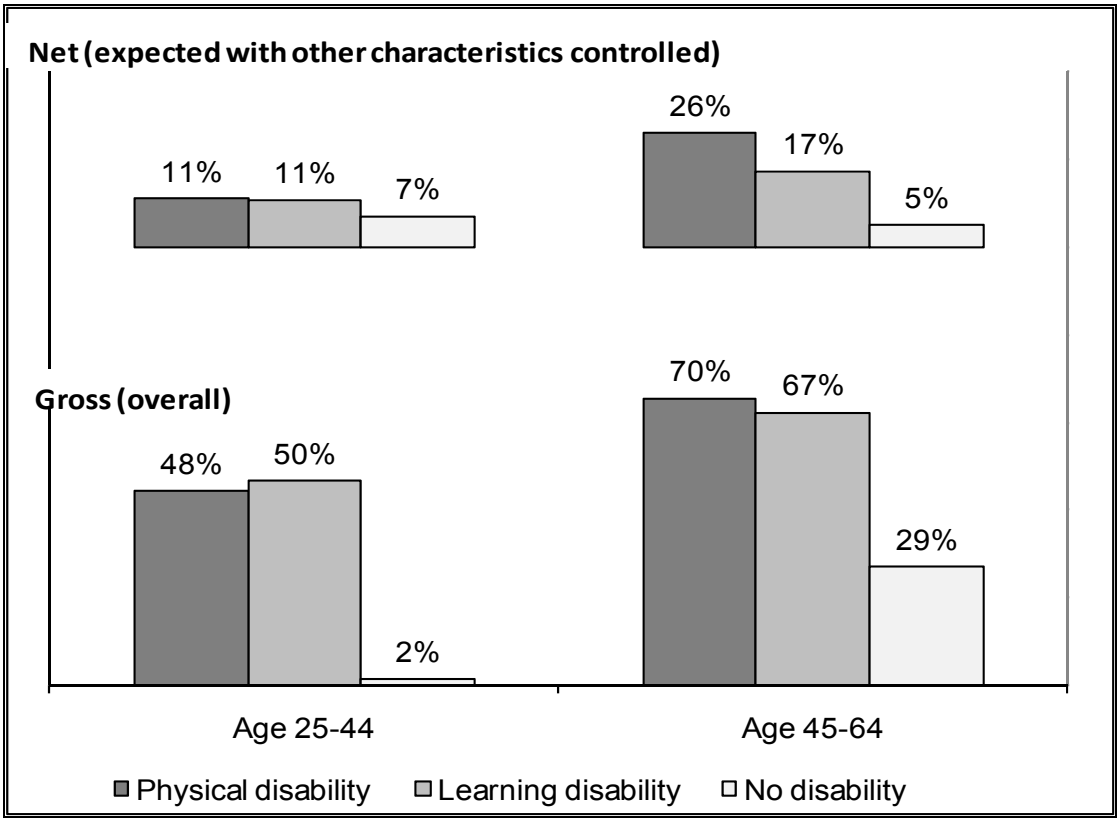
Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for white, Irish, Catholic, married men with children, living in Dublin and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

As noted in Watson and Nolan (2011), disability with an early age of onset, such as much learning/intellectual disability, is likely to limit the educational achievement of the individual. On the other hand, since most other types of disability (including most physical disability) are acquired throughout the lifetime, rather than being present from birth or childhood, the association between disability and lower levels of education in the older age group is driven more by the impact of the less advantaged living and working circumstances associated with low education on health and disability.

5.4 Being Outside the Labour Market

Figure 5.2 shows the percentage of adults in the labour market, by age band and presence of a disability. We see that people with a disability are less likely to be in the labour market, particularly in the older age group. With other factors controlled, 7 per cent of men without a disability are outside the labour market in the 25–44 age group, compared with 11 per cent of those with a learning or physical disability. In the older group, the figures are 5 per cent for men without a disability, 26 per cent for those with a physical disability and 17 per cent for those with a learning disability.

Figure 5.2: Gross and net risk of being outside the labour market by presence of disability and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

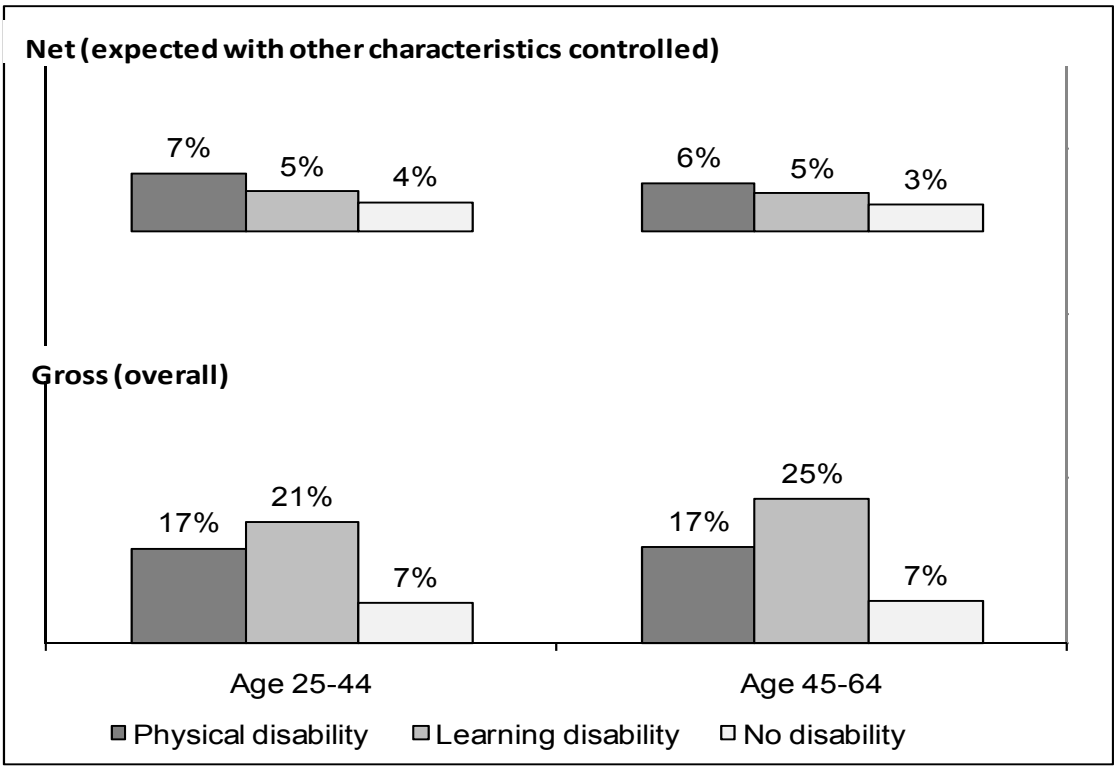
Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for white, Irish, Catholic men with children, educated to Leaving Certificate level, living in Dublin and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

It is worth noting that the gap is very large between the overall percentage of people with a disability who are outside the labour market (the gross figures in the chart) and the percentage we would expect if they were male, in the youngest five-year age group in each band and had completed second-level education (the net figure). In the younger age group, 48 to 50 per cent of people with a disability are outside the labour market overall, but with other factors controlled the figure would be 11 per cent. The corresponding figures for the older age group are 67 to 70 per cent gross, compared with 17 per cent net for those with a learning disability and 26 per cent net for those with a physical disability. Part of the gap between the gross and net figures is due to the impact of the lower level of education among people with a disability on their labour market participation. However, another part of the gap is due to the fact that the net figures are estimated for men and men have a higher rate of labour market participation than women. In Chapter 10 we will return to the issue of gender and disability to examine the impact separately for men and women.

5.5 Unemployment

Turning to unemployment, we can see from Figure 5.3 that people with a disability have a higher unemployment risk than people without a disability. With other factors, including level of education, controlled, 7 per cent of those with a physical disability and 5 per cent of those with a learning disability in the 25–44 age group are unemployed, compared with 4 per cent of non-disabled men. In the 45–64 age group, people with a disability also have a higher risk of unemployment: 6 per cent for people with a physical disability and 5 per cent for people with a learning disability, compared with 3 per cent for men without a disability.

Figure 5.3: Gross and net risk of unemployment by presence of disability and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for white, Irish, Catholic men with children, educated to Leaving Certificate level, living in Dublin and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

The risk of unemployment in both age groups, with level of education controlled, is higher for people with a physical disability than it is for people with a learning/ intellectual disability. Before controlling for these differences, as can be seen in the gross figures, people with a learning disability in both age groups have a higher unemployment rate. The educational disadvantage experienced by people with a learning disability, then, has serious consequences for their ability to find suitable work.

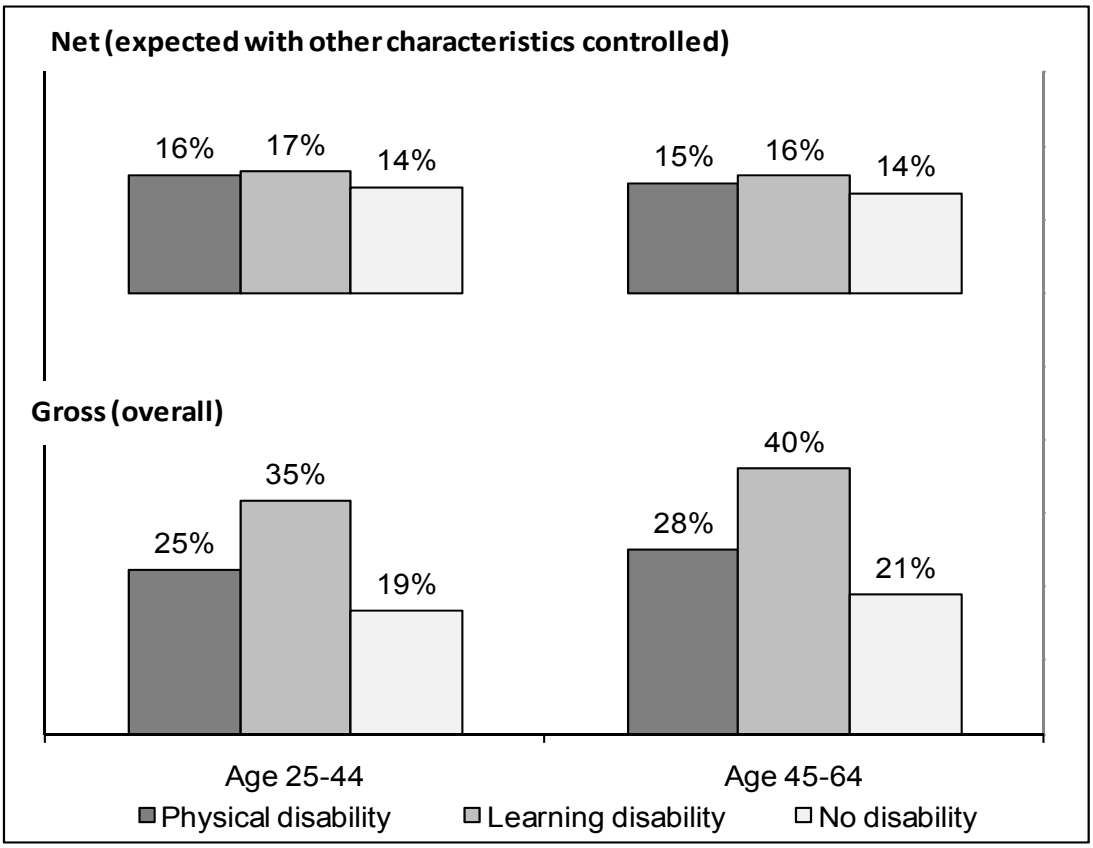
5.6 Lower Manual Social Class

Social class is measured at the household level, so it is capturing the life chances of the household rather than the quality of the individual's job. The measure at household level is preferable to one based on the person's own job because we can only measure the latter when the individual is, or has been, in employment. For

young adults still living at home, the social class of the household will be based on the occupation of the 'reference person' in the household, who is likely to be one of the parents.

We can see from Figure 5.4 that people with a disability are more likely than non-disabled adults to be in the lower manual social class, but the net difference is not large when other factors (including education) are controlled. Sixteen per cent of those with a physical disability in the younger age group and 15 per cent in the older age group are in this social class, compared with 14 per cent in both age groups for people without a disability. The figures for people with a learning disability are 17 per cent in the younger age group and 16 per cent in the older age group. Even with education and family status controlled, then, people with a disability are disadvantaged in terms of social class.

Figure 5.4: Gross and net risk of being in the lower manual social class by presence of disability and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

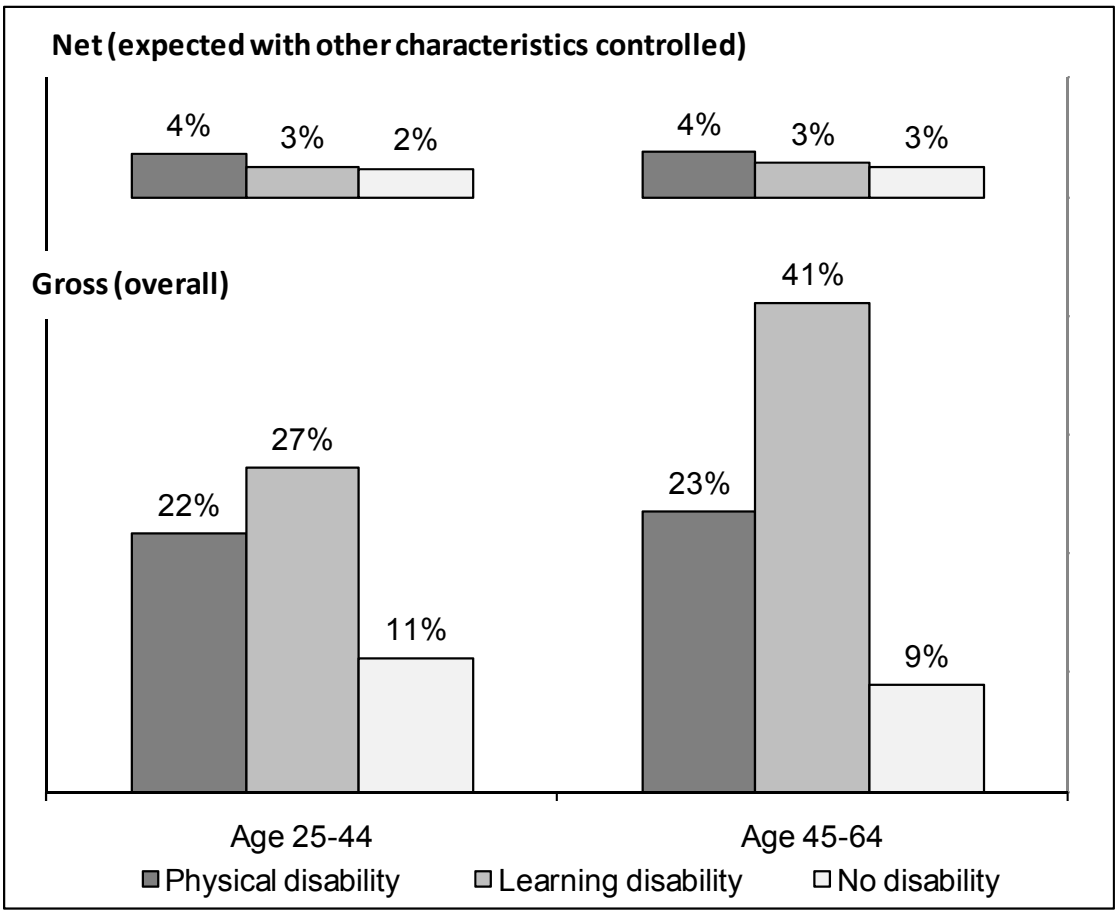
Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for white, Irish, Catholic men with children, educated to Leaving Certificate level, living in Dublin and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

5.7 Lack of Access to a Car

People with a disability are also somewhat less likely than non-disabled adults to have access to car (see Figure 5.5), although the net differences are small in magnitude when other factors are controlled. With other factors controlled, 4 per cent of people with a physical disability and 3 per cent of people with a learning disability live in households with no access to a car, compared with 2 per cent of adults without a disability in the younger age group and 3 per cent of adults without a disability in the older age group. There is a large gap between the gross and net figures, showing

the impact of lower levels of education, lower labour market participation, higher unemployment and higher probability of being in the lower manual social class on living circumstances. Before controlling for these differences in education, labour market situation and social class, 22 or 23 per cent of people with a physical disability live in households with no access to a car, compared with 11 per cent of non-disabled younger adults and 9 per cent of non-disabled older adults. The gap is even larger for people with a learning disability: 27 per cent of those in the younger age group and 41 per cent of those in the older age group have no access to a car.

Figure 5.5: Gross and net risk of lacking access to a car by presence of disability and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for white, Irish, Catholic men with children, educated to Leaving Certificate level, living in Dublin and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

5.8 Summary

In this chapter we saw large differences in the risk of low education for people with a disability, particularly for people with a learning disability, compared with non-disabled adults. These differences in educational achievement account for much, but not all, of the gap between people with disabilities and non-disabled adults in labour market participation, unemployment and social class. Similarly, when we control for labour market situation and social class as well as education, much (but not all) of the gap between people with a disability and people without a disability in living standards (as measured by access to a car) is accounted for.

6 TRAVELLERS

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter we begin our exploration of differences in disadvantage by ethnic group. We have chosen to discuss Travellers separately because they are a particularly disadvantaged group in Irish society. Travellers are regarded as a cultural minority in Ireland and equality legislation prohibits unequal treatment of Travellers.

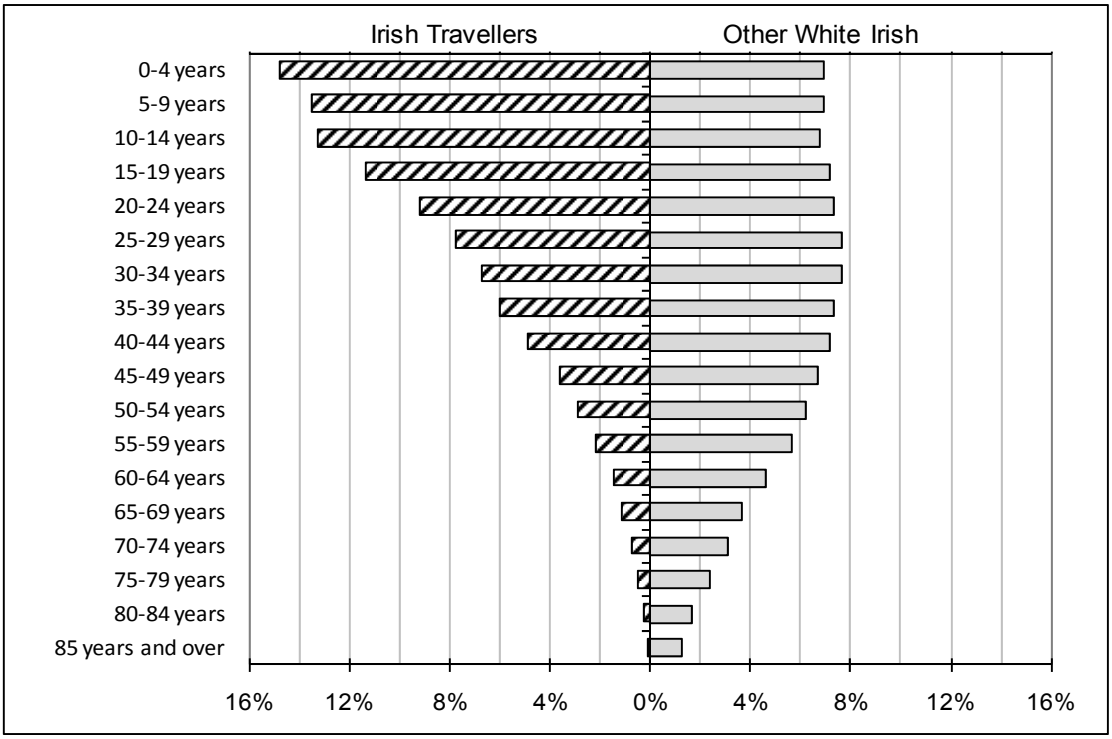
As noted in Chapter 1, members of the Travelling community in Ireland are severely disadvantaged in terms of education, with only 5 per cent having completed second-level schooling (Nolan and Maître, 2008). As a consequence of disadvantage in education, housing and work, Travellers also have a reduced life expectancy; a higher infant mortality rate and a higher rate of early death mean that the age profile of Irish Travellers is much younger than that of the national population.

A recent in-depth study of Travellers' health on the island of Ireland found that one-quarter of Traveller families consider the area where they live to be unhealthy or very unhealthy and just over one-quarter consider their place of residence unsafe (All Ireland Traveller Health Study, 2010).

6.2 Age Distribution of Irish Traveller Population

Figure 6.1 compares the age profile of the Irish Traveller population with that of other white Irish people in 2006. The difference is stark. Over half of the Traveller population is under age 20 (53 per cent), compared with 28 per cent of the other white Irish population. Only 9 per cent of the Traveller population is over age 50, compared with 28 per cent of the other white Irish population. While part of the age distribution is driven by a higher fertility rate among Traveller women, a large part is due to the lower life expectancy of Travellers.

Figure 6.1: Age distribution of Irish Travellers and other white Irish population



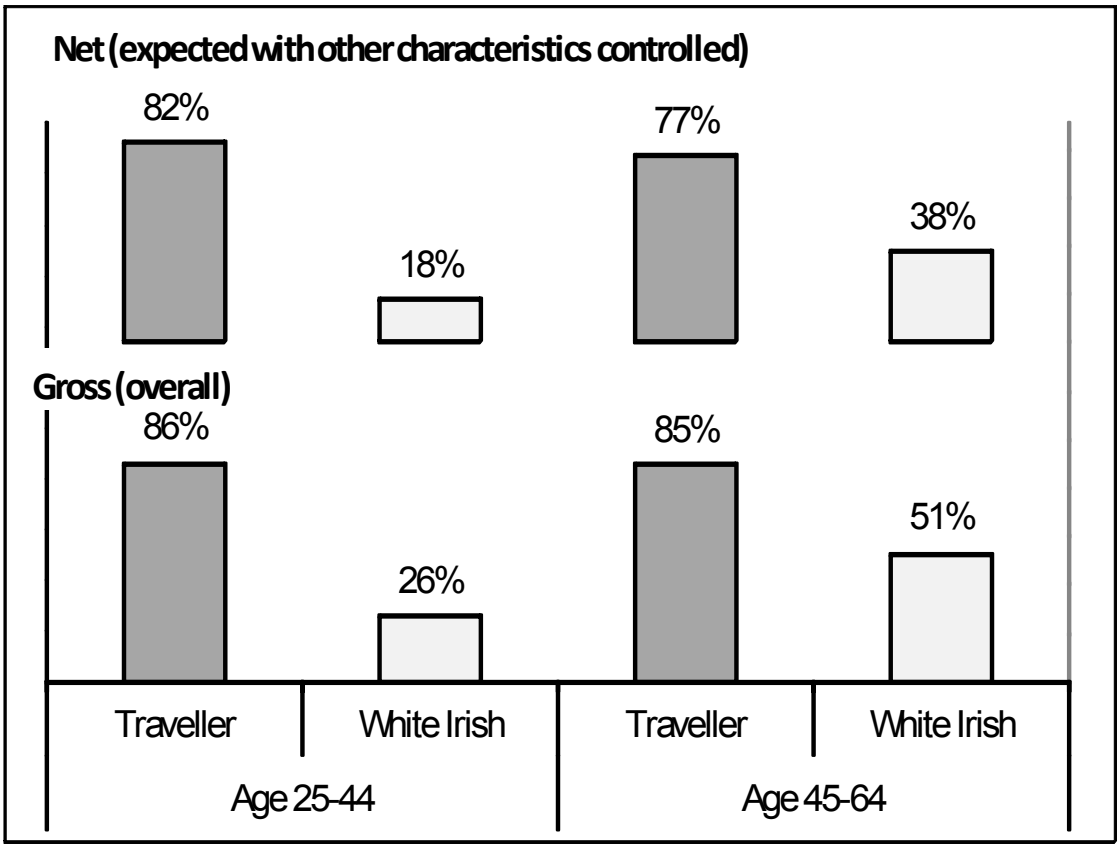
Source: CSO, 2007b, Table 2; population usually resident.

6.3 Low Education

Figure 6.2 compares the overall and net risk of low education of Irish Travellers with that of other white Irish adults. Overall, 86 per cent of Irish Travellers in the 25–44 age group and 85 per cent in the 45–64 age group have low levels of education (i.e. have not completed second level).

When age, gender and other characteristics are controlled, we can clearly see that the educational disadvantage of Irish Travellers relative to other white Irish adults is greater in the younger age group. The gap in the proportion of Irish Travellers and other white Irish adults with low levels of education is 64 percentage points for adults aged 25 to 44 years, compared with 39 percentage points for adults aged 45 to 64 years. This difference is likely to be because Irish Travellers with higher levels of education have improved health and life expectancy.

Figure 6.2: Gross and net risk of low education among Irish Travellers and other white Irish adults by age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

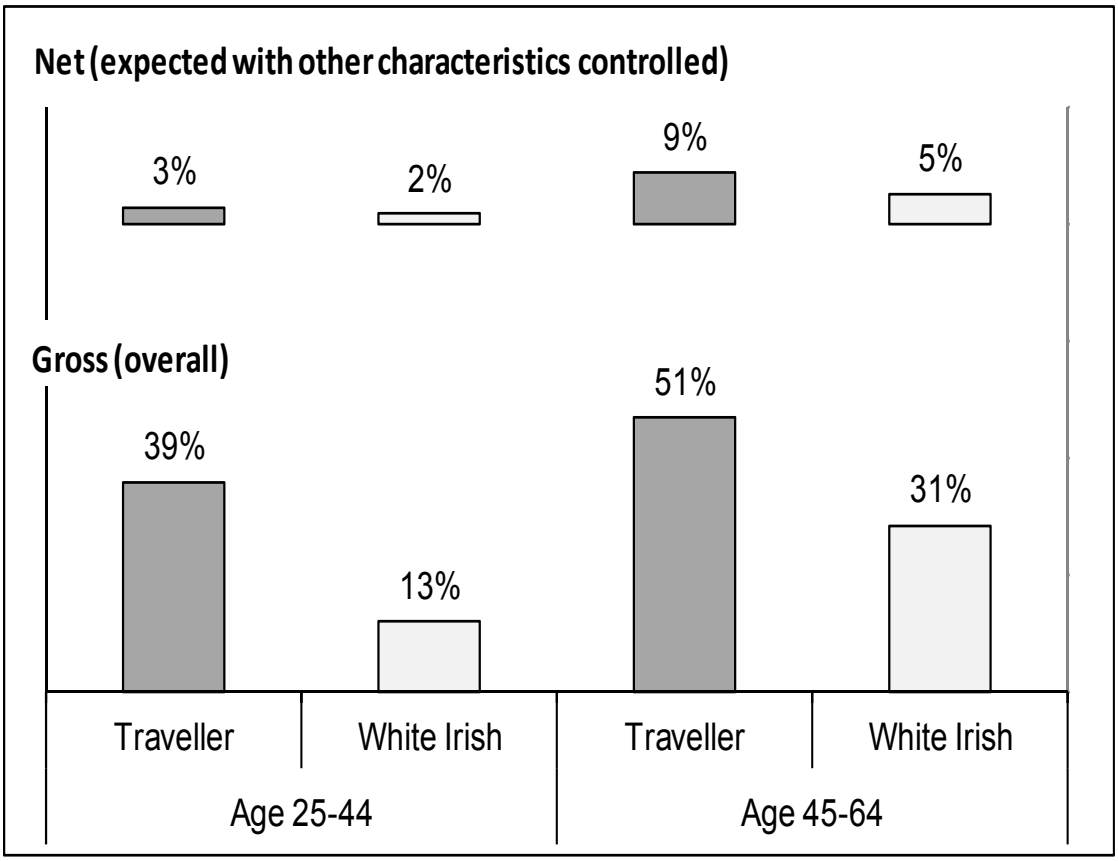
Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for Catholic men with children, with no disability, living in Dublin and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

6.4 Being Outside the Labour Market

Figure 6.3 compares the rate of non-participation of Irish Travellers in the labour market with that of other white Irish adults in the two age bands. Turning first to the gross figures, we see that Irish Travellers in both age groups are markedly disadvantaged when compared with other white Irish people: 39 per cent of younger Irish Travellers and 51 per cent of older Irish Travellers are outside the labour market, compared with 13 and 31 per cent respectively for other white Irish adults.

Note that education is controlled in estimating the net figures, as well as gender, religion, disability status, region, urban/rural location and five-year age group. The gap in terms of labour market participation between Irish Travellers and other white Irish adults is smaller when these factors are controlled: in the younger age group, 3 per cent of Irish Travellers are outside the labour market, compared with 2 per cent of other white Irish adults; in the older age group, the percentages are 9 and 5 per cent respectively.

Figure 6.3: Gross and net risk of being outside the labour market among Irish Travellers and other white Irish adults by age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for Catholic men with children, with full second-level education, with no disability, living in Dublin and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

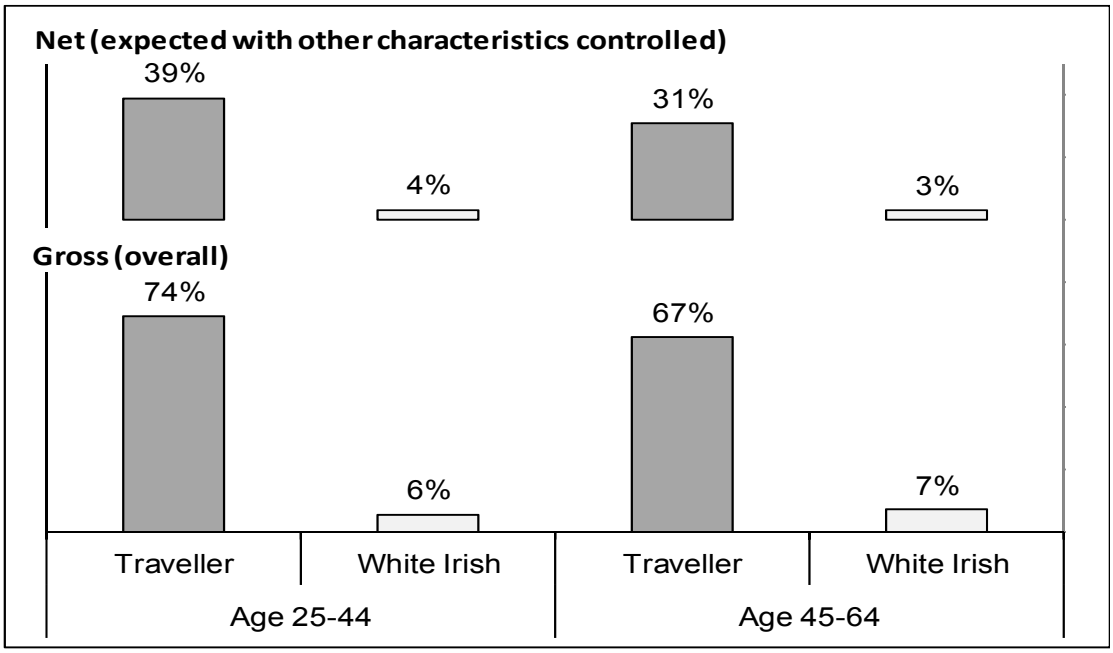
6.5 Unemployment

Figure 6.4 compares the unemployment rates of Irish Travellers and other white Irish adults in the labour market. The gross figures show a very large gap indeed, particularly for younger adults. Almost three-quarters of young Irish Travellers (74 per cent) in the labour market are unemployed, compared with 6 per cent of other white Irish adults. In the older age group, the gap is also very large: two-thirds or 67 per cent of Irish Travellers aged 45 to 64 years are unemployed, compared with 7 per cent of other white Irish adults in the same age group.

The net figures still show a very substantial gap in terms of unemployment risk. Even with levels of education and other characteristics controlled, the unemployment rate is 39 per cent for young Irish Travellers, compared with 4 per cent for other white Irish adults in the same age group. In the older age group, the figures are 31 per cent for Irish Travellers and 3 per cent for other white Irish adults. These figures document

the very real barriers to employment faced by Irish Travellers; barriers that are not due to differences in education, disability status, gender or age distribution.

Figure 6.4: Gross and net risk of unemployment among Irish Travellers and other white Irish adults by age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for Catholic men with children, with full second-level education, with no disability, living in Dublin and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

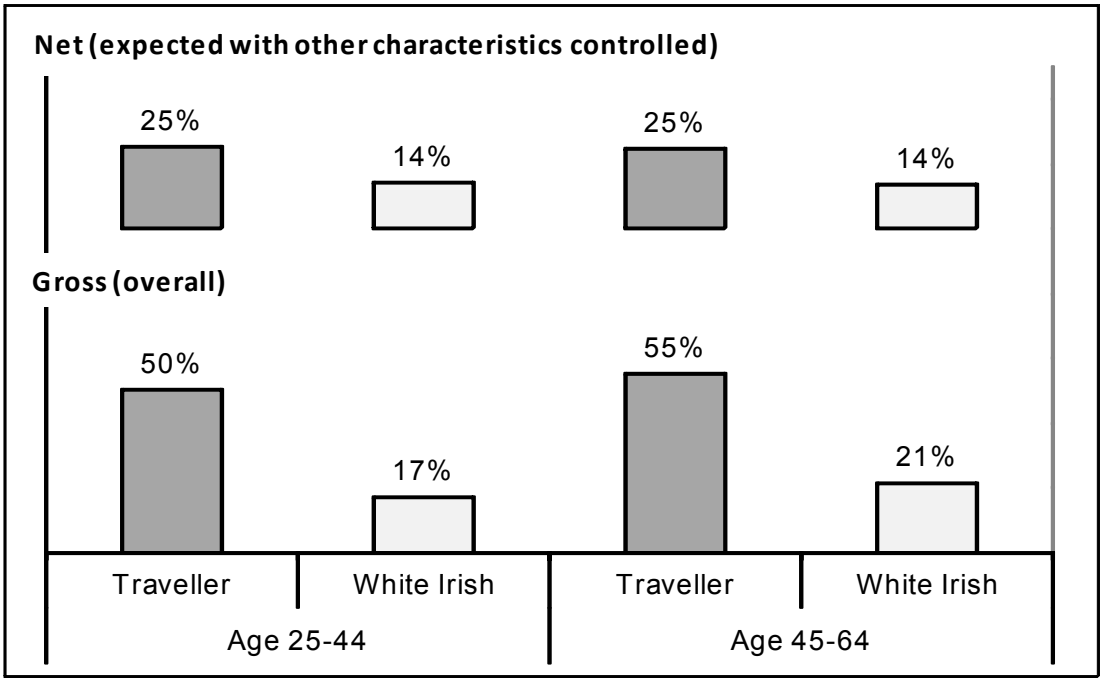
6.6 Lower Manual Social Class

Figure 6.5 shows that, overall, Travellers are much more likely than other white Irish adults to be in the lower manual social class: 50 per cent of young Irish Travellers and 55 per cent of older Irish Travellers are in this social class, compared with 17 and 21 per cent respectively of other white Irish adults in the same age group. As the net figures show, this gap is partly, but not entirely, accounted for by the very large differences in education between the two groups. About half of the social class gap is accounted for by differences in education, disability status, age, gender and so on. When we control for these characteristics, 25 per cent of Irish Travellers in both age groups are in the lower manual social class, compared with 14 per cent of other white Irish adults.

6.7 Lack of Access to a Car

Figure 6.6 shows the percentage of adults in the two age groups who lack access to a car. We might expect, given their nomadic tradition, that Travellers would be more likely to have access to a car, but this is not the case. Looking at the overall figures, 25 per cent of Irish Travellers in the younger age group and 22 per cent in the older age group do not have access to a car, compared with figures of 8 and 10 per cent respectively for other white Irish adults. The gap closes to less than half a percentage point when we control other factors such as education and labour market position, indicating that the disadvantage experienced by Travellers in this case is driven by their educational and labour market disadvantage.

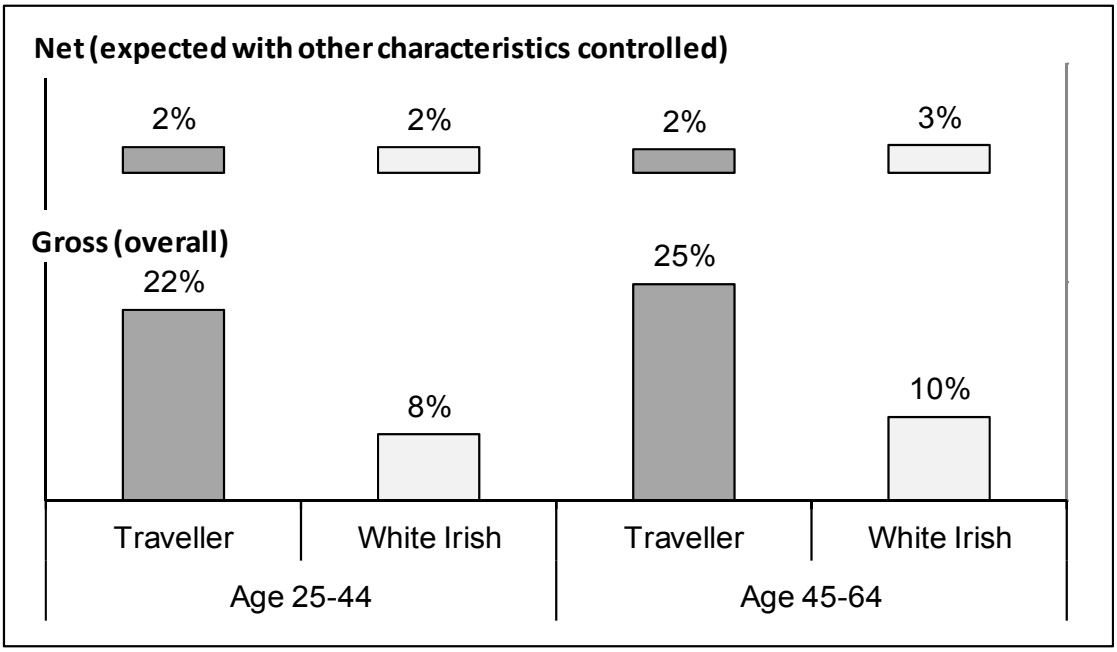
Figure 6.5: Gross and net risk of being in the lower manual social class for Irish Travellers and other white Irish adults by age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for Catholic men with children, with full second-level education, with no disability, living in Dublin and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

Figure 6.6: Gross and net risk of lacking access to a car among Irish Travellers and other white Irish adults by age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for Catholic men with children, with full second-level education, with no disability, working in skilled manual occupation, living in Dublin and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

6.8 Summary

In this chapter we saw evidence of severe disadvantage in the age profile of Irish Travellers. Their difficult living circumstances mean that Travellers have a lower life expectancy, with the result that only 9 per cent of the Traveller population is over age 50 (compared with 28 per cent of other white Irish adults).

The disadvantage faced by Travellers in terms of education is very stark. The nomadic lifestyle of many Traveller families, combined with the prejudice they often encounter, creates severe problems in acquiring basic levels of educational qualification. More than eight out of ten Irish Travellers in the 25–44 age group and almost the same number in the 45–64 age group have not completed second-level education.

Although 61 per cent of Travellers aged 25 to 44 years and 49 per cent of those aged 45 to 64 years are in the labour market, when we control for their level of education and other factors Travellers remain less likely than other white Irish adults to be in the labour market. They also face a much higher unemployment rate and are more likely to be found in the lower manual social class.

This disadvantage in education and labour market terms translates into poorer living circumstances. Contrary to what we might expect, given their traditionally nomadic culture, Travellers are much less likely than other white Irish adults to have access to a car. This disadvantage virtually disappears, however, when we control for education, labour market position and social class, which points to the important role of their disadvantage in the education system and labour market in accounting for their disadvantage in living standards.

7 OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

7.1 Introduction

Ethnicity was measured in Census 2006 by asking respondents to select one of eight groups: white Irish, Irish Traveller, other white, African, other black, Chinese, other Asian and other (including mixed background). Following our focus on Irish Travellers in Chapter 6, here we turn our attention to the other ethnic groups and examine how they compare with white Irish adults in terms of the five measures of disadvantage.

7.2 Overview of Other Ethnic Groups

Table 7.1 shows the distribution of ethnic groups (excluding Irish Travellers) in the Irish population in 2006. The figures are based on those usually resident and present at the address on census night and exclude Travellers as they were discussed separately in the Chapter 6. The 'other' category in Table 7.1 includes black people of non-African background as well as those of mixed background and also those who did not state an ethnic group on the census form.

Table 7.1: Characteristics of ethnic groups in the Irish population

	Percentage	Percentage of each ethnic group that is (row %):					
	of population	Female	Born in Ireland	Aged 0–14	Aged 25–44	Aged 45–64	Aged 65+
White Irish	87.8	50	94	21	30	23	12
Other white	7.0	46	5	12	50	15	4
African	1.0	51	27	41	45	4	0
Chinese	0.4	47	13	12	47	7	1
Other Asian	0.9	49	12	22	55	8	1
Other	3.0	46	55	26	28	12	7
Total	100	50	85	21	32	22	11

Source: CSO, 2007b, Tables 2 and 5; population usually resident and present on census night; Irish Travellers have been excluded

Compared with white Irish adults, members of all the other ethnic groups tend to be younger. People of other white background (not including white Irish and Irish Travellers) are the largest ethnic group apart from white Irish (7 per cent of usually resident adults). There are fewer children in this ethnic group (12 per cent, compared with 21 per cent for white Irish) and a higher representation among younger adults – 50 per cent of this ethnic group is in the 25–44 age range, compared with 30 per cent of white Irish people. Women are under-represented in this group (46 per cent) and only 5 per cent were born in Ireland.

People of African ethnic background represent about 1 per cent of the usually resident population. This group is over-represented among children: 41 per cent are under the age of 15 years, compared with 21 per cent of white Irish. They are also over-represented among younger adults (45 per cent are in the 25–44 age group, compared with 30 per cent of white Irish).

People of Chinese ethnic background, who make up 0.4 per cent of the usually resident population, are also mainly young adults: 47 per cent are aged 25 to 44 years and a further one-third are aged 15 to 24 years (CSO, 2007b, Table 2). People from other Asian ethnic backgrounds, comprising 0.9 per cent of the usually resident population, are also concentrated in the younger adult age range (55 per cent are

aged 25 to 44 years) and about the same proportion are under age 15 (22 per cent) as the white Irish population (21 per cent).

The final group ('other'), which comprises 3 per cent of the usually resident population, includes people of mixed background, black people from outside Africa and people who did not report their ethnicity. This group has a relatively high proportion of children under age 15 (26 per cent, compared with 21 per cent of white Irish).

Table 7.1 also shows the percentage of each ethnic group that was born in Ireland. These figures show the important role played by migration in the ethnic diversity of Ireland. The large majority of white Irish people were born in Ireland, but 6 per cent were born elsewhere, including 5 per cent born in the United Kingdom (CSO, 2007b, Table 5). Over half of the 'other ethnic' group was born in Ireland (55 per cent), mainly driven by a figure of 79 per cent for those whose ethnic background is not stated on the census form. People in the 'other white' ethnic group are least likely to have been born in Ireland (only 5 per cent). Of this group, 29 per cent were born in the UK and 50 per cent were born in other EU countries. The other ethnic groups are also mainly drawn from outside Ireland: with only 27 per cent of people of African background, 13 per cent of people of Chinese background and 12 per cent of people of other Asian background having been born in Ireland.

7.3 Migration

In this chapter we present the gross and net risk of disadvantage, according to our five measures, by ethnic group. Ethnic diversity in Ireland in 2006 was strongly linked to migration. In calculating the net figures by ethnicity in this chapter we use models to predict the proportions with each type of disadvantage holding other characteristics constant. The models control for migration – when the person moved to Ireland – in an effort to highlight the 'pure' ethnicity effects.

Before considering the differences in risk of disadvantage by ethnic group, it is worth exploring the 'pure' impact of migration, based on the census question on when the person last moved (or returned) to Ireland. The results are shown in Table 7.2. The figures are presented for white, Irish, Catholic, married fathers, living in Dublin and aged 25 to 29 years.

Table 7.2: Expected risk of disadvantage by date moved or returned to Ireland for white Irish adults aged 25 to 29 years

	Low education %	Not in labour market %	Unemployed %	Lower manual class %	No car %
Returned 2004–2006	11	2	9	14	3
Returned 2000–2003	10	2	6	15	2
Returned 1990–1999	10	2	4	14	2
Returned pre-1990	11	1	4	14	2
Never lived abroad	18	2	4	14	2

Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Figures are presented for white, Irish, Catholic, married men with children, living in Dublin, with no disability, and aged 25 to 29 years.

Those who have lived abroad tend to have better levels of education than those who always lived in Ireland, but differences between those who lived abroad based on the date they moved (or moved back) to Ireland are minor. With other factors controlled,

the net risk of low education is 18 per cent for those who never lived outside Ireland, compared with 10/11 per cent for those who have lived abroad. Differences in labour market participation and social class are very minor once other factors (including education) are controlled. Those who moved to, or returned to, Ireland more recently are at a higher risk of unemployment, however: 6 per cent for those who came to Ireland between 2000 and 2003 and 9 per cent for those who came to Ireland since 2004, compared with 4 per cent for those who never lived abroad or who moved to Ireland before 2000. The only difference concerning access to a car, with education, labour market situation and social class controlled, is that those who moved to Ireland since 2003 are slightly more likely to lack access to a car (3 per cent versus 2 per cent).

If there is a 'disruption effect' of migration, then, its impact is mainly evident in terms of the risk of unemployment. Those who have lived outside Ireland (non-Irish nationals or Irish people who have lived abroad) tend to have better levels of education than those who have never lived abroad and this is likely to reflect a greater tendency on the part of people with higher levels of education to move in search of work.

In the remainder of this chapter we present the net effects of ethnicity, controlling for other characteristics. The net figures show the expected level of disadvantage for a married man with children in the first five-year age group in each broad age band (i.e. 25–29 for the 25–44 age group and 45–49 for the 45–64 age group). We also hold constant religion (base=Catholic), region (base=Dublin), urban/rural location (base=large town/city), family status (base=married with children), disability status (base=no disability) and nationality (base=Irish). In later models we also control education, economic status and social class. Controlling for when the individual moved to Ireland is also important in the case of differences between ethnic groups.

In presenting the net results for the different ethnic groups, we need to make an assumption about their nationality and when they moved to Ireland. For the net figures on ethnicity, we assume that the person is Irish and has never lived abroad. While this is not a realistic assumption for most of the ethnic groups, it allows us to statistically isolate the impact of ethnic group membership. For both ethnicity and nationality, we present the gross figures as well as the net figures. The gross figures will be affected by all other characteristics of the groups, such as migration history, age group and so on.

7.4 Low Education

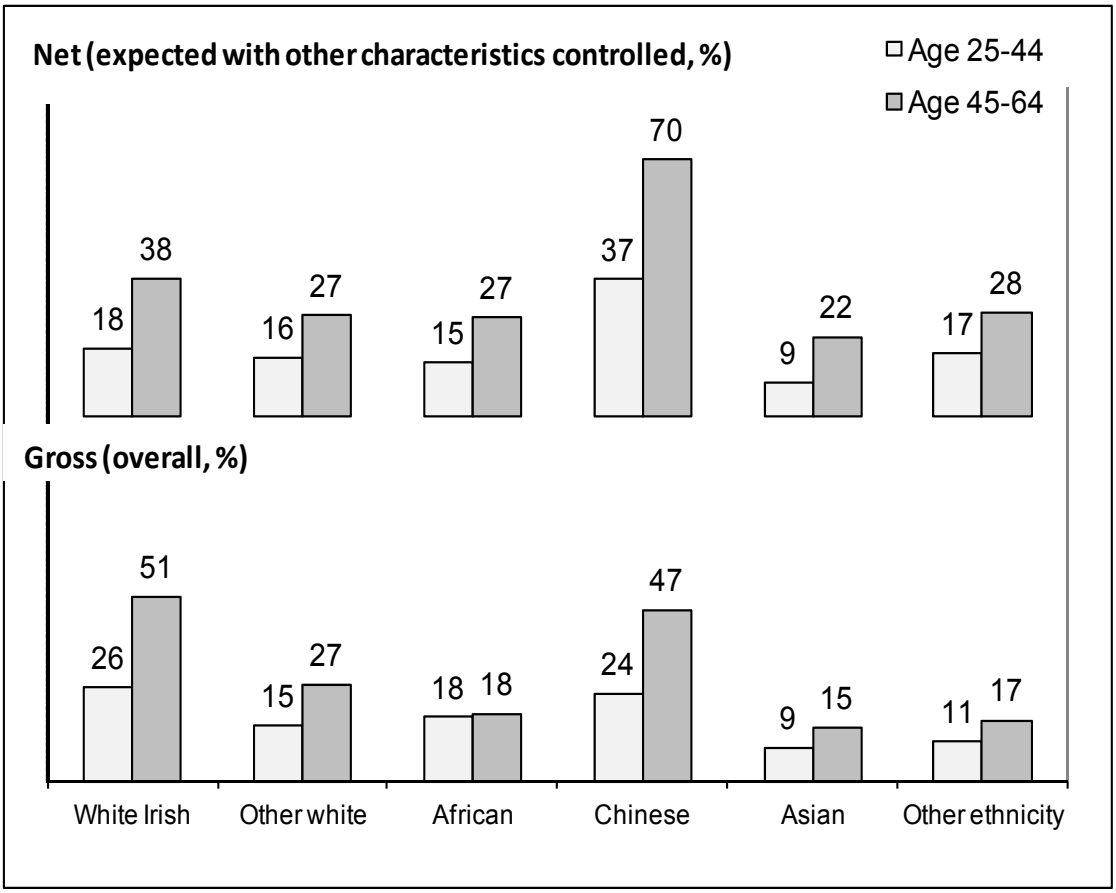
Figure 7.1 shows the proportion of adults in each ethnic group who have not completed full second-level education. Turning first to the gross figures, which show the overall levels of low education for each group, we see that the risk of low education is generally higher for the older adults. The gap between the two age groups is largest among adults with a Chinese background (23 percentage points) and among white Irish adults (25 percentage points). The gap between the two age groups is intermediate in size for other white adults (12 percentage points) and is small for people of Asian or other ethnic background (6 percentage points for both groups). The proportion of those from African backgrounds with low levels of education is the same for the two age groups (18 per cent).

The second point worth noting regarding the overall figures is that the white Irish have the highest level of educational disadvantage within each broad age group. Since ethnic diversity is a relatively recent occurrence in Ireland, most of those who are not white and Irish will be recent migrants and the pattern of education is consistent with earlier research showing that migrants to Ireland tend to be well educated (Barrett et al., 2006; Barrett and Duffy, 2008). The Chinese are closest to

the white Irish in terms of the proportions with less than full second-level education, while people of other Asian origin are least likely to have less than full second-level education.

The net figures in Figure 7.1, which control for gender, five-year age group, family and marital status, presence of disability, religion, nationality, region and migration, show a different picture. The net figures are the predicted proportions with low education for Catholic men with children, living in Dublin, who have never lived outside Ireland. The most important point here is that we have again controlled for migration in an effort to highlight the 'pure' ethnicity effects. When we do this, we see that people of Chinese background born in Ireland are most likely to have low levels of education (70 per cent of the older age group and 37 per cent of the younger age group), followed by people of white Irish background (38 per cent for the older age group and 18 per cent of the younger age group). The differences between the other ethnic groups are relatively small for the older age group (ranging from 22 to 28 per cent), but are slightly larger for the younger age group (ranging from 9 to 17 per cent). People of other Asian backgrounds are least likely to have low levels of education with other factors controlled (9 per cent).

Figure 7.1: Gross and net risk of low education by ethnicity and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for Catholic men with children, with no disability, living in Dublin, who have never lived outside Ireland and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

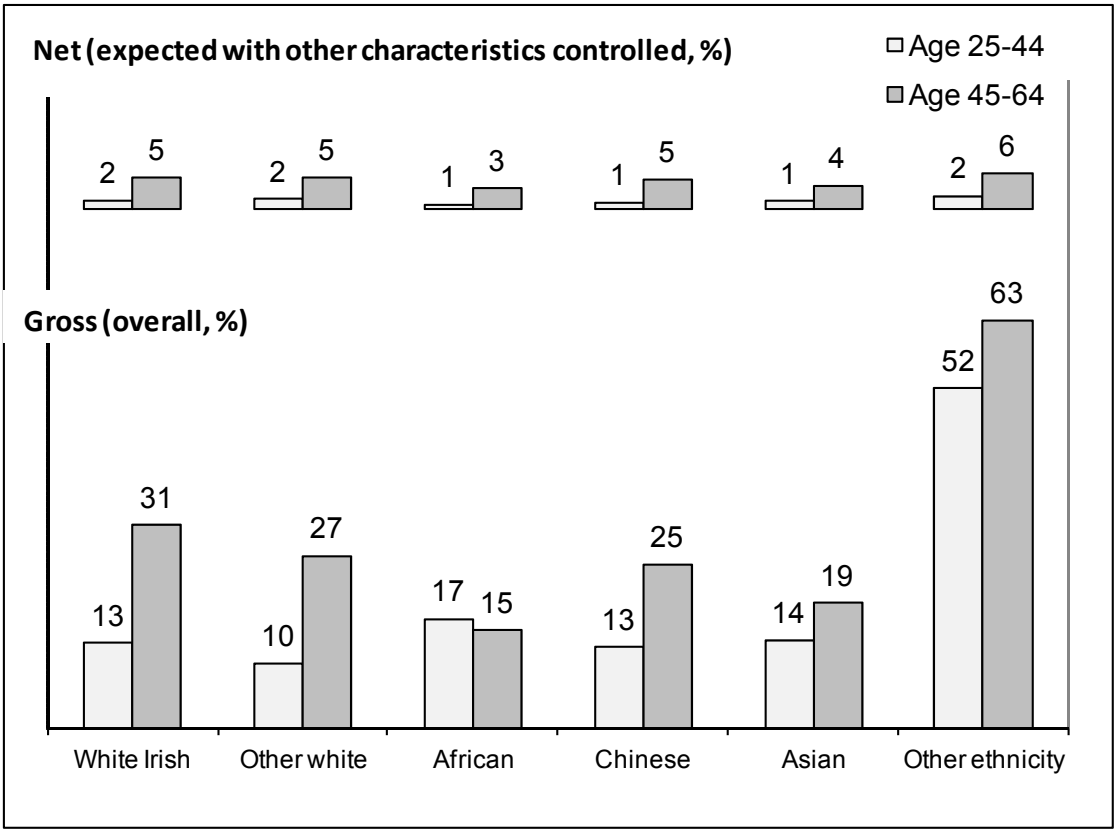
In terms of the risk of low education, then, the white Irish population tends to be less educated than other ethnicities. Across the different ethnic groups, Chinese adults born in Ireland stand out as having the highest risk of educational disadvantage.

7.5 Being Outside the Labour Market

Figure 7.2 shows the labour market participation rate of the different ethnic groups. We see a substantial difference between the gross and net figures here because the net figures are the estimates for men while the gross figures include both men and women. Note that level of education and migration are also controlled in calculating the net figures.

Overall, 13 per cent of white Irish adults in the 25–44 age group are outside the labour market. This is higher than the 10 per cent of other white adults, similar to the figure for Chinese adults, slightly lower than the 14 per cent of other Asian adults and the 17 per cent of adults from African backgrounds and considerably lower than the 52 per cent of those from other ethnic backgrounds.

Figure 7.2: Gross and net risk of being outside the labour market by ethnicity and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for Catholic men with children, with completed second-level education, with no disability, living in Dublin, who have never lived outside Ireland and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

In the older age group, the overall rate of non-participation is higher for most groups and is highest for adults from other ethnic backgrounds (63 per cent, compared with 31 per cent of white Irish adults). For those aged 45 to 64 years, the white Irish adults have the second-highest rate of non-participation; the lowest rate is found among adults of African origin (15 per cent) followed by adults of other (non-Chinese) Asian background (19 per cent).

O'Connell and McGinnity (2008) found that black respondents were less likely to participate in the Irish labour market and more likely to be involved in home duties or have another inactive economic status. The detailed Census 2006 results show that

this is true in the younger age group, where most adults of African origin are found, but not in the older age group. Only about 7 per cent of African adults in the 25–64 age group are over age 45.

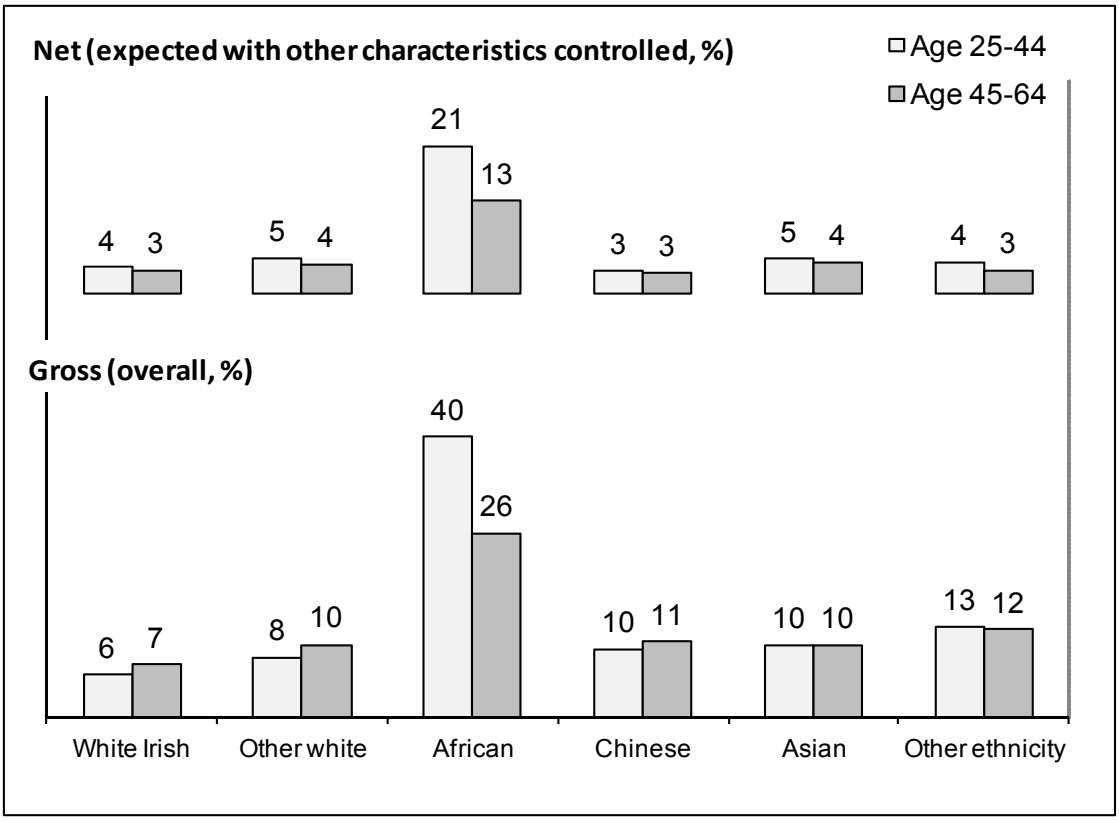
Turning to the net figures, when we control for other characteristics, the gaps between the groups are much smaller: the percentages outside the labour market range from 1 to 2 per cent in the younger age group and from 3 to 6 per cent in the older age group. Most migrant groups come to Ireland to work, and most are in the 25–44 age group, where we see a very high rate of labour market participation.

The results for being outside the labour market show that, with other characteristics controlled, non-white adults compare favourably with their white Irish counterparts. They have high rates of labour market participation, which is consistent with the role of migration in contributing to ethnic diversity in Ireland and with the fact that migrants were drawn to Ireland in 2006 to work.

7.6 Unemployment

Figure 7.3 shows the unemployment risk for adults who are in the labour market. Adults of African ethnicity, especially those in the younger age group, stand out as having a particularly high unemployment rate (40 per cent, compared with 6 per cent of white Irish adults). Even after controlling for how recently they arrived in Ireland and their level of education, this gap persists, although it is narrower (21 per cent for young African adults, compared with 4 per cent for young white Irish adults).

Figure 7.3: Gross and net risk of unemployment by ethnicity and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

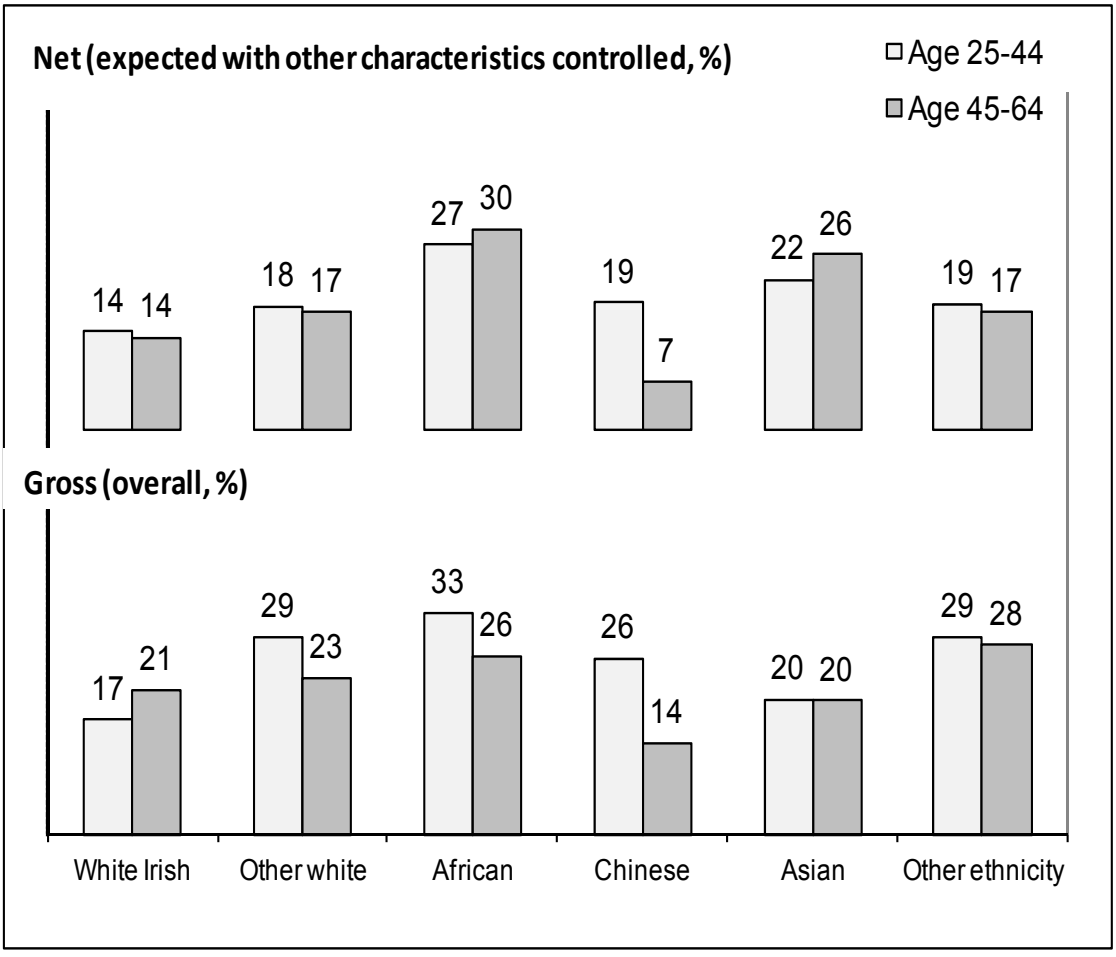
Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for Catholic men with children, with completed second-level education, with no disability, living in Dublin, who have never lived outside Ireland and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

The net differences between white Irish adults and the other ethnic groups are small in magnitude. Young adults of Chinese background actually have a slightly lower unemployment rate (by one percentage point) than white Irish adults. Other white and other Asian adults have slightly higher unemployment rates than white Irish adults when other factors are controlled; those of other ethnicity are no different.

7.7 Lower Manual Social Class

Figure 7.4 shows the percentage in the lower manual social class by ethnic group. Turning first to the overall figures, we see that members of all the ethnic groups, except for older Chinese and other Asian adults, are more likely than their white Irish counterparts to be in this social class. Just over one-fifth of older Irish adults are in the lower manual social class, compared with 23 per cent of other white adults, 26 per cent of African adults and 28 per cent of the 'other' ethnic group. The figures are considerably lower among older Chinese adults (14 per cent) than for older white Irish adults (21 per cent) and are similar to the white Irish figures for those from other Asian backgrounds (20 per cent).

Figure 7.4: Gross and net risk of being in the lower manual social class by ethnicity and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for Catholic men with children, with completed second-level education, with no disability, living in Dublin, who have never lived outside Ireland and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

Among white Irish adults, younger adults are less likely than their older counterparts to be in the lower manual social class (17 and 21 per cent respectively). Among those from other ethnic backgrounds, however, the reverse tends to be the case, which is consistent with younger adults having arrived in Ireland more recently. The gap between the white Irish and other ethnic groups, as a consequence, is larger for the younger age group.

When we control for education and migration status, African adults are particularly disadvantaged. We can see from the net figures that young African adults are 13 percentage points more likely than white Irish adults to be in the lower manual social class. The gap between older African and older white Irish adults is 17 percentage points. Other white adults and those in the 'other ethnicity' category are also disadvantaged relative to white Irish, but the gap is much smaller (3 to 5 percentage points). The gap between white Irish and (non-Chinese) Asian adults is 8 percentage points for younger and 12 percentage points for older adults. People of Chinese origin are unusual in that there is a large gap in favour of older adults. Older Chinese adults are less likely than older white Irish adults to be in the lower manual social class (7 and 14 per cent respectively). However, younger adults of Chinese origin are more likely (by 5 percentage points) than the white Irish to be in this relatively disadvantaged social class. As we have controlled for whether the person has ever lived outside Ireland, these differences are not due to increasing integration over time. A more detailed analysis than we can accomplish here is needed to throw light on the reasons for this pattern.

As we saw earlier in the case of unemployment risk, adults from African ethnic backgrounds are most disadvantaged in social class terms.

7.8 Lack of Access to a Car

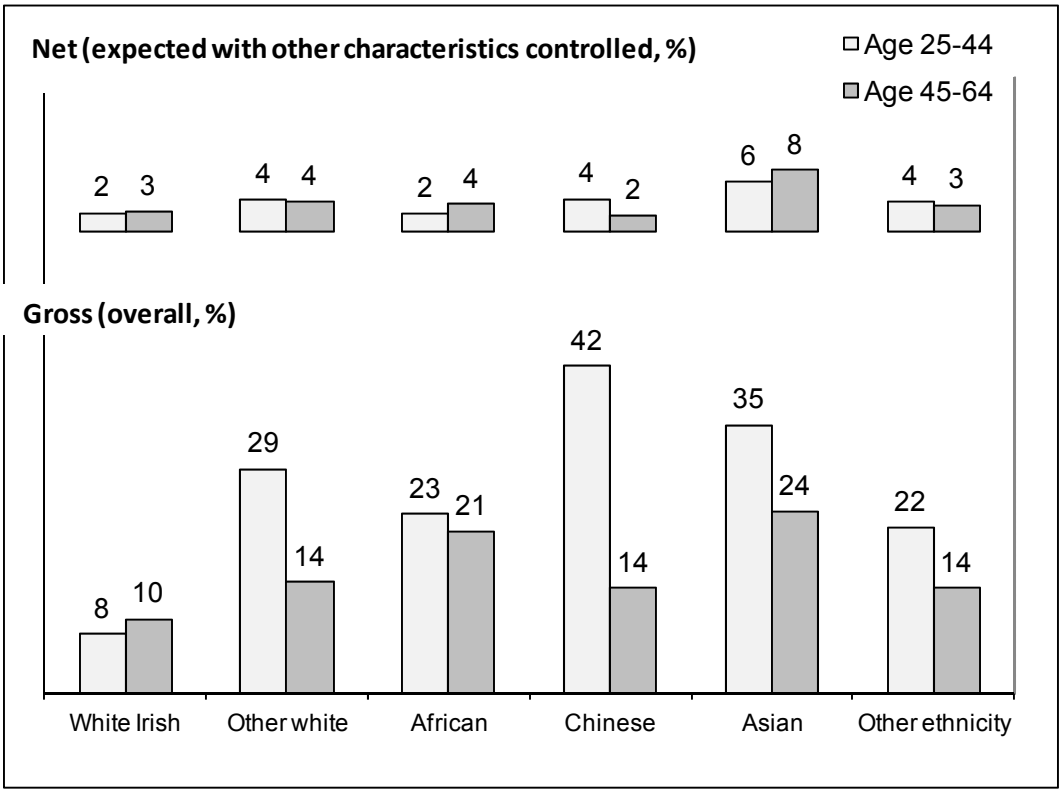
Figure 7.5 shows the percentage of adults in each ethnic group who lack access to a car. The gross figures reveal large gaps between the ethnic groups, with white Irish adults least likely to lack access to a car (8/10 per cent), and the highest figure for young adults from Chinese (42 per cent) and other Asian backgrounds (35 per cent). For all ethnic groups except the white Irish, younger adults are more likely than older adults to lack access to a car. The age gap is particularly large for adults of Chinese ethnicity (42 per cent of the younger adults lack access to a car, compared with 14 per cent of the older adults). Among white Irish adults, the gap is smaller, with 8 per cent of the younger age group and 10 per cent of the older age group lacking access to a car.

Turning to the net figures, adults of Asian origin are most disadvantaged, when other factors are controlled: 6 per cent of younger adults and 8 per cent of older adults in this ethnic group live in households with no access to a car. The figures for all other ethnicities range between 2 and 4 per cent.

The large gap between the gross and net figures here indicates that much of the variation has been 'explained' by the controls for education, migration, economic status, social class and urban/rural location.

We saw earlier that adults of African background are particularly disadvantaged in terms of unemployment and social class. When these differences are controlled, young African adults are about as likely as young white Irish adults to live in households with access to a car, although a very small gap remains for the older age group.

Figure 7.5: Gross and net risk of lacking access to a car by ethnicity and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those for Catholic men with children, with completed second-level education, working in a skilled manual occupation, with no disability, living in Dublin, who have never lived outside Ireland and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

7.9 Summary

We focused in this chapter on differences in disadvantage by ethnic group, other than Irish Travellers. We statistically controlled for key factors, such as year of arrival in Ireland, and for religion and age group, in order to highlight the differences between the ethnic groups. As noted in Chapter 1, much of the ethnic diversity in Ireland is of very recent origin. We controlled for nationality and whether the person has ever lived outside Ireland in order to highlight the differences associated with ethnicity itself.

Adults of Chinese ethnicity are the most disadvantaged with respect to education, with migration experience and other characteristics controlled. Other ethnic groups compare favourably with white Irish adults in terms of the risk of educational disadvantage.

African adults, particularly in the younger age group, are the most disadvantaged in terms of unemployment risk and social class. With other factors controlled, all the ethnic groups, except older people of Chinese origin, were more likely than white Irish adults to be in the lower manual social class.

The small net gap between ethnic groups in terms of access to a car suggests that much of the variation in living standards may be 'explained' by differences in labour market and migration experience.

8 NATIONALITY

8.1 Introduction

As noted in Chapter 1, the rapid period of economic growth, which began in Ireland in the mid-1990s and was close to its peak in 2006, drew people from other countries to Ireland to work. The opening of the labour market to people from the EU accession states in 2004 meant that large numbers of migrants from those countries came to Ireland in the period immediately prior to 2006. In examining differences in disadvantage by nationality, we control (as we did in Chapter 7) for how recently the person moved to Ireland so that the effect of nationality, net of migration, is highlighted.

8.2 Nationality Overview

Table 8.1 shows that 89 per cent of the population is Irish and a further 1 per cent has dual Irish citizenship, 3 per cent of the population is from the United Kingdom, 1 per cent from the other EU15 states,[10] 3 per cent from the EU10 states[11] and 3 per cent from the rest of the world.

Table 8.1: Characteristics of nationality groups in the Irish population

	Percentage of population	Percentage of each nationality that is:				
		Female	Aged 0–15	Aged 25–44	Aged 45–64	Aged 65+
Irish	89	50	21	29	23	12
Irish–other	1	51	34	30	16	7
UK	3	50	14	39	27	10
Other EU15	1	51	7	59	13	3
EU10	3	39	8	57	7	0
Rest of world	3	49	17	57	9	2
Total	100	50	21	32	22	11

Source: CSO, 2007a, Table 36.

Note: Figures exclude those whose nationality is not stated (1.1 per cent) and those with 'no nationality' (0.03 per cent). Those with multiple nationalities (not including Irish) are included with 'Rest of world' (0.06 per cent).

Irish and UK nationals are evenly split between men and women. Those with dual Irish–other citizenship and other EU15 nationals are slightly more likely to be female (51 per cent). EU10 nationals are much more likely to be male (61 per cent), and those from outside the EU are slightly more likely to be male (51 per cent).

Turning to age distribution, non-Irish nationals are likely to be relatively young adults. Members of all the broad nationality groups are more likely than the Irish to be in the 25–44 age range, which is consistent with the migration of young adults to Ireland to work during a period of rapid economic growth. The closest percentage in this age group to the Irish is for those with dual Irish–other nationality (30 per cent, compared with 29 per cent for the Irish), followed by those with British nationality (39 per cent).

[10] The other countries (besides Ireland and the UK) that were EU members before 2003: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Sweden.

[11] The countries that acceded to the EU in May 2004: Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

Those from elsewhere in Europe and outside Europe have a much higher proportion in this young adult age group (57/59 per cent).

The percentage under 15 years of age is highest for those with dual Irish–other citizenship (34 per cent), which is consistent with return migrants bringing their families back to Ireland during the boom years. The other nationality groups are much less likely than the Irish to be children, though the gap is not so large for those from outside the EU (17 per cent, compared with 21 per cent for the Irish).

UK nationals are over-represented in the 45–64 age group (27 per cent, compared with 22 per cent overall) and are closest to the Irish in terms of the percentage over age 65 (10 per cent, compared with 12 per cent of the Irish). All of the other nationality groups are under-represented in the over 45 age groups.

8.3 Migration

In presenting the net results by nationality, we need to make an assumption about the person's ethnic origin and whether they ever lived outside Ireland. We assume that the Irish have lived in Ireland since birth (i.e. never lived abroad) and are white (i.e. white Irish ethnicity). For the other nationalities, including Irish people with dual nationality, we assume they moved to Ireland before 1990 and are white (i.e. other white ethnic group). The assumption that they have been in Ireland since before 1990 is not a realistic one, particularly in the case of residents of the EU10, but it allows us to statistically isolate the impact of nationality from that of migration.

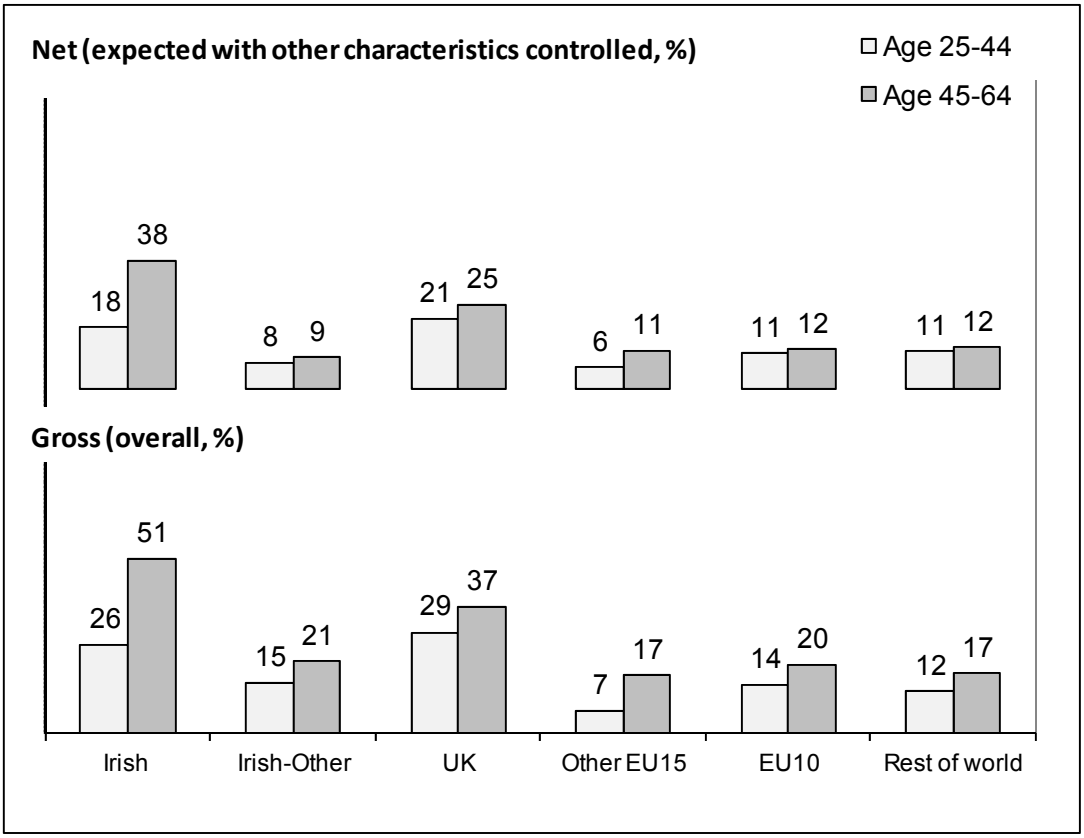
8.4 Low Education

Figure 8.1 shows the gross and net risk of low education by nationality. For all nationality groups, older adults are more likely than younger adults to be educationally disadvantaged, but the gap between the two broad age groups is most pronounced among the Irish. The overall risk of low education in the older age group is highest among Irish adults (51 per cent), followed at some distance by UK nationals (37 per cent). In the younger age group, UK nationals are most likely to have low levels of education (29 per cent), followed by Irish nationals (26 per cent).

The broad differences between the two age groups and between nationality groups are also evident in the net figures. In the younger age group, citizens of EU15 countries other than the UK and Ireland are the least likely to have low levels of education (6 per cent), followed by Irish people with dual citizenship (8 per cent); and UK citizens have the highest net probability (21 per cent), followed by Irish citizens (18 per cent). In the older age group, Irish nationals are the most likely to have low levels of education (38 per cent) with other characteristics controlled, followed by UK nationals (25 per cent); the rate of low education among older people in the other nationality groups is in the narrower range from 9 to 12 per cent.

Note that the net figures will be affected by the reference groups we have taken, particularly the assumption that the Irish have never lived abroad. If we calculated the net figures for Irish adults who have lived abroad (and moved back to Ireland before 1990) the expected risk would be 12 per cent for the under 45 age group and 25 per cent for the over 45 age group. This is consistent with the view that migrants are more likely to be those with higher levels of education.

Figure 8.1: Gross and net risk of low education by nationality and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

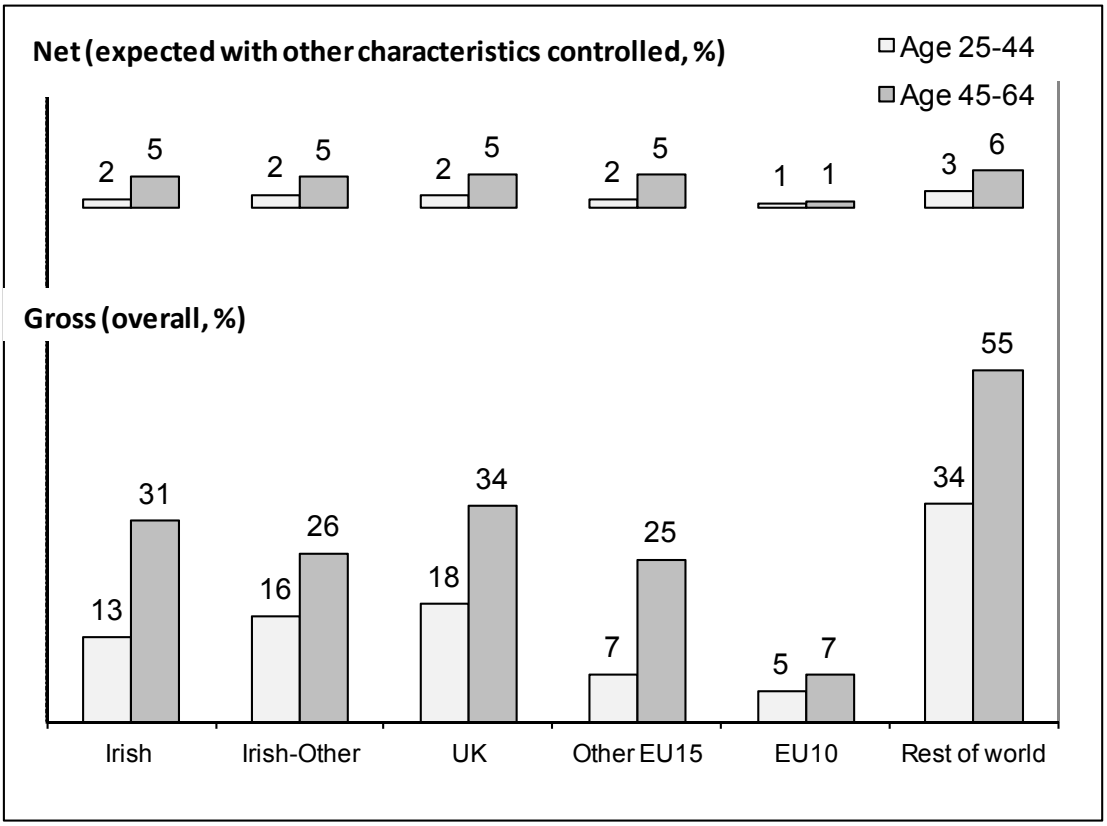
Note: Gross figures are overall differences between age groups. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white, Catholic, married men with children, living in Dublin, with no disability and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group). Net figures for Irish assume the person has always lived in Ireland; for other nationalities, we assume the person has been in Ireland since before 1990. Ethnic origin is white Irish for Irish nationals, and other white for non-Irish nationals.

8.5 Being Outside the Labour Market

Figure 8.2 shows the gross and net percentages outside the labour market by nationality. In overall or gross terms, 13 per cent of Irish adults in the 25–44 age group are outside the labour market. This is much lower than the figure of 34 per cent for people from outside the EU. Part of the difference may be explained by the fact that asylum applicants, non-EU nationals by definition, are not permitted to take up employment while their case is pending. In addition, the spouses of non-EU employment-permit-holders may not take up employment without holding an employment permit of their own. The Irish figure is also somewhat lower than the figures for those with dual Irish citizenship (16 per cent) and UK nationals (18 per cent), but is higher than the 5 and 7 per cent figures for EU10 and other EU15 nationals respectively.

In the 45–64 age group, the Irish figure (31 per cent) is somewhat lower than the UK figure (34 per cent) and a good deal lower than the 55 per cent for non-EU nationals. The figures for other nationality groups are lower than that for the Irish, particularly for adults from the EU10 (only 7 per cent outside the labour force). The overall figures will be partly influenced by the gender composition of the nationality groups, as women tend to have a lower labour market participation rate.

Figure 8.2: Gross and net risk of being outside the labour market by nationality and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Students are excluded. Gross figures are overall differences between age groups. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white, Catholic, married men with children, living in Dublin, with completed second-level education, with no disability and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group). Net figures for Irish and Irish–other assume the person has always lived in Ireland; for other nationalities, we assume the person has been in Ireland since before 1990.

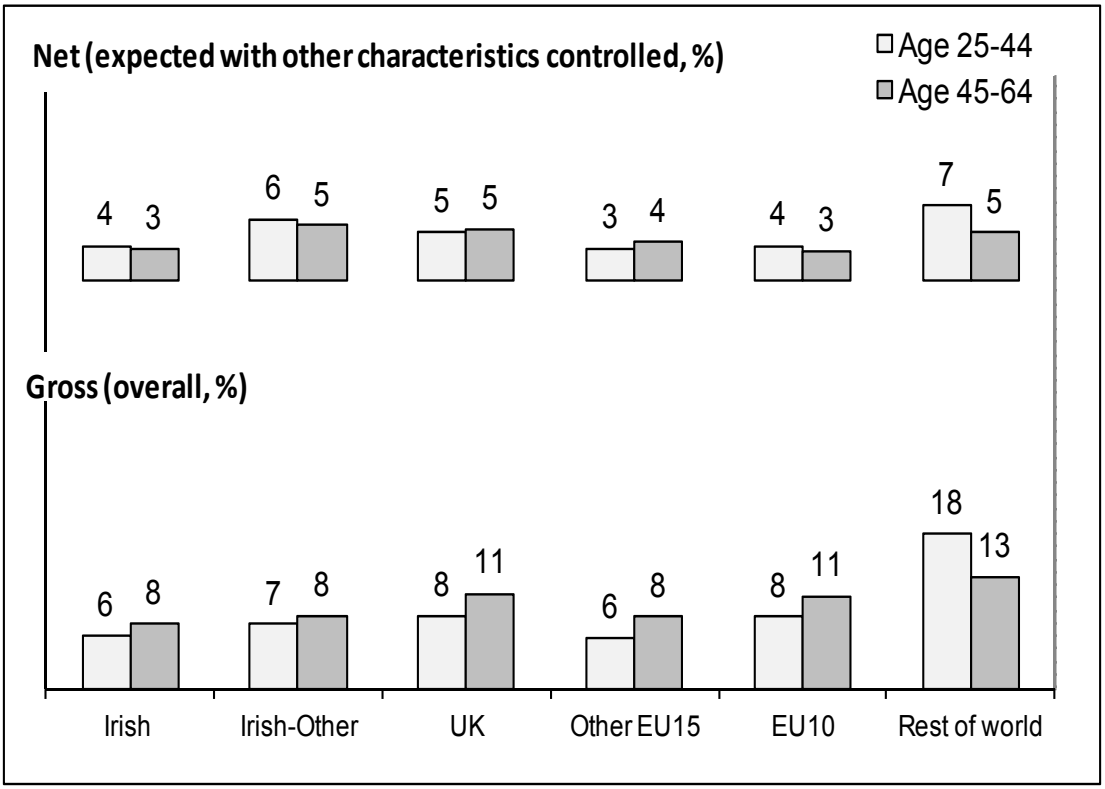
Turning to the net figures, where we control for gender, education level, migration and other characteristics, we see that the percentage outside the labour market is generally higher for older adults. In the younger age group, non-participation rates for all nationality groups fall in a narrow range from 1 to 3 per cent, with the lowest figure for EU10 nationals and the highest for those from outside the EU. In the 45–64 age group, 5 per cent of Irish nationals, those with dual Irish-other citizenship, UK nationals and nationals of other EU15 countries are outside the labour force. The figure is very close for older adults coming from outside the EU (6 per cent) and is very low for those coming from the EU10 countries (1 per cent).

8.6 Unemployment

In Figure 8.3 we examine the unemployment rate by nationality in the two broad age groups for adults who are in the labour market (i.e. either at work or unemployed). Turning first to the gross or overall figures, we see that the unemployment rate tends to be similar to that of Irish nationals for those from EU15 countries other than the UK, somewhat higher for UK nationals and those from the EU10 and a good deal higher for those from outside the EU, especially younger adults (18 per cent, compared with 6 per cent for Irish nationals in this age group). This difference may reflect the fact that asylum applicants may not take up employment in Ireland. Even

an applicant who is awarded protection status may find it hard to secure employment having spent a long period out of work.

Figure 8.3: Gross and net risk of unemployment by nationality and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall differences between age groups. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white, Catholic, married men with children, living in Dublin, with no disability and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group). Net figures for Irish and Irish–other assume the person has always lived in Ireland; for other nationalities, we assume the person has been in Ireland since before 1990.

When we control for education, migration and other characteristics, we see from the net figures that the differences between the nationalities are smaller for the older age group: in the 1 to 2 percentage point range. Among older adults, the unemployment rate is somewhat higher for those with dual Irish–other nationality, British nationals and those from outside the EU (all 5 per cent), when compared with the Irish rate of 3 per cent. In the younger age group, the highest unemployment rate is found among those from outside the EU (7 per cent) and the lowest rate is among the Irish and those from the EU15 countries outside Ireland and the UK (both 3 per cent).

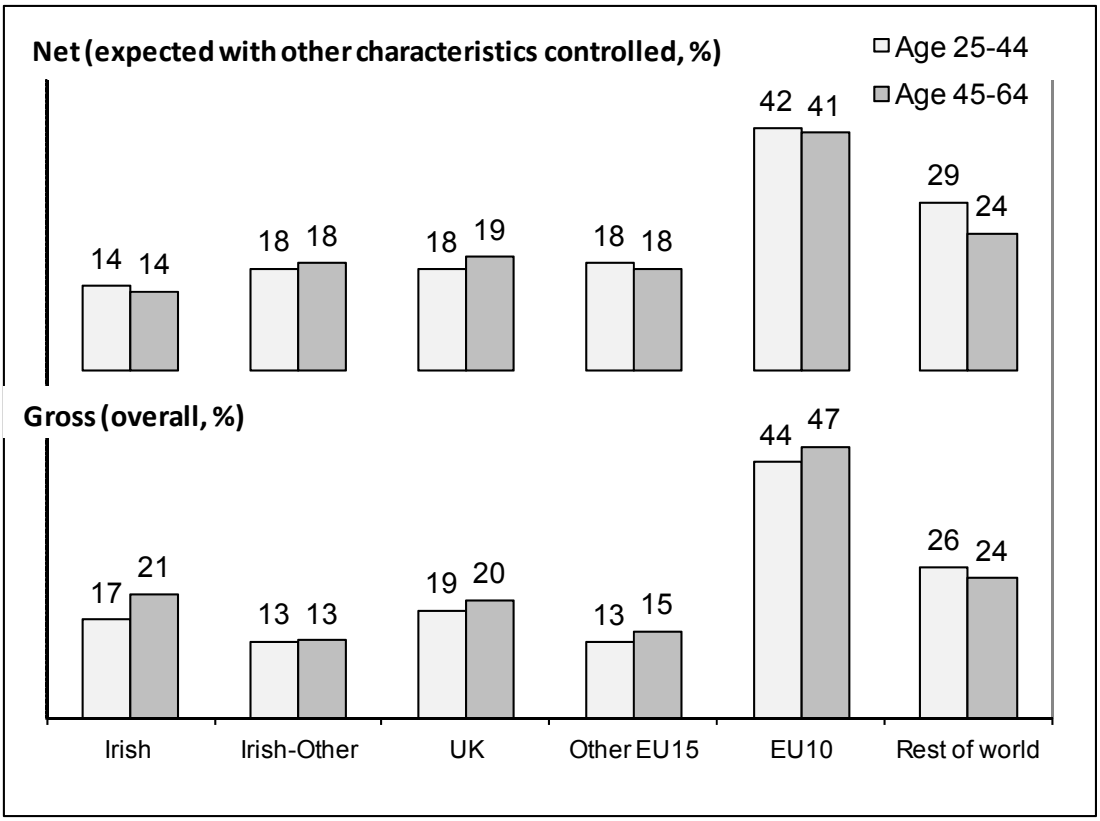
8.7 Lower Manual Social Class

Figure 8.4 shows the percentages by nationality in the relatively disadvantaged lower manual social class. The overall pattern shows that the highest percentages in this social class are for adults from the EU10 (44 per cent for those aged 25 to 44 years and 47 per cent for those aged 45 to 64 years), and the lowest percentages are for those with dual Irish–other nationality in both age groups (13 per cent) and younger adults from EU15 countries other than the UK and Ireland (13 per cent).

When we control for education and other characteristics, the figures change only slightly. The net figures show that those from the EU10 remain much more likely than Irish nationals to be in semi-skilled or unskilled manual jobs (41/42 per cent versus

14 per cent). Those from outside the EU also have a higher net risk of being in the lower manual jobs (29 per cent for the younger age group and 24 per cent for the older age group).

Figure 8.4: Gross and net risk of being in the lower manual social class by nationality and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall differences between age groups. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white, Catholic, married men with children, living in Dublin, with no disability and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group). Net figures for Irish and Irish–other assume the person has always lived in Ireland; for other nationalities, we assume the person has been in Ireland since before 1990.

EU10 nationals working in Ireland in 2006 were concentrated in those sectors where lower manual jobs are most often found. Male EU10 nationals working in Ireland in 2006 were particularly concentrated in manufacturing and construction (50 per cent, compared with 34 per cent of Irish nationals); while female EU10 nationals were concentrated in the wholesale/retail and hotel/restaurant sectors (48 per cent, compared with 22 per cent of Irish nationals) (CSO, 2007c, Table 30).

8.8 Lack of Access to a Car

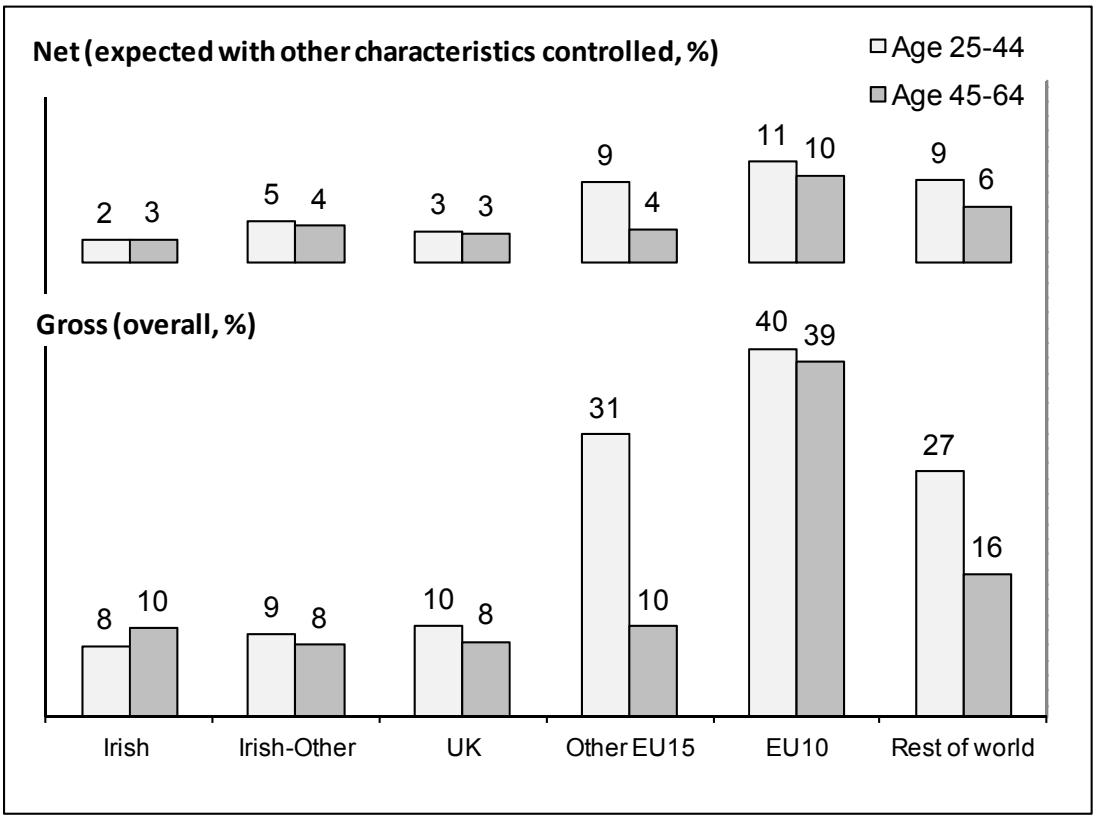
Figure 8.5 shows the percentage of the different nationality groups who lack access to a car. The overall or gross figures show a very large gap between young EU10 and other EU15 nationals and their Irish counterparts, which is consistent with this group being concentrated in their twenties and having moved to Ireland more recently.

Irish, Irish–other, UK nationals and older nationals of other EU15 countries are very similar (8 to 10 per cent) in terms of lacking access to a car), but younger EU15 nationals (31 per cent), both age groups from the EU10 (39/40 per cent) and both

age groups from outside the EU (16/27 per cent) are much more likely to lack access to a car.

When we control for other characteristics, including education, migration and economic status, the differences are very much reduced, with the net figures ranging from 2 per cent (younger Irish nationals) to 11 per cent (younger EU10 nationals). People from the EU10 (10/11 per cent), young adults from the EU15 (9 per cent) and young adults from outside the EU (9 per cent) remain more likely to lack access to a car with other factors controlled.

Figure 8.5: Gross and net risk of lacking access to a car by nationality and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall differences between age groups. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white, Catholic, married men with children, living in Dublin, working in a skilled manual occupation, with no disability and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group). Net figures for Irish and Irish–other assume the person has always lived in Ireland; for other nationalities, we assume the person has been in Ireland since before 1990.

8.9 Summary

We saw that people from the EU10 countries, although they are better educated, on average, than the native population, are more likely to be in the relatively disadvantaged lower manual social class and to live in households that lack access to a car. The highest unemployment rate is found among adults from outside the EU but it is also high for those with dual Irish–other citizenship.

9 RELIGION

9.1 Introduction

Census 2006 was conducted during a period of increasing religious diversity in Ireland, although Roman Catholicism remained dominant. The percentage of the population that is Catholic declined from a peak of 95 per cent in the early 1960s to 87 per cent in 2006, while the percentage that belongs to the Church of Ireland has remained relatively stable since the early 1970s at 3 per cent. At the same time there has been an increase in the percentages belonging to other religious groups (from 1 per cent in the early 1960s to 4 per cent in 2006) and belonging to no religious denomination (from less than 1 per cent in the early 1960s to 4 per cent in 2006) (CSO, 2007e, Table 1).

9.2 Religious Affiliation of the Irish Population in 2006

Table 9.1 shows the religious distribution of the Irish population in 2006 and the percentage of each religious group that is female, born in Ireland and in each of four age groups.

Table 9.1: Characteristics of religious groups in the Irish population

	Percentage of population	Percentage of each religious group who are:					
		Female	Born in Ireland	Aged 0–14	Aged 25–44	Aged 45–64	Aged 65+
Roman Catholic	87	51	90	21	31	22	12
Church of Ireland (incl. Protestant)	3	51	69	18	30	25	15
Other Christian religion	2	50	43	20	42	19	7
Muslim (Islamic)	1	40	24	31	44	7	1
Other non-Christian	1	50	37	18	44	18	4
No Religion	4	41	54	12	46	21	3
Not stated	2	44	82	34	29	17	8
Total	100	50	85	20	32	22	11

Source: CSO (2007e), Table 9.

Roman Catholics are by far the largest religious group, comprising 87 per cent of the population. The next largest group is those who state that they have no religion (4 per cent). The no religion category comprises more adults in the 25–44 age group (46 per cent) than is the case among Roman Catholics (31 per cent); they are also more likely to be male (59 per cent) than female; and 54 per cent were born in Ireland, compared with 90 per cent of Roman Catholics.

Members of the Church of Ireland/Protestant faith constitute 3 per cent of the population and are over-represented in the over 65 age group (15 per cent, compared with 12 per cent of Roman Catholics). The majority were born in Ireland (69 per cent).

Other Christian religions, in contrast, are over-represented among younger adults. These groups make up 2 per cent of the population and 42 per cent are in the 25–44 age group, compared with 31 per cent of Catholics. Members of other Christian

religions are less likely than Catholics and members of the Church of Ireland to have been born in Ireland (43 per cent).

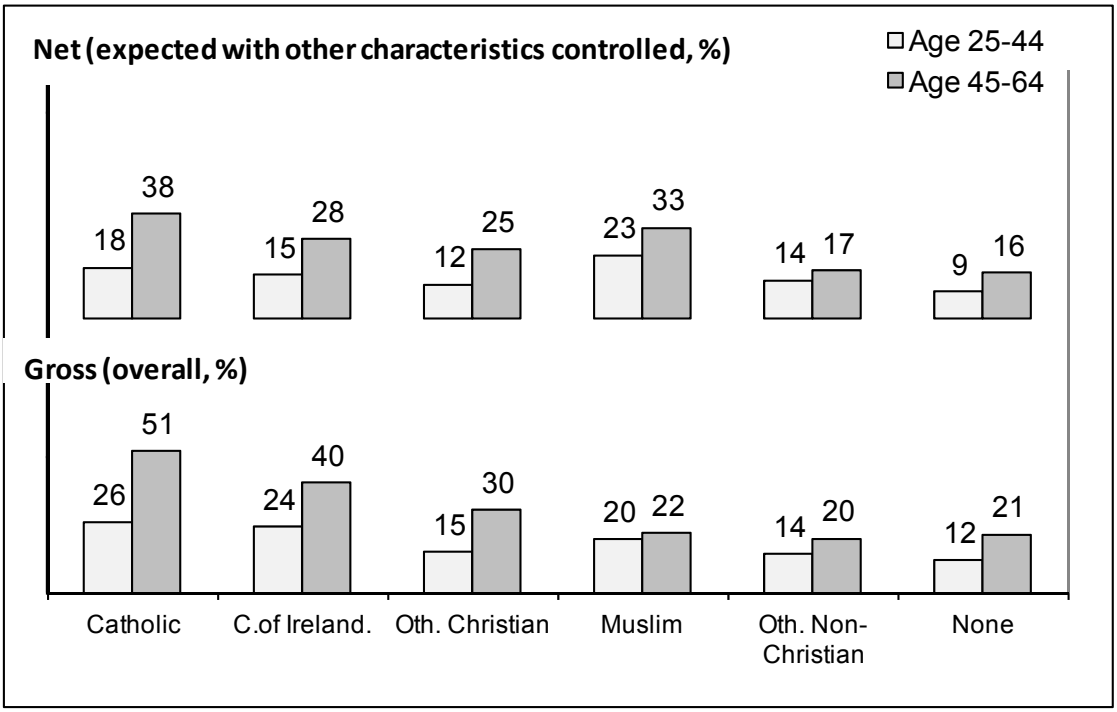
One per cent of the Irish population was Islamic in 2006. Muslims are more likely to be male (60 per cent) than female and are particularly concentrated in the younger age groups: 31 per cent are children under age 15 (compared with 21 per cent of Catholics) and 44 per cent are in the 25–44 age group (compared with 31 per cent of Catholics). The growth in the Islamic population in Ireland has been a relatively recent phenomenon fuelled by migration during the boom years of the 1990s and early 2000s. Only 24 per cent of Muslims were born in Ireland.

9.3 Low Education

Figure 9.1 shows the percentages of different religious groups who have completed less than full second-level education. As in previous chapters, the gross figures show the overall percentages for each group while the net figures control for gender, five-year age group, nationality, migration, ethnic group, disability, family status and location.

Turning first to the overall figures, older Catholics are the most disadvantaged (51 per cent), followed, at some distance, by older members of the Church of Ireland (40 per cent). In the younger age group, Catholics (26 per cent) and members of the Church of Ireland (24 per cent) are most likely to have less than full second-level education, whereas those with no religion (12 per cent), other non-Christians (14 per cent) and those of other Christian religions (15 per cent) are least likely.

Figure 9.1: Gross and net risk of low education by religion and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white Irish men with children, living in Dublin, with no disability and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

We saw in Table 9.1 that the majority of members of religious denominations other than Roman Catholic and Church of Ireland were born outside Ireland. The experiences of these groups, then, will have been shaped by migration – often fairly

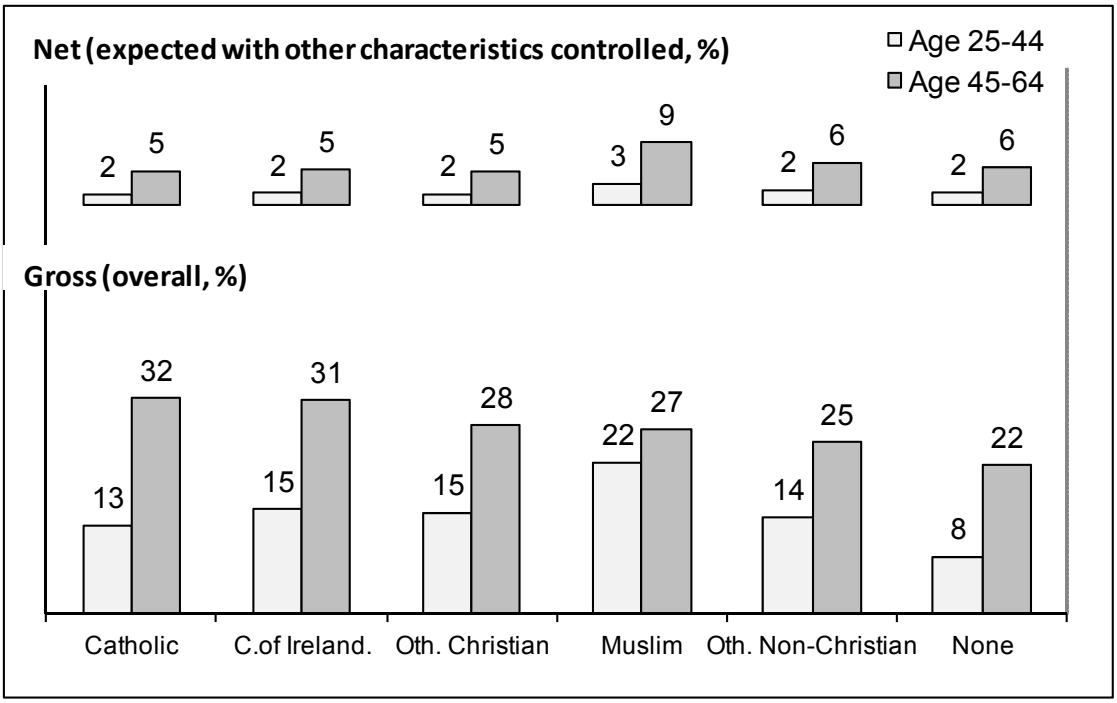
recent migration. The net figures show the expected pattern when we control for migration and other characteristics. Among the younger adults, Muslims are most likely to lack full second-level education (23 per cent, compared with 18 per cent of Catholics and 15 per cent of members of the Church of Ireland), with other characteristics controlled. In the older age group, Catholics (38 per cent) and Muslims (33 per cent) are most likely to have low levels of education while the percentages are lowest for members of other non-Christian religions (17 per cent).

Those with no religious affiliation are least likely to have low levels of education (9 per cent in the 25–44 age group and 16 for those in the 45–64 age group).

9.4 Being Outside the Labour Market

Figure 9.2 shows the percentage of adults outside the labour market for each religious group. Overall, the percentages are higher for older than for younger adults. In the 25–44 age group, the highest rate of non-participation in the labour market is found for Muslims (22 per cent) and the lowest rate for those with no religious affiliation (8 per cent). The other groups fall between these two extremes in the range from 13 to 15 per cent. In the older age group, the highest rates of non-participation are found for Catholics (32 per cent) and members of the Church of Ireland (31 per cent) and the lowest rate, once again, is among those with no religious affiliation (22 per cent).

Figure 9.2: Gross and net risk of being outside the labour market by religion and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white Irish men with children, who have completed second-level education, are living in Dublin and have never lived outside Ireland, with no disability and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

Gender is a major factor in labour market participation and in Table 9.1 we saw that Muslims and those with no religious affiliation are more likely to be male, so when we turn to the net figures – where gender as well as education and other characteristics are controlled – we would expect the differences between religious groups to shrink.

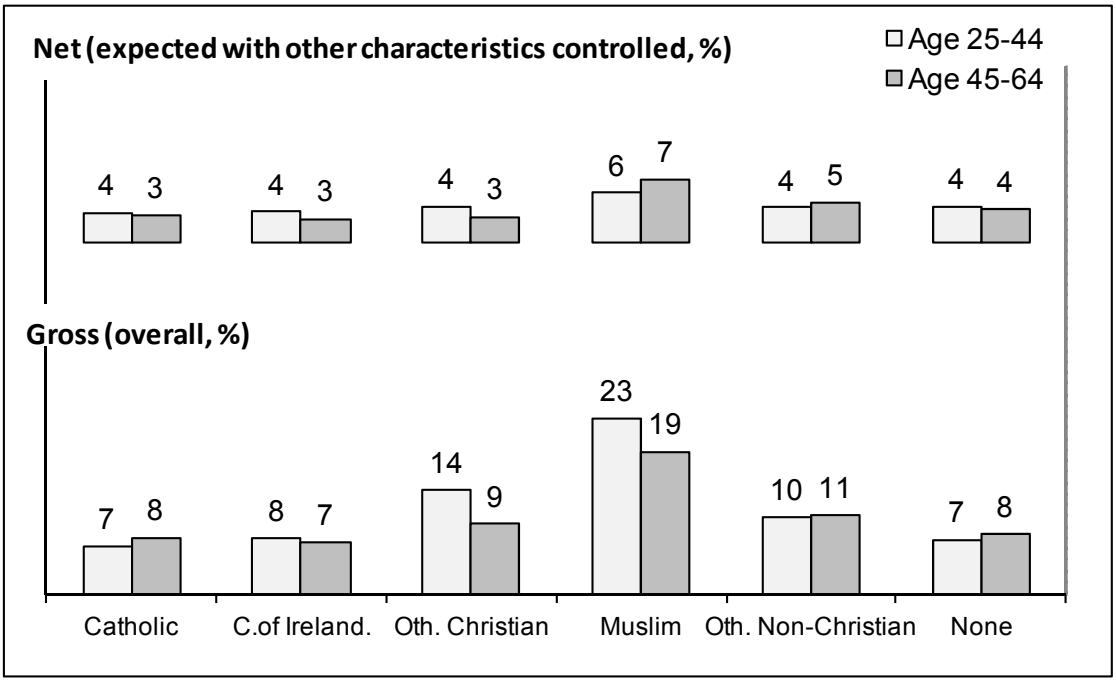
In fact, there is very little variation by religion in the net figures: non-participation rates are 2 to 3 per cent for all categories in the younger age group and 5 to 9 per cent in the older age group. For both age groups, however, non-participation in the labour market tends to be slightly higher for Muslims, even with other factors controlled.

9.5 Unemployment

There is more significant variation in unemployment across the religious groups, with Muslims being the most disadvantaged group (see Figure 9.3). The overall figures show Muslims with an unemployment rate of 23 per cent in the 25–44 age group and 19 per cent in the 45–64 age group, compared with 7 and 8 per cent respectively for Catholics.

Even with other factors controlled, we see from the net figures that the unemployment rate remains higher for Muslims: 6 per cent of the 25–44 age group and 7 per cent of the 45–64 age group, compared with 4 and 3 per cent respectively for Catholics. Unemployment rates for the other religious groups are very close to those for Catholics, apart from a slightly higher figure (5 per cent) for older other non-Christians.

Figure 9.3: Gross and net risk of unemployment by religion and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

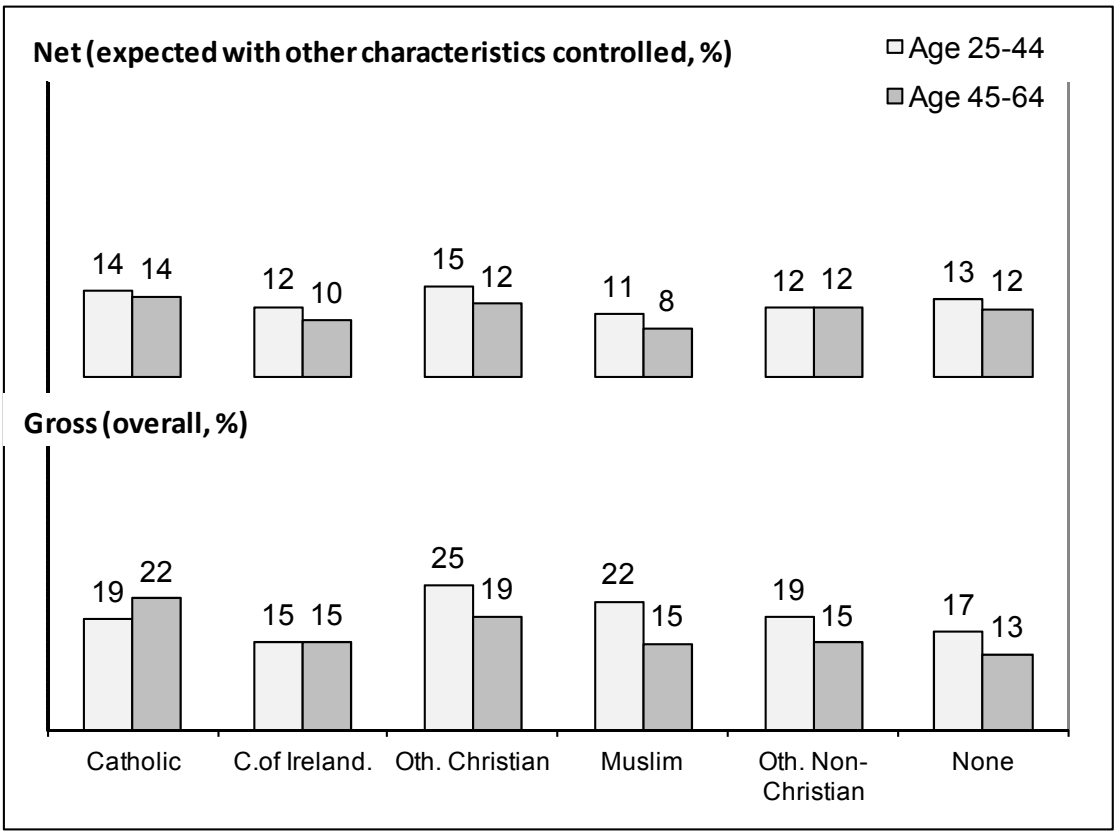
Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white Irish men with children, who have completed second-level education, are living in Dublin and have never lived outside Ireland, with no disability and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

9.6 Lower Manual Social Class

The same variations in disadvantage by religious group are not observed when it comes to social class. In Figure 9.4 we see that the group most likely to be in the lower manual social class is younger other Christians (25 per cent), followed by younger Muslims and older Catholics (both 22 per cent).

When we control for other factors, including gender, migration and level of education, however, younger Muslims (11 per cent) and older Muslims (8 per cent) are less likely to be in this social class than other religious groups. The combination of educational disadvantage, relatively high unemployment and relatively advantaged class position is consistent with Muslim adults experiencing disruption due to migration: their educational qualifications may not be recognised and they are more likely to experience transitional unemployment, but once at work their occupational position does not put them at a disadvantage.

Figure 9.4: Gross and net risk of being in the lower manual social class by religion and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

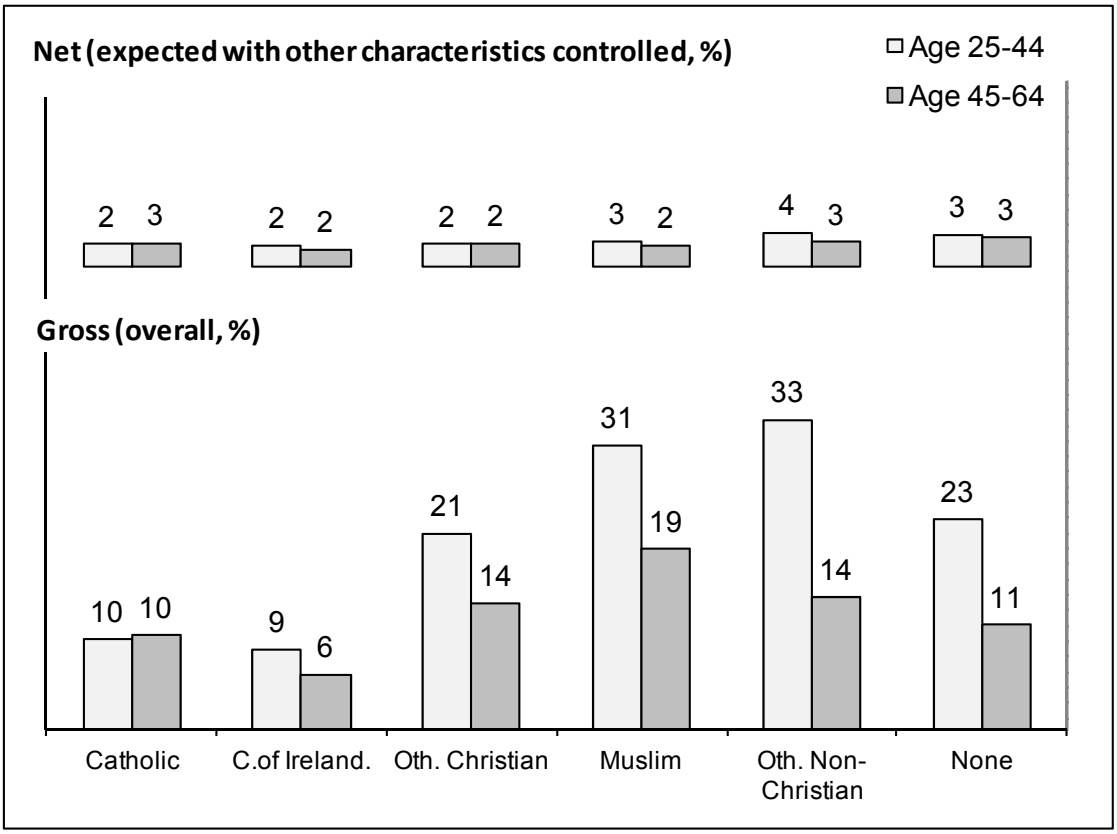
Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white Irish men with children, who have completed second-level education, are living in Dublin and have never lived outside Ireland, with no disability and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

9.7 Lack of Access to a Car

Figure 9.5 turns to our indicator of living standards: lack of access to a car. The groups most likely to be disadvantaged in this respect are younger other non-Christians (33 per cent), younger Muslims (31 per cent) and younger adults with no religious affiliation (23 per cent). In overall terms, older (6 per cent) and younger (9 per cent) members of the Church of Ireland and Catholics (10 per cent) are least likely to lack access to a car.

When we control for other factors, including migration, education, employment situation and social class, the differences between the groups are very small, all falling in the range from 2 to 4 per cent. Younger other non-Christians, at 4 per cent, are most likely to lack access to a car with other factors controlled.

Figure 9.5: Gross and net risk of lacking access to a car by religion and age group



Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Gross figures are overall for the group. Net figures are those that remain after controls and are presented for white Irish men with children, who have completed second-level education, are living in Dublin and have never lived outside Ireland, working in a skilled manual occupation, with no disability and who are in the first five-year age group in each band (i.e. 25–29 for the younger age group and 45–49 for the older age group).

9.8 Summary

In general, the differences by religious group are small when we control for migration, nationality, ethnicity and other variables. Muslims are disadvantaged in terms of education, non-participation in the labour market and unemployment, but not in terms of social class or access to a car, when other factors are controlled. Muslims are the religious group most likely to have been born outside Ireland, so it is probable that their experience is the result of the impact of migration. Their pattern of educational disadvantage, non-participation in the labour market and unemployment combined with no disadvantage in social class terms or in access to a car, when these are controlled, is consistent with a group experiencing the disruptive impact of migration.

10 MULTIPLE GROUP MEMBERSHIP – WOMEN, MEN AND DISABILITY

10.1 Introduction

In Chapter 5 we examined the overall differences between people with a disability and non-disabled adults in terms of disadvantage. In this chapter, in order to highlight some of the questions around multiple disadvantage, we examine the situation of people with a disability separately for men and women. The focus is on the extent to which gender and disability interact in their impact on the selected outcomes and the nature of this interaction. We confine our analysis to the 25–44 age group.

10.2 Types of Multiple Disadvantage

A common assumption regarding multiple disadvantage is that membership of two groups, both of which are disadvantaged in certain domains, is in some sense worse than membership of either one (e.g. Hanna and Rogovsky, 1991). Take the example we focus on in this chapter: women and disability. Both groups can be seen as disadvantaged with respect to labour market participation. The question then becomes whether the impact of disability is greater for women than for men. We can think of multiple disadvantage as potentially having a number of different types of consequence as shown in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1: Examples of different types of multiple disadvantage

Main effects	**Interaction effects**		
	Present, positive +	**Not present 0**	**Present, negative –**
Main effect present for both groups ++	**Exponential +++ (+0+):** Membership of each group associated with disadvantage; membership of both groups associated with disadvantage greater than the sum of membership of each.	**Additive ++0:** e.g. Membership of each group associated with disadvantage; membership of both groups associated with disadvantage equal to the sum of membership of each.	**Non-additive ++–:** Membership of each group associated with disadvantage; membership of both groups associated with disadvantage less than the sum of membership of each.
Main effect not present 00	**00+ combinations** Membership of each group not associated with disadvantage; membership of both groups associated with disadvantage.		

Source: Adapted from Berthoud (2003).

Exponential disadvantage would arise if both the main effects and the interaction effects of group membership were significant and in the same direction. In the example of women and disability, if we found that having a disability reduced labour

market participation more for women than it did for men, this would be an example of cumulative disadvantage. This kind of finding would lead us to explore the circumstances and experiences of women with a disability in order to understand the processes at work.

A second possibility is what we call additive disadvantage (Berthoud, 2003). In this case, membership of both groups is also associated with higher levels of disadvantage, but the level of disadvantage is not intensified by membership of both groups. If we found that having a disability reduces labour market participation by the same amount for men and women, this would be an example of additive disadvantage. It would still be the case, in this scenario, that women with a disability have a higher risk of non-participation than men with a disability but the finding would lead us to focus on the factors driving the gender difference and the impact of disability separately, rather than on the factors unique to women with a disability.

A third possibility, which we call non-additive disadvantage, is that while being a woman and having a disability are both associated with disadvantage, the effect of disability is less for women than for men.[12] This might happen if, for instance, women with a disability were less limited than men or if employers would prefer to employ men without a disability but do not differentiate among women on the basis of disability. It could still be the case that women with a disability are less likely than men with a disability to participate in the labour market, but the difference would be less than we would expect if disability had the same impact on men and women.

The fourth possibility is what Berthoud (2003) calls combinations. If we found that there was no disadvantage associated with being a woman or having a disability, but that women with a disability were disadvantaged, this would be an example of a combination: the combination of memberships of the two groups is associated with negative outcomes.

In this chapter we focus on gender and disability and their impact on the five measures of disadvantage, for the 25–44 age group:

- Low education: having less than full second-level education. Those still at school or college are excluded from this analysis.
- Being outside the labour market. Those still at school or college are excluded from this analysis and highest level of education is controlled, as well as other characteristics.
- Unemployment. Those outside the labour market are excluded in this analysis and education is controlled, as well as other characteristics.
- Lower manual social class: being in the unskilled or semi-skilled manual social classes. This is measured at the household level and is based on the usual occupation of the reference person in the household, who may be someone other than the adult concerned. For this analysis, education is controlled, as well as other characteristics.
- Lack of access to a car. This is also measured at the household level. For this analysis, education, labour market position and social class are controlled, as well as other characteristics.

The other characteristics controlled in the analysis are five-year age group, family status, religion, ethnicity, length of time in Ireland and location.

In order to highlight the impact of multiple group membership, we present the risk of each outcome relative to the risk for those with no disability for men and women. The relative risk calculations are based on the models shown in the Appendix, Table A3,

[12] Berthoud (2003) uses the term ‘logarithmic disadvantage’ for this pattern.

and controls are included for five-year age group, family status, nationality, religion, ethnicity, migration and location. The reference group for the relative risk calculations is white, Irish, Catholic, single adults, aged 25 to 29 years, living in Dublin, with no children.

10.3 Low Education

We saw in Chapter 2 that men are disadvantaged, relative to women, in terms of the risk of low education. In Figure 10.1 we examine the impact of disability on education separately for men and women. The results come from the multivariate model (see Appendix, Table A3), which includes controls for five-year age group, family type, nationality, religion, ethnicity, migration and location.

To highlight the differences in the impact of disability for men and women, we show the expected risk of low education under two conditions: constraining the impact of disability to be the same for men and women (no interaction) and allowing the impact of disability to differ for men and women (interaction). Comparing the risks under these two conditions allows us to see whether the impact of disability on the risk of low education is different for men and women.

We can see from Figure 10.1 that when we take account of the gender–disability interaction, the expected percentage of men with low levels of education is very slightly lower in the case of physical disability (33 per cent with the interaction and 34 per cent with no interaction) and considerably lower in the case of learning/ intellectual disability (58 and 66 per cent). On the other hand, when we allow the effects to vary by gender, the risk is slightly higher for women than under the first condition for physical disability (16 per cent with the interaction and 15 per cent with no interaction) and considerably higher for learning/intellectual disability (51 and 40 per cent). When we allow the effect of having a disability to be different for men and women, we see that having a disability is associated with a smaller increase in educational disadvantage in men than in women.

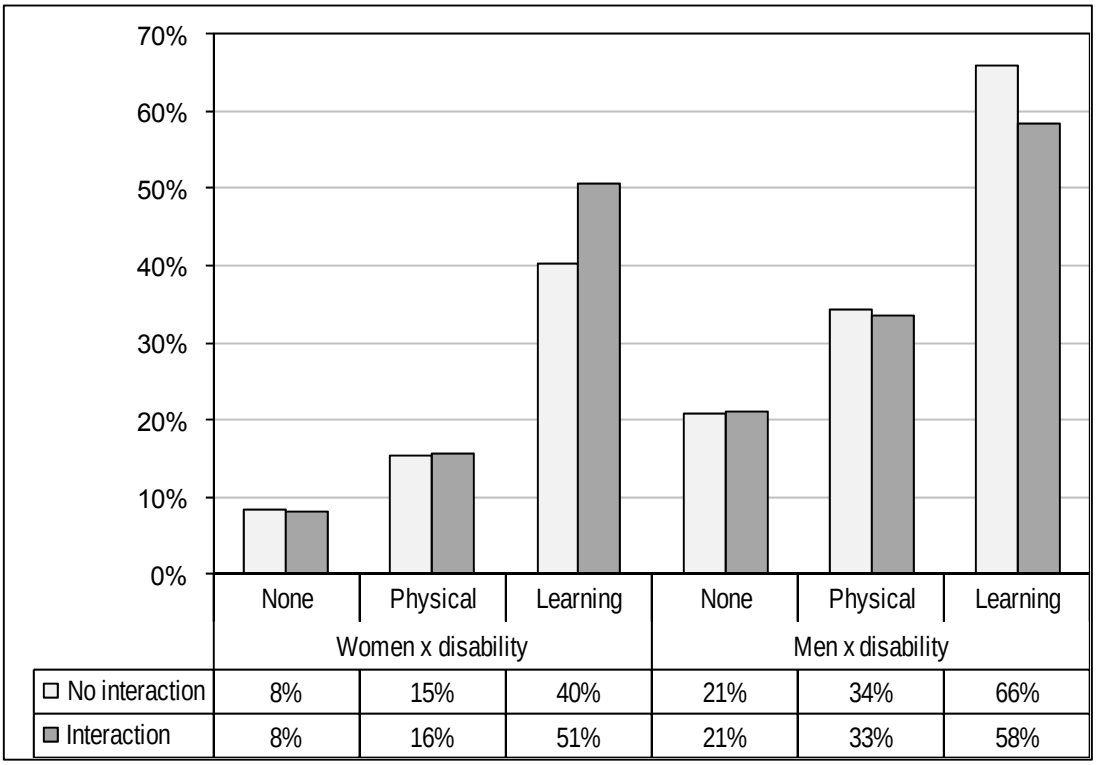
These results – particularly for intellectual/learning disability – are an example of what we call non-additive disadvantage: both men and people with a disability are educationally disadvantaged, but men with a disability are less disadvantaged than we would expect if disability had the same impact on men and women.

Note, however, that even though the pattern of disadvantage for men with a disability in the case of education is non-additive, men with a learning disability are still the most disadvantaged group: 58 per cent of men with a learning disability are expected to have low levels of education, compared with 51 per cent of women with a learning disability.

The finding of a substantial gender interaction in the case of learning/intellectual disability leads us to seek an explanation in the specific circumstances of women with this type of disability. This difference may be due to the fact that the measure of learning/intellectual disability used here is associated with a higher level of difficulty among women than among men (CSO, 2008a, Table 3A).[13]

[13] There is a difference between the census measure used here and National Disability Survey (NDS) measures of learning/intellectual disability in this regard. The NDS suggests that boys and girls with learning disability experience about the same level of difficulty with everyday activities (Watson and Nolan, 2011, Figure 12).

Figure 10.1: Net risk of low education by gender and disability under two conditions (with and without gender–disability interaction)



	Women x disability			Men x disability		
	None	Physical	Learning	None	Physical	Learning
No interaction	8%	15%	40%	21%	34%	66%
Interaction	8%	16%	51%	21%	33%	58%

Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Figures are estimated from the models in Tables A1 and A3 (see Appendix) for white, Irish, Catholic, single adults with no children, aged 25 to 29 years, living in Dublin and who have never lived outside Ireland.

10.4 Being Outside the Labour Market

We saw in Chapter 3 that women are much more likely to be outside the labour market than men and in Chapter 5 that people with a disability are more likely to be outside the labour market than people without a disability. Here, we ask how the labour market participation of men and women, separately, is affected by disability.

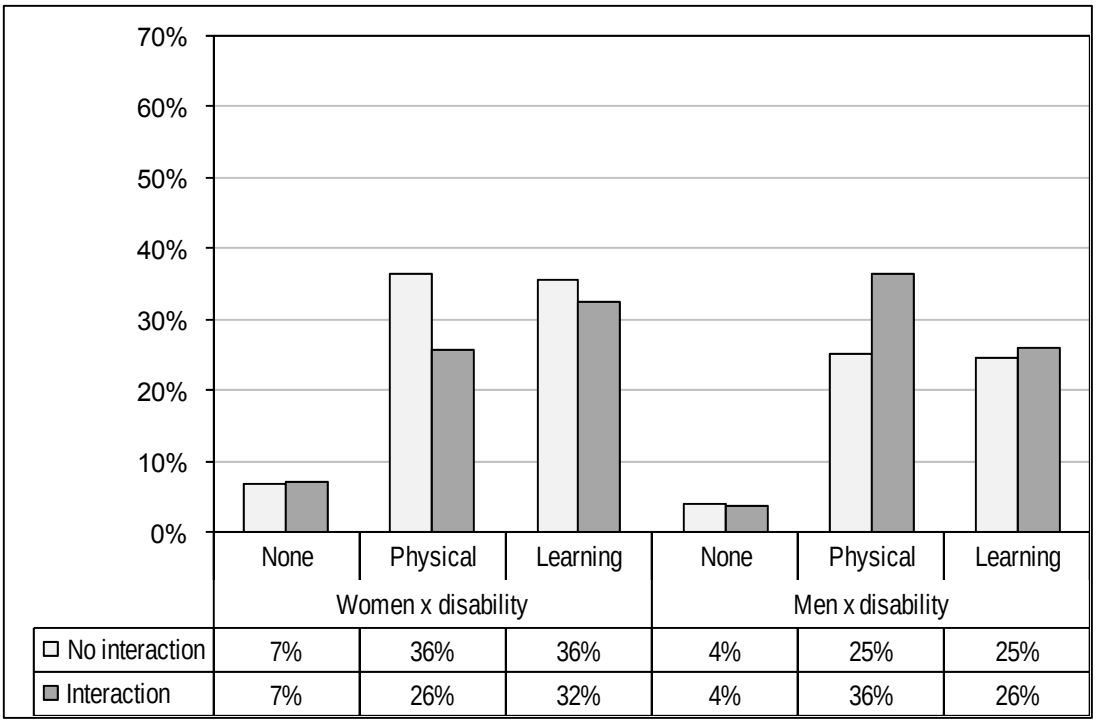
Figure 10.2 shows the impact of disability on the labour market participation of men and women under the two conditions: constraining the impact of disability to be the same for men and women (no interaction) and allowing the impact of disability to differ for men and women (interaction). Comparing the figures under the two conditions, we see that when we allow the impact of disability to differ for women and men, the impact – especially of physical disability – is larger for men. We see that the expected percentage outside the labour market falls for women but increases for men when we include the gender–disability interaction.

This is another example of non-additive disadvantage: both women and people with a disability are less likely to participate in the labour market, but women with a disability are less disadvantaged than we would expect if disability had the same impact on women and men. This may arise because physical disabilities, in particular, cause more severe limitations in terms of men's participation in the less skilled manual occupations that are more common among men with lower levels of education than among women.

Another pattern that is evident when we allow the impact of disability to vary by gender is that intellectual/learning disability has a greater impact than physical disability on the labour market participation of women, whereas the reverse is true for

men. This, again, may reflect differences in the requirements of occupations in which women and men with lower levels of education typically work and directs our attention to the specific experiences of women with learning disabilities.

Figure 10.2: Net risk of being outside the labour market by gender and disability under two conditions (with and without gender–disability interaction)



	Women x disability			Men x disability		
	None	Physical	Learning	None	Physical	Learning
No interaction	7%	36%	36%	4%	25%	25%
Interaction	7%	26%	32%	4%	36%	26%

Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Figures are estimated from the models in Table A3 (see Appendix) for white, Irish, Catholic, single adults with no children, aged 25 to 29 years, with lower second-level education, living in Dublin and who have never lived outside Ireland.

10.5 Unemployment

In Chapter 3 we saw that, overall, men have a slightly higher risk of unemployment (7.4 per cent) than women (6.7 per cent) before we control for education and family status. In Figure 10.3 we compare the net impact of having a disability on the unemployment rate for men and women before and after allowing the impact to differ by gender. We have controlled for five-year age group and level of education as well as other characteristics in order to highlight the net impact of unemployment (see Appendix, Table A3).

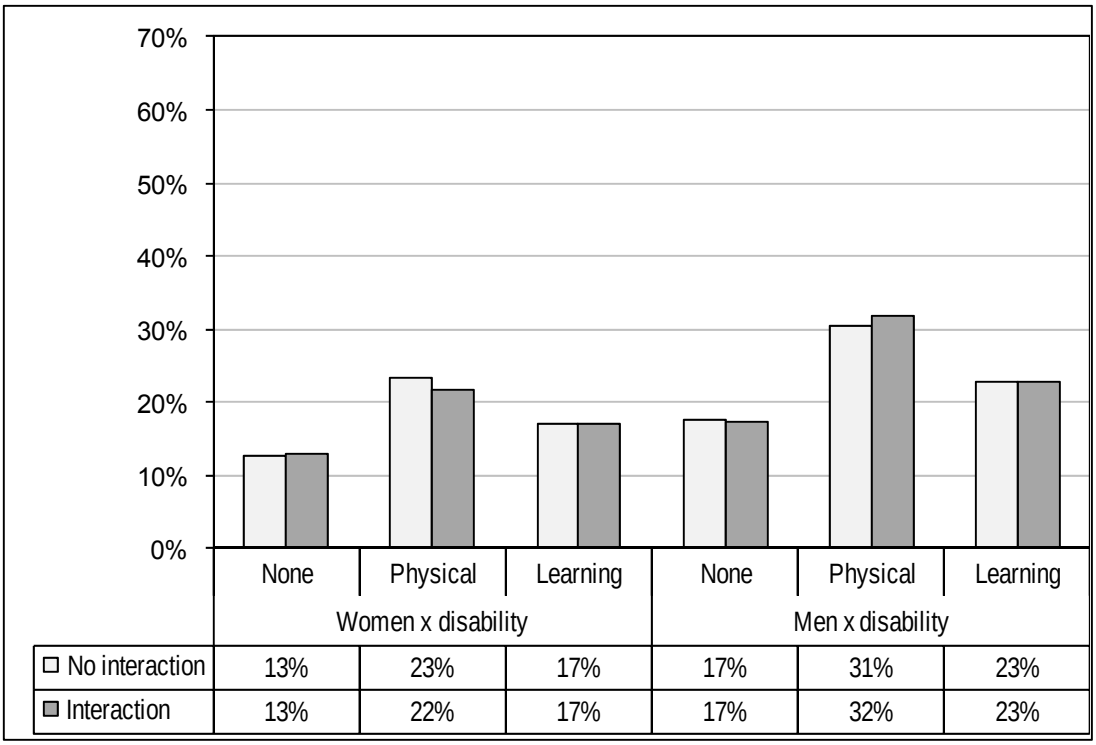
The difference based on disability is much less stark here than it was in the case of labour market participation. This may arise if (as is very likely) people with a disability in the labour market tend to be less limited in their activities than people with a disability in general. Nevertheless, people with disabilities are more likely to be unemployed.

For both men and women, the impact of a physical disability is larger than the impact of a learning disability and the impact of a physical disability is very slightly larger for men than for women: when we include the gender-interaction term, the expected percentage of women with a physical disability drops from 23 to 22 per cent, whereas the expected percentage for men increases from 31 to 32 per cent.

The pattern for men and physical disability is an example of exponential disadvantage with respect to unemployment, albeit a relatively weak one: men and

people with physical disability are both more likely to be unemployed and men with a physical disability are even more likely to be unemployed than we would expect from the combination of the two effects (being male and having a physical disability).

Figure 10.3: Net risk of unemployment by gender and disability under two conditions (with and without gender–disability interaction)



	Women x disability			Men x disability		
	None	Physical	Learning	None	Physical	Learning
No interaction	13%	23%	17%	17%	31%	23%
Interaction	13%	22%	17%	17%	32%	23%

Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Figures are estimated from the models in Table A3 (see Appendix) for white, Irish, Catholic, single adults with no children, aged 25 to 29 years, with lower second-level education, living in Dublin and who have never lived outside Ireland.

The impact of an intellectual/learning disability is very similar for men and women: the expected percentage unemployed when we include the interaction is the same as it is when we constrain the impact of having a disability to be the same for men and women. The pattern for men and learning disability, then, is an example of additive disadvantage: having a disability increases the risk of unemployment by about the same amount for men and women.

10.6 Lower Manual Social Class

Social class is measured at the household level, based on the occupation of the reference person. This means that men and women living in the same household will be assigned to the same social class and, therefore, any differences between men and women overall will be driven by differences in class position between men and women living in different households. Similarly, to the extent that young single adults with a disability are still living with their (presumably non-disabled) families, their social class position will be shared with other household members.

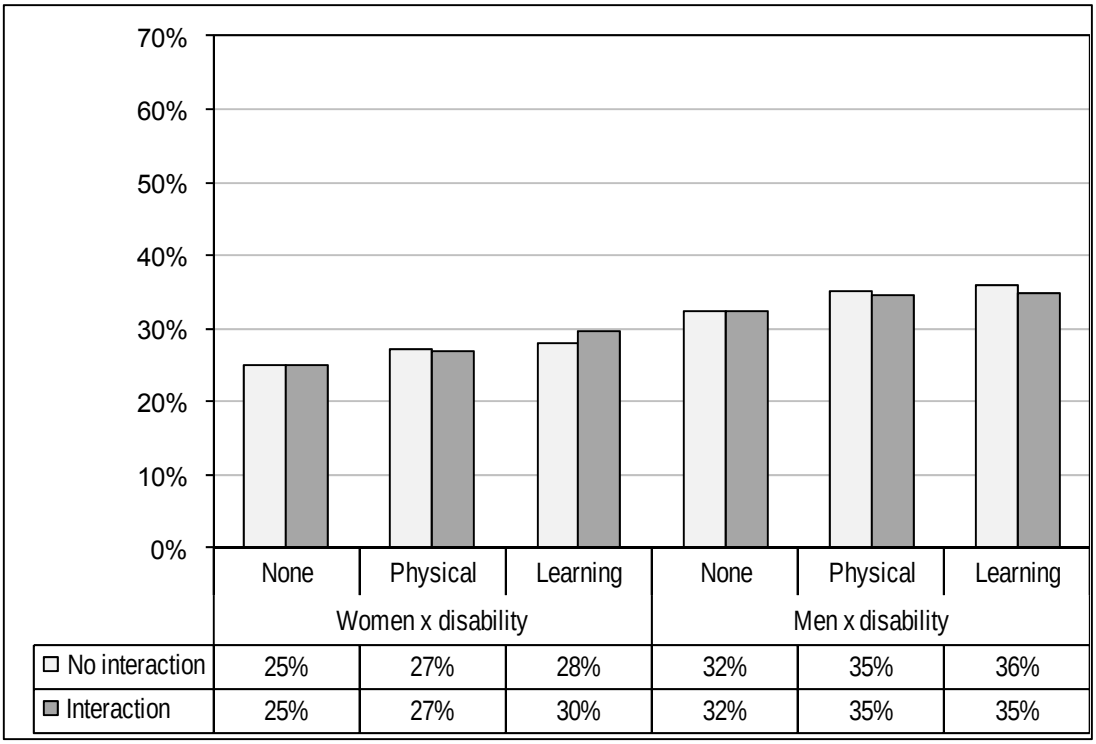
Men overall, as we saw in Chapter 3, are more likely than women to be in the lower (unskilled or semi-skilled) manual social class. This is partly due to the fact that young men are at a higher risk of having lower levels of education. We saw in Chapter 5 that overall there is also a sizeable gap between people with a disability and those with no disability, with higher percentages of people with a disability being

in the lower manual social class. Again, the difference is partly due to the lower levels of education of people with a disability.

In Figure 10.4 we compare the net impact of having a disability on the probability of being in the lower manual social class for men and women before and after allowing the impact to differ by gender. In general, the group differences are small because much of the difference has been captured by levels of education, which are controlled in the model on which the figures are based (see Appendix, Table A3). The impact of physical disability is equal under the two conditions (with the interaction and without the interaction).

The similarity in the impact of physical disability on the social class position of women and men under the two conditions means that this is another example of additive disadvantage: men and people with a disability are at higher risk of being in the lower manual social class and the risk for men with a disability is no greater than we would expect from the sum of these two risks.

Figure 10.4: Net risk of being in the lower manual social class by gender and disability under two conditions (with and without gender–disability interaction)



	Women x disability			Men x disability		
	None	Physical	Learning	None	Physical	Learning
No interaction	25%	27%	28%	32%	35%	36%
Interaction	25%	27%	30%	32%	35%	35%

Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Figures are estimated from the models in Table A3 (see Appendix) for white, Irish, Catholic, single adults with no children, aged 25 to 29 years, with lower second-level education, living in Dublin and who have never lived outside Ireland.

The pattern for intellectual/learning disability is different for men and women. Although the difference is not large, the risk is slightly larger for women. We can see this by comparing the net figures before and after allowing the impact of learning/ intellectual disability to differ by gender. When we allow the impact of learning disability to differ by gender, the expected percentage of women in the lower manual social class increases slightly (from 28 to 30 per cent), whereas the percentage for men falls slightly (from 36 to 35 per cent). This can be seen as an example of non-additive disadvantage for men and learning disability with respect to social class: membership of each group is associated with a higher risk but membership of both

groups is associated with a smaller risk than we would expect if the impact of having a learning disability is the same for men as it is for women.

10.7 Lack of Access to a Car

In Figure 10.5 we turn to our proxy measure of living standards: access to a car. As with all household-based measures of living standard, it will not differentiate between different household members and will depend heavily on the living arrangements of the groups we examine. In the present context, any difference between men and women will be driven by differences between those men and women who are not living in couples. Any difference between people with a disability and people without a disability will be driven by the extent to which people with a disability live away from their (usually non-disabled) families of origin.

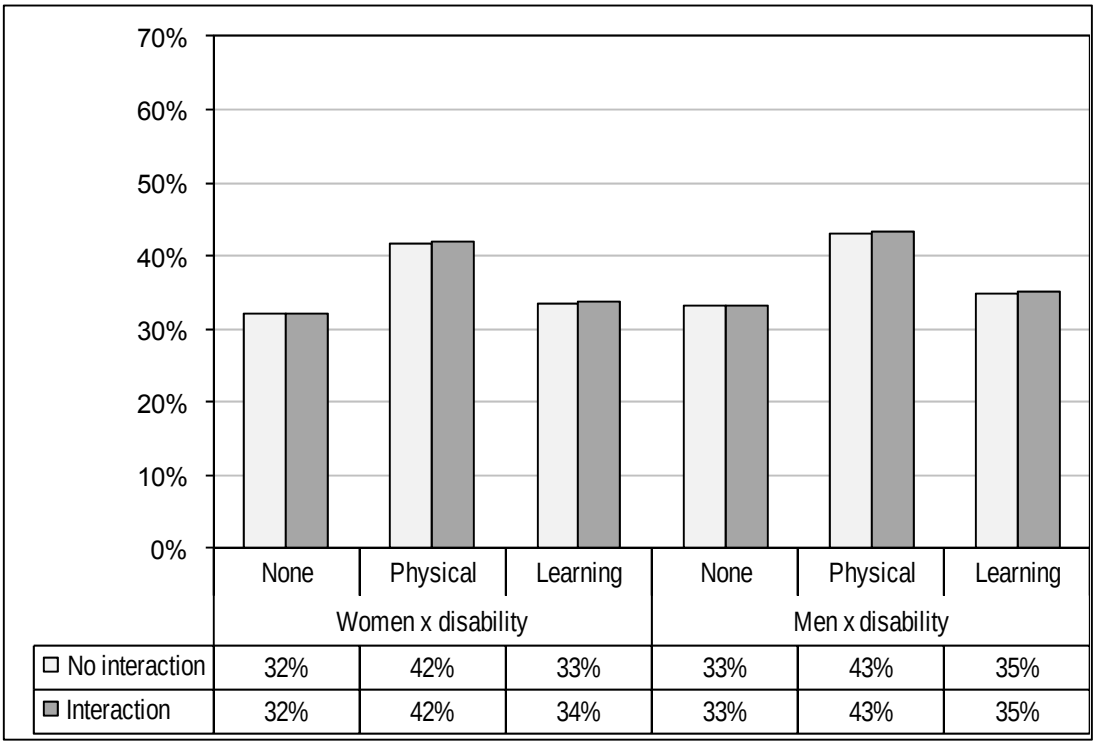
We saw in Chapter 3 that, overall, men are very slightly more likely than women to lack access to a car (12 and 11 per cent respectively). In Chapter 5 we saw a larger gap between people with no disability (11 per cent) and those with a physical disability (22 per cent) or a learning disability (27 per cent). In the case of men, the overall difference is likely to be due to differences in levels of education, whereas differences in education, labour market participation and unemployment risk are all likely to contribute to the higher rates of disadvantage among people with a disability. When we controlled for education, labour market situation, social class, marital and family status and other characteristics, there was no overall difference between men and women in the percentages lacking access to a car, and the differences by disability status were very much reduced.

In Figure 10.5 we compare the net impact of having a disability on the probability of lacking access to a car for men and women before and after allowing the impact to differ by gender. The figure is based on a model that controls for differences in education and labour market situation (see Appendix, Table A3), so the remaining differences by presence of disability are small.

For both men and women, those with a physical disability are considerably more likely to lack access to a car than people without a disability, but the difference is similar under the two conditions (with the interaction and without the interaction). People with a learning disability are slightly more likely to lack access to a car than people without a disability, but the difference is smaller than for physical disability (about 1 or 2 percentage points) and is similar under the two conditions.

This pattern is one of additive disadvantage, in that membership of both groups (men and having a physical disability) is associated with disadvantage equal to the combined impact of membership of both groups. The impact of learning disability on the risk of lacking access to a car, with other factors controlled, is very weak, however. This small effect may arise if young adults with a learning disability are more likely to remain living at home, so that their access to resources at the household level reflects the circumstances of their parents and siblings.

Figure 10.5: Net risk of lacking access to a car by gender and disability under two conditions (with and without gender–disability interaction)



	Women x disability			Men x disability		
	None	Physical	Learning	None	Physical	Learning
No interaction	32%	42%	33%	33%	43%	35%
Interaction	32%	42%	34%	33%	43%	35%

Source: Census 2006, special analysis.

Note: Figures are estimated from the models in Table A3 (see Appendix) for white, Irish, Catholic, single adults with no children, aged 25 to 29 years, with lower second-level education, working in an unskilled manual occupation, living in Dublin and who have never lived outside Ireland.

10.8 Summary

In this chapter we used the example of gender and disability to examine the way in which multiple group membership can shape disadvantage. We outlined three possible patterns of multiple disadvantage and illustrated them with examples of five outcomes from the Census 2006 data. For each of the five outcomes, we presented results for two interactions: being female (or male for outcomes where men are at a disadvantage relative to women) and having a physical disability and being female (or male) and having a learning disability. This gives a total of ten interactions and their location in relation to the multiple disadvantage typology is shown in Table 10.2.

In general, for the groups and outcomes examined, the most common pattern was that of non-additive disadvantage, or what Berthoud (2003) calls logarithmic disadvantage: each of two groups is disadvantaged relative to non-members, but membership of both groups is associated with less disadvantage than we would expect from adding the two together. This pattern was found for five of the ten interactions examined.

There were four examples of additive disadvantage, but two of these were weak patterns where the group differences were very small. Additive disadvantage describes the pattern where members of each group are disadvantaged relative to non-members, and membership of both groups is associated with a level of disadvantage approximately equal to what we would expect from the combination of membership of each. In this sense, membership of both groups is ‘worse’ than membership of either one, but not to an extent that would prompt us to examine the circumstances in detail in order to seek an explanation.

There was only one weak example of exponential disadvantage: membership of each group is associated with negative outcomes and members of both groups are even more disadvantaged than we would expect from combining the effects of membership of each one. This example was found for being male and having a physical disability for the outcome unemployment: the impact of physical disability on unemployment risk was very slightly greater for men than for women, with other characteristics controlled. This finding is likely to reflect the greater importance of physical strength to many of the traditionally male-dominated occupations, so that physical disability may be a greater barrier for men than for women when it comes to finding suitable work.

Table 10.2: Examples of different kinds of multiple disadvantage for gender and disability

Groups and outcome	Outcome	Type of multiple disadvantage
Men, physical disability Men, learning disability	Low education	Non-additive Non-additive
Women, physical disability Women, learning disability	Non-participation in labour market	Non-additive Non-additive
Men, physical disability Men, learning disability	Unemployment	Exponential (weak) Additive
Men, physical disability Men, learning disability	Lower manual social class	Additive (weak) Non-additive (weak)
Men, physical disability Men, learning disability	Lack of access to car	Additive Additive (weak)

The second general finding of note is that the pattern of multiple disadvantage can vary depending on the outcome we are examining. For instance, being male and having a physical disability fits the pattern of non-additive disadvantage for low levels of education, weakly fits the pattern of exponential disadvantage for unemployment and fits the pattern of additive disadvantage for lack of access to a car.

A third point worth noting is that the absence of a pattern of exponential or additive disadvantage does not necessarily mean that a group is not 'worse off' in some sense. For instance, we found a pattern of non-additive disadvantage in the case of being male and having a learning disability for the low education outcome: the increased risk associated with this disability for men was less than the increased risk for women. However, it was still the case that men with a learning disability had the highest risk of having a low level of education. This is because the risk of this outcome is much higher for men than for women.

Our analysis in this chapter points to the importance of paying careful attention to the processes underlying disadvantage and the ways in which they may interact. It cannot be assumed that members of two groups, each associated with disadvantage, will be 'doubly disadvantaged' or 'worse off' in any meaningful sense. We saw in the case of labour market participation, for instance, that the barriers to participation may be quite different for men and women and that the characteristics of many traditionally male jobs may result in particular barriers for men with a disability.

Exploring the patterns of multiple disadvantage is useful in drawing attention to areas where the interaction of different processes – education, labour market, life cycle processes – may result in unexpected outcomes.

11 THE NINE EQUALITY GROUNDS AND DISADVANTAGE

11.1 Introduction

In this chapter we draw together the results for the nine different equality grounds identified in Ireland's equality legislation and examine the situation of these groups with respect to the five outcomes under consideration in this report: low level of education, being outside the labour market, unemployment, lower manual social class and lack of access to a car.

In examining the situation of each group, we controlled for membership of all other groups so that we could focus on the net differences between groups. The other characteristics controlled in all of the analyses are five-year age group, migration experience, region and urban/rural location. By adding controls for education when analysing net differences in the other outcomes, we were able to see to what extent the overall differences between groups may be due to lower levels of education.

11.2 Age

The sense in which age can be associated with disadvantage is complex and depends on the outcome in question. Young adults may experience difficulty in getting started in the labour market or in acquiring an independent residence. Older adults often experience a drop in income on retirement and are more likely to have lost a partner or to have experienced health problems. As our focus was on adults aged between 25 and 64 years, much of the disadvantage experienced by older adults remained outside the scope of this report. Nevertheless, because of changes in the macro-social environment – particularly the introduction of free second-level education in 1966, we saw large differences in education by age group among the under 65s: 16 per cent of adults aged 25 to 29 years had completed less than full second-level education, compared with 59 per cent of adults aged 60 to 64 years.

There are also differences in labour market participation by age group. Excluding students, only 10 per cent of adults in the 25–29 age band are outside the labour market. The percentages outside the labour market rise gradually to 20 per cent by the 45–49 age band and more steeply thereafter to reach 54 per cent in the 60–64 age band. Some of the differences by age will be due to early retirement, some to disability (which becomes more common with age) and some to the fact that women in the older age bands are more likely to have given up paid work to look after their family. When we control for gender, disability and other differences, the percentages outside the labour market rise from 2 per cent among men aged 25 to 29 years to 21 per cent among men aged 60 to 64 years. We still see a sharp rise, but it begins later: up to age 54, the proportion of men outside the labour market remains below 10 per cent.

The overall unemployment rate among adults in the labour force follows a curvilinear pattern. Unemployment in 2006 was highest among those aged 55 to 64 years (9 per cent) and was also high among young adults (8 per cent among those in the 25–29 age band). It was lowest among those in their early forties. The curvilinear pattern disappears, however, when we control for other factors, including education, gender, disability and migration experience, showing a fairly flat profile across the age bands. This suggests that a combination of lower levels of education among older adults who become unemployed and transition-related challenges in the younger age group (migration, the move from education to work) account for the observed overall pattern by age.

Older adults are slightly more likely to be in the lower manual social class: 22 per cent of adults aged 60 to 64 years, compared with 19 per cent of those aged 25 to 29 years. Differences in education level, as well as macro-social changes in the skill level of occupations, account for the overall pattern by age. When we control for education and other characteristics, however, we see that it is younger adults that are more likely to be in these relatively disadvantaged occupational classes. Challenges associated with the transition from education to work – in particular, finding a job that matches the person's skills – account for the net pattern, with education and other characteristics controlled.

Access to a car is our proxy measure for living standards. Before controlling for other factors, we see a curvilinear relationship with age. The youngest adults (25–29 age band) are most likely to lack access to a car (16 per cent). The percentages fall to a low figure of 8 per cent in the 40–44 age band and rise again, though not to the same level, reaching 12 per cent of those in the 60–64 age band. This pattern disappears when we control for level of education, employment situation and social class, as well as migration, which tends to increase the rate among young adults.

Overall, changes in the macro-social environment as well as life cycle processes are important in accounting for differences in outcome between the age groups. The most important changes in the macro-social environment have been the introduction of free second-level education in the 1960s, the increasing participation of women in the labour force after the lifting of the marriage bar and the shift from manufacturing to service jobs. Each of these had an impact on the life choices available to young people as they made the transition from school to adult roles. To understand the processes behind differences between age groups, we need to take account of the intersection of life cycle stages and the social and economic context at the time when key transitions are made.

11.3 Gender

The association between gender and disadvantage is also complex: women are at a disadvantage for some outcomes and men are at a disadvantage for others.

Men are more likely than women to have low levels of education: 27 per cent of men aged 25 to 44 years and 50 per cent of men aged 45 to 64 years left school without full second-level education, compared with figures of 20 and 47 per cent respectively for women. The gender gap in this respect is wider among younger adults. The gender gap is very small in the older age group when we control for other characteristics (five-year age group, migration experience, disability, family status, religion, ethnicity, nationality and location), but it remains in the younger age group.

The opposite pattern is seen for labour market participation – women are disadvantaged relative to men – but the gender gap remains widest among younger adults. In the 45–64 age group, 19 per cent of men are outside the labour market, compared with 45 per cent of women. In the younger age group, 6 per cent of men and 24 per cent of women are outside the labour market. When we control for education, family status and other characteristics, the net gender gap widens for younger women: if women had the same levels of education, family situation and other characteristics as men, we would expect an even larger gender difference in labour market participation. The main gap in labour market participation is between married men and women, as we will discuss below, and is linked to a gendered division of labour in couple households.

Gender differences in unemployment are small, with men having slightly higher rates overall in the 45–64 age group, but women having slightly higher rates when education and other factors are held constant.

Social class is measured at the household level, based on the occupation of the reference person. There is a small gender difference in the older age group and a larger one in the younger age group, with men slightly more likely to be in the lower manual social class. This pattern disappears (in the younger age group) or is reversed (in the older age group) when other characteristics (primarily education) are controlled.

In terms of lack of access to a car, gender differences are very small, even before controlling for other characteristics. In the older age group, men are very slightly more likely to lack access to a car when other factors are controlled.

The largest differences between men and women in the outcomes examined here are those in labour market participation. The processes which are important here are the different gender roles within the family. In Chapter 4 we saw that the net gender gap in labour market participation is very small among single adults and is largest among married adults with children. In the next section we examine the outcomes by family status in more detail.

11.4 Family Status

In Chapter 4 we examined the impact of family status on outcomes for men and women separately. We have discussed some of the findings above with respect to gender and family, and will focus on the issues of cohabitation, lone parenthood and marital breakdown here. As noted in Chapter 1, the rates of all three have increased since the 1980s. In general, while much discussion in the literature has focused on the impact of family status on outcomes for women, we also see quite marked differences in outcomes for men by family status.

Cohabiting has become common, especially among younger adults, one in eight of whom has never been married and is cohabiting. The results here suggest that younger cohabiting couples differ from younger married couples in a number of respects. In the younger age group, it is cohabiting couples with children who are most distinct from their married counterparts and the contrast is found for men as well as women. Cohabiting fathers have lower levels of education than married fathers (32 versus 18 per cent net); they are less likely to be outside the labour market (2 versus 4 per cent net), somewhat more likely to be unemployed (6 versus 4 per cent net), and a good deal more likely to be in the lower manual social class (19 versus 14 per cent net) and to lack access to a car (7 versus 2 per cent net). A similar pattern is found for cohabiting mothers with children in comparison with married mothers with children: they are disadvantaged in terms of education, unemployment, social class and access to a car but not in terms of labour market participation.

Lone parents, as identified in Census 2006, are much more likely to be women than men. This is because the measure of lone parenthood is based on the parents and children living in the same household, and when parents do not form a union or the union ends, children are much more likely to be living with their mother. Seven per cent of women, compared with less than 1 per cent of men, in the 25–44 age group are never married lone parents and 4 per cent are formerly married lone parents, again compared with less than 1 per cent of men. In the 45–64 age group, both male and female lone parents are more likely to be formerly married (4 and 11 per cent respectively) than never married (0.5 and 1.5 per cent respectively). Overall, both male and female lone parents are more likely to be separated or divorced than to be never married, but the pattern is much stronger for male lone parents.

Lone parents (both male and female) are notably disadvantaged with respect to education. This is particularly striking for single lone parents in the younger age

group, where 43 per cent have less than full second-level education, compared with 27 per cent of married mothers and 31 per cent of married fathers. Formerly married lone parents also have high levels of educational disadvantage. About two in five younger formerly married lone parents have less than full second-level education. Controlling for other factors, such as five-year age group, opens a gap between formerly married lone mothers and formerly married lone fathers in the younger age group, with lone fathers more disadvantaged. Older lone parents also tend to be educationally disadvantaged, but the pattern is less striking because overall levels of education are lower in the 45–64 age group.

Lone fathers are more likely than married or cohabiting fathers to be outside the labour market, but the difference is reduced when we control for other factors, including education. Lone mothers, on the other hand, are less likely than married or cohabiting mothers to be outside the labour market when other factors are controlled. Lone parents are more likely than married parents to be unemployed and this difference persists when other factors are controlled.

11.5 Marital Status

Differences in outcome by marital status, as well as family status, were examined separately for men and women in Chapter 4. Perhaps surprisingly, apart from labour market participation, marital status differences were more marked for men than for women. For instance, with other factors controlled, there is a gap of seven percentage points in the risk of low levels of education between single childless and married childless men aged 25 to 44 years (21 and 14 per cent respectively), while there is no difference between the corresponding two groups of women (both 8 per cent). In terms of being in the lower manual social class, the gap between single childless and married childless men aged 25 to 44 years is 6 percentage points (20 and 14 per cent respectively), while it is 2 percentage points for women (15 and 13 per cent respectively).

The differences by marital status are in the opposite direction for men and women: married men tend to have better outcomes than single men whereas single women tend to have better outcomes than married women. We noted two hypotheses that might account for the difference between single and married men. One is the 'selection into marriage' hypothesis, which posits that men with a higher earnings capacity are more likely to marry. The second is the 'benefits of marriage' hypothesis, which posits that being married increases men's capacity to develop their human capital. There is evidence for both in the literature. As education is, in most cases, completed before marriage, the selection hypothesis is likely to apply to marital status differences in education while the benefits of marriage hypothesis is likely to have an impact on labour market outcomes and living standards.

Single men tend to be disadvantaged in terms of the outcomes we examined, whether or not they have children. The disadvantage is even more marked for older single men. For instance, the risk of low education, with other factors controlled, is 50 per cent of older single men, compared with 38 per cent of older married men and 21 per cent of younger single men.

Single childless women are a relatively advantaged group in terms of education and labour market participation and, to a lesser extent, social class. Even when we control for five-year age group, single women are less likely than married mothers in both age groups to have low levels of education; they have much higher rates of labour market participation; and in the older age group they are less likely to be in the lower manual social class. However, they have a slightly higher risk of unemployment and are less likely than married women to have access to a car.

As noted above, marital status has a large impact on the labour market participation rates of women. Married women with children are most likely to be outside the labour market, reflecting the continuing gendered division of labour with respect to childcare.

The analysis also allowed us to examine the outcomes for adults who have experienced marital breakdown. A caveat here is that there is some evidence that men whose marriages have broken down are more likely to be recorded as 'never married' on the census form: the number of formerly married men is less than the number of formerly married women. Those who are formerly married (divorced, separated or widowed) are more likely than their married counterparts to have low levels of education. Formerly married men and women also tend to have a higher unemployment rate than their married counterparts, with other factors controlled, and are more likely to be in the lower manual social class and to lack access to a car. Compared with married women, and with other factors controlled, formerly married women are more likely to be in the labour market.

11.6 Disability

In Chapter 5 we examined differences in outcome by whether or not the person had a physical or a learning/intellectual disability. Physical disability is more prevalent in the 45–64 age group (7 per cent) compared with the 25–44 age group (2 per cent), whereas learning disability is slightly more common in the younger age group (1.05 per cent, compared with 0.96 per cent).

There are large differences in the risk of low education, particularly for people with a learning disability, in comparison with non-disabled adults. In the case of people with a learning disability, which is more likely than a physical disability to have been present while the person was at school, this reflects the impact of learning disability on educational attainment. In the case of physical disability, which is more likely to be acquired through the life course, it is likely to reflect the impact of the negative consequences of low levels of education – through its link to unemployment and poorer living standards – on health.

Adults with a disability are also disadvantaged in terms of labour market, social class and living standards. The differences in educational achievement account for much, but not all, of the gap between people with a disability and non-disabled adults in labour market participation, unemployment and social class. Similarly, when we control for labour market situation and social class as well as education, much, but not all, of the gap between people with a disability and people without a disability in living standards (as measured by access to a car) is accounted for.

As most physical disability is acquired throughout the life course, rather than being present from childhood, much of the association among those over age 45 results from the impact on health and disability of disadvantaged living and working circumstances, rather than the reverse.

11.7 Travellers

In Chapter 6 we considered the situation of Irish Travellers with respect to the five outcomes. Census data is unique in having a sufficient number of cases to allow the circumstances of this small but severely deprived group to be compared with that of other groups at risk of disadvantage in Ireland.

Travellers are the most disadvantaged group by a large margin. Because of their difficult living circumstances, Travellers have a lower life expectancy, with the result that only 9 per cent of the Traveller population is over age 50, compared with 28 per cent of white Irish adults.

Eighty-six per cent of young adult Travellers and 85 per cent of middle-aged Travellers have less than full second-level education. Thirty-nine per cent of Travellers aged 25 to 44 years and 51 per cent of those aged 45 to 64 years are outside the labour market. The bulk of this difference between Travellers and other white Irish adults is due to differences in education, age group and gender, however. When education and other characteristics are controlled, only 3 per cent of younger Travellers and 9 per cent of those in the 45–64 age group are outside the labour market.

On the other hand, low levels of education account for only about half of the gap between Travellers and other white Irish adults in the risk of unemployment. When education and other factors are controlled, the unemployment rate of Travellers in the labour market remains very high (31 to 39 per cent, compared with 3 to 4 per cent of other white Irish adults). Travellers are much more likely to be in the lower manual social class (25 per cent, with education and other factors controlled, compared with 14 per cent of other white Irish adults). Although Travellers are more likely than other white Irish adults to lack access to a car (22 to 25 per cent gross, compared with 8 to 10 per cent of other white Irish adults), the bulk of this difference is explained by their educational and labour market disadvantage.

The persistence of a very high risk of unemployment when education is controlled indicates that Irish Travellers face additional barriers when it comes to looking for work, apart from the barriers linked to their lower levels of education.

11.8 Nationality and Other Ethnic Groups

In Chapters 7 and 8 we examined differences in outcomes by nationality and ethnic group. Apart from Irish Travellers, most of the diversity in ethnicity and nationality in Ireland in 2006 was linked to fairly recent migration. As such, it was important to control for year of arrival in Ireland so that we could see differences by nationality net of the disruptive impact of migration.

Migrants tend to be better educated than those who have never lived abroad. Controlling for other factors, 18 per cent of younger Irish adults who have never lived abroad have completed less than full second-level education, compared with about one in ten migrants. When we control for migration, non-Irish nationals still tend to be better educated than Irish nationals. This is true of those from all countries except the UK in the 25–44 age group and of all non-Irish nationals (including those from the UK) in the 45–64 age group.

UK nationals in the 25–44 age group are more likely than Irish nationals to have low levels of education, whereas those in the 45–64 age group are less likely than Irish nationals to have low levels of education. When we control for education, gender and other characteristics, UK and Irish nationals are very similar in their labour market participation rates, but UK nationals have slightly higher unemployment rates, are more likely to be in the lower manual social class and, in the younger age group, are slightly more likely to lack access to a car.

Nationals of the EU15 countries (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Sweden), excluding Ireland and the UK, in both age groups, are much less likely than Irish nationals to have low levels of education. When we control for education and other characteristics, their labour market participation rates are similar to those of white Irish adults. Their unemployment rate is very slightly lower than that of Irish adults in the younger age group but is slightly higher in the older age group. When we control for level of education, nationals of these EU15 states are more likely to be in the

lower manual social class and, particularly in the younger age group, to lack access to a car than Irish nationals.

People from the EU10 countries (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) are less likely than Irish nationals to have low levels of education. When other characteristics (including gender, education and migration) are controlled, they are less likely than white Irish adults to be outside the labour market, they are no different in terms of unemployment, but they are much more likely to be in the relatively disadvantaged lower manual social class and to live in households that lack access to a car. Compared with Irish adults who have a net risk of being in the lower manual social class of 14 per cent, the figure is 41 to 42 per cent for adults from the EU10. This group is the least likely to have access to a car (10 to 11 per cent) when other characteristics are controlled.

People from outside the EU are also better educated than Irish nationals, but, with other factors controlled, they are slightly more likely to be outside the labour market, they have higher unemployment rates and they are more likely to be in the lower manual social class and to lack access to a car. Their risk of being in the lower manual social class (29 per cent of the younger age group and 24 per cent of the older age group) is not as high as that of EU10 nationals, but is considerably higher than the 14 per cent of Irish nationals of both age groups.

In terms of ethnicity, all the ethnic groups except people of Chinese origin are less likely than white Irish adults to have low levels of education, and this pattern persists (apart from Chinese adults) when migration and other characteristics are controlled. When controls are included, the risk of low education is highest for Chinese adults: 37 per cent of younger and 70 per cent of older Chinese adults, compared with 18 and 38 per cent respectively for Irish adults.

Members of all the ethnic groups, except older people of Chinese origin, are more likely to be in the lower manual social classes than white Irish adults. The pattern for older Chinese adults is unusual, in that only 7 per cent net are in this social class, compared with 14 per cent of white Irish adults.

Those of African origin, particularly in the younger age group, are the most disadvantaged in terms of unemployment risk and of social class. African adults are less likely than white Irish adults to be outside the labour market, with other characteristics controlled, but they face a higher net risk of unemployment: 21 per cent of younger adults of African origin are unemployed, compared with 4 per cent of Irish adults in this age group. The corresponding figures for the 45–64 age group are 12 per cent net for African adults and 3 per cent net for Irish adults. African adults are about twice as likely as white Irish adults to be in the lower manual social class, when education, migration and other characteristics are controlled.

Those belonging to other (non-Chinese) Asian ethnic groups are most likely to lack access to a car when other characteristics (including education, labour market situation and social class) are controlled. Six per cent net of the younger age group and 8 per cent net of the older age group lack access to a car, compared with 2 and 3 per cent net respectively of white Irish adults.

11.9 Religion

In general, the differences by religious group were small (see Chapter 9) – especially compared with the differences between national and ethnic groups – when we controlled for migration, nationality, ethnicity and other variables.

Muslims are disadvantaged in terms of education and labour market situation, but not in terms of social class or access to a car, when other factors are controlled. Muslims

are the religious group most likely to have been born outside Ireland, so it is probable that their experience is the result of the disruptive impact of migration. The pattern of educational disadvantage, non-participation in the labour market and unemployment combined with no disadvantage in social class terms or in access to a car, when these are controlled, is consistent with a group experiencing the disruptive impact of migration. The differences that remain when we control for migration and other characteristics are much smaller in magnitude.

11.10 Sexual Orientation

The measure of being in a same-sex couple is based on the stated relationship 'partner' with someone of the opposite sex in Census 2006. As the number of men and women in same-sex relationships is rather small, and is undoubtedly an underestimate of the true number of gay and lesbian adults in Irish society, we need to be careful in generalising these patterns to an overall conclusion. Nevertheless, the analysis of the Census 2006 data provides the first opportunity to examine the situation of this group in Ireland and it is worthwhile to present the results.

A notable finding is that men and women in same-sex relationships tend to be better educated than married partners, but this does not always translate into better labour market circumstances or better living standards.

The labour market disadvantage is clearest for older men in same-sex partnerships: they are more likely to be outside the labour market than married fathers and, once in the labour market, they face a higher risk of unemployment. They are also somewhat more likely to be in the lower manual social class and are much more likely to lack access to a car.

In the younger age group, the disadvantage relative to married fathers is clearest for lack of access to a car, is not apparent at all for unemployment and is smaller for labour market participation and social class.

Women in same-sex relationships, similarly, tend to be better educated than married mothers. On the other hand, they are much more likely than married mothers to be in the labour market and they have a broadly similar unemployment rate to married mothers. They are more likely than married mothers to be in the lower manual social class, with the difference more pronounced in the younger age group. While younger women in same-sex relationships are less likely than their married counterparts to have access to a car, no such difference is apparent in the older age group.

11.11 Multiple Group Membership and Multiple Disadvantage

Throughout this report we examine the overall gross differences between groups and the net differences when membership of other groups is controlled. In Chapter 10 we used the example of gender and disability in the 25–44 age group to illustrate the kind of analysis of multiple group membership that is possible with a large dataset such as that of Census 2006. As the number of combinations of group membership is extremely large, we focused on dual membership with respect to gender and disability to illustrate the impact of multiple group membership.

A common assumption regarding multiple disadvantage is that membership of two groups, both of which are disadvantaged is, in some sense, worse than membership of either one. We distinguished three possible consequences of multiple group membership: exponential disadvantage, additive disadvantage and non-additive disadvantage.

The most common pattern we observed was that of non-additive disadvantage, where the increase in risk for people who are members of two groups (both of whom are at risk) is less than we would expect from combining the two risks. For example, women and people with a physical disability are less likely to participate in the labour market. But, while there is an increased risk for women with a disability, the increase in risk is smaller than we would expect from adding together the two separate risks.

A second example of non-additive disadvantage occurs in the case of men with a learning disability for the outcome education. Both groups (men relative to women and people with a learning disability relative to people without a disability) are disadvantaged in terms of education, but men with a learning disability are less disadvantaged than we would expect if disability had the same impact on men and women. In regression terms, the interaction is significant and negative. The pattern of non-additive disadvantage was observed for five of the ten pairs of groups examined.

The next most common pattern was additive disadvantage, although the pattern was weak for two of the four cases where it was observed. Additive disadvantage arises where two groups are at risk of a negative outcome and members of both groups experience an increased risk that is about what we would expect from combining the two separate risks. For instance, being male and having a learning disability are both associated with an increased risk of unemployment. Being a member of both groups (a man with a learning disability) is associated with an increased risk, but the increase in risk is no larger than we would expect from combining the two separate risks. In other words, the increase in risk associated with having a learning disability is about the same for men and women. In regression terms, the interaction is close to zero.

We saw only one weak example of exponential disadvantage, where someone who is a member of both groups experiences an increase in risk that is greater than we would expect from adding the two separate risks. The example was for men with a physical disability and unemployment: the increase in risk of unemployment associated with physical disability was greater for men than for women. This example is weak because the overall gender difference is small and the impact of having a disability is only slightly larger for men than for women.

The results in Chapter 10 demonstrate that we cannot assume that membership of two groups, each of whom is disadvantaged in some respect, will result in a ‘double disadvantage’. An understanding of how multiple group membership impacts on outcomes requires careful attention to the processes involved and these can interact in ways that are complex and unexpected.

11.12 Policy Lessons

The analysis in this report was designed to provide a broad picture of groups in Ireland at risk of disadvantage, rather than to study the circumstances of any one group in depth. As a consequence, the lessons for policy are about dimensions of inequality in general rather than for specific groups. In this section, then, we will point to some general issues that have an important bearing on how we think about the processes that bring about unequal outcomes.

The first general point concerns the important role played by education. Groups with low levels of education tend to have worse outcomes and much (though by no means all) of the difference between groups can be accounted for by differences in education. People with a disability (especially a learning/intellectual disability) and Irish Travellers have particularly high levels of educational disadvantage. They also experience very high rates of labour market disadvantage (in terms of both being

outside the labour market and risk of unemployment), but the labour market disadvantage is very much reduced when differences in education are controlled.

The second general point is in a sense the opposite of the first and concerns the extent to which disadvantage can emerge in different arenas. This was clearest in the case of groups such as non-Irish nationals who were initially advantaged in terms of education. Nationals of the ten European countries that joined the EU in 2004, for instance, tend to have higher levels of education than Irish nationals, comparably high levels of labour market participation and comparably low unemployment rates, when other factors are controlled. However, they are much more likely to be in semi-skilled or unskilled manual occupations and much more likely to lack access to a car. When we control for labour market and social class, their disadvantage with respect to access to a car is reduced but still remains substantial. This, then, is an example of a relatively well-educated group that is disadvantaged in terms of the occupations they work in. This disadvantage emerges in the labour market and is linked to (but not completely accounted for by) recent migration.

The third general point concerns the role of choice and constraint. This is clearest in the case of the labour market participation of parents. Younger mothers and fathers – but particularly mothers – have lower rates of labour market participation than their childless counterparts. Some of this difference may reflect a preference to care for their children themselves. This makes it difficult to determine the role of preference as opposed to constraint and to determine the extent to which reduced labour market participation represents a disadvantage. However, the choices parents make are in the context of available options. If childcare was more readily available and more affordable, the outcome would more clearly be interpretable as one of different preferences rather than one which parents, especially mothers, are constrained to make.

One of the aims of this report was to examine consequences of multiple group membership. We did this with respect to disability and gender. The lesson from this analysis is that members of two disadvantaged groups often do not experience 'double disadvantage' in the way we might expect and that the impact of multiple group membership may be different depending on the outcome under consideration.

An important lesson from this project is that a huge amount of insight can be gained from a large dataset such as that provided by a census of population. Although the number of indicators is more limited than many dedicated surveys on equality issues, the number of cases allows us to assess in broad terms the situation of even very small groups in the population. Of particular importance is how census data can be used to examine issues of multiple group membership (illustrated briefly in Chapter 10). There is much scope to take this further and examine how the implications of nationality, ethnic group and ageing, for instance, may be different for men and women or for people with a disability in comparison with those without a disability. While census data will not tell us the precise mechanisms involved, it will often show us where to look.

APPENDIX: MODELS

Table A1: Models of disadvantage for adults aged 25 to 44 years

		Low education	*Not in labour market*	*Unemployed*	*Lower manual social class*	*Lack of access to a car*
	Intercept	*–1.50*	*–4.16*	*–3.31*	*–1.78*	*–3.71*
Gender	Female	*–0.42*	*3.25*	*0.38*	*–0.04*	*–0.25*
Family type	Never married, no children	*0.16*	*0.48*	*1.00*	*0.42*	*1.82*
(Ref=married with children)	Never married, lone parent	*0.81*	*0.98*	*1.19*	*0.53*	*1.74*
	Never married, cohabitee, no children	*–0.35*	*–0.78*	*–0.15*	*0.19*	*1.50*
	Never married, cohabitee, child(ren)	*0.76*	*0.19*	*0.64*	*0.35*	*1.09*
	Married, no children	*–0.31*	*–0.31*	*–0.13*	*–0.01*	*1.31*
	Ex-married, no children	*0.29*	*0.19*	*0.69*	*0.18*	*1.55*
	Ex-married, lone parent	*0.53*	*1.10*	*0.62*	*0.11*	*1.28*
	Ex-married, cohabitee, child(ren)	*0.34*	*0.28*	*0.40*	*–0.01*	*0.34*
	In same-sex couple	*–0.71*	*–0.23*	*0.20*	*0.05*	*2.10*
Female	Never married, no children	*–0.63*	*–2.72*	*–0.74*	*–0.32*	*0.19*
x family type	Never married, lone parent	*0.43*	*–1.45*	*–0.11*	*0.03*	*0.99*
(Ref=married with children)	Never married, cohabitee, no children	*–0.46*	*–2.10*	*–0.06*	*–0.18*	*0.16*
	Never married, cohabitee, child(ren)	*–0.10*	*–0.56*	*–0.13*	*0.01*	*0.12*
	Married, no children	*–0.22*	*–1.47*	*0.14*	*–0.03*	*–0.07*
	Ex-married, no children	*0.00*	*–1.81*	*–0.30*	*0.17*	*0.26*
	Ex-married, lone parent	*0.20*	*–1.66*	*–0.04*	*0.26*	*0.65*
	Ex-married, cohabitee, child(ren)	*0.24*	*–0.65*	*–0.11*	*0.13*	*0.08*
	In same-sex couple	*0.15*	*–2.51*	*–0.19*	*0.35*	*–0.56*
Disability	Physical disability	*0.69*	*2.07*	*0.73*	*0.12*	*0.41*
(Ref=no disability)	Intellectual/learning disability	*1.99*	*2.04*	*0.33*	*0.16*	*0.06*
Religion	Religion not stated	*–3.01*	*3.93*	*–0.27*	*–0.13*	*–0.33*
(Ref=Catholic)	Church of Ireland	*–0.20*	*0.13*	*0.01*	*–0.23*	*–0.07*
	Other Christian	*–0.47*	*0.12*	*0.18*	*0.07*	*0.00*
	Muslim	*0.28*	*0.77*	*0.50*	*–0.35*	*0.11*
	Other non-Christian	*–0.35*	*0.43*	*0.14*	*–0.25*	*0.44*
	No religion	*–0.79*	*0.22*	*0.17*	*–0.11*	*0.38*
Ethnicity	Other	*–0.08*	*0.38*	*0.20*	*0.31*	*0.49*
(Ref=white Irish)	Irish Traveller	*3.05*	*0.60*	*2.88*	*0.69*	*0.04*
	Other white	*–0.17*	*0.08*	*0.34*	*0.28*	*0.57*
	African	*–0.28*	*–0.51*	*1.97*	*0.80*	*–0.02*
	Chinese	*0.97*	*–0.32*	*–0.16*	*0.32*	*0.58*
	Other Asian	*–0.81*	*–0.10*	*0.32*	*0.53*	*1.04*
Nationality	Irish–other	*–0.29*	*0.32*	*0.37*	*0.04*	*0.24*
(Ref=Irish)	UK	*0.84*	*0.18*	*0.11*	*0.04*	*–0.05*
	Other EU15	*–0.50*	*–0.08*	*–0.30*	*0.10*	*0.96*
	EU10	*0.05*	*–0.67*	*–0.22*	*1.26*	*1.21*
	Rest of world	*0.10*	*0.50*	*0.56*	*0.69*	*0.98*

Table A1: Models of disadvantage for adults aged 25 to 44 years *(continued)*

		Low education	*Not in labour market*	*Unemployed*	*Lower manual social class*	*Lack of access to a car*
Migration	Returned/migrated 2004–2006	*–0.65*	*0.38*	*0.42*	*–0.14*	*0.34*
(Ref=not lived	Returned/migrated 2000–2003	*–0.84*	*0.15*	*–0.11*	*–0.22*	*–0.12*
abroad)	Returned/migrated 1990–1999	*–0.85*	*0.05*	*–0.24*	*–0.32*	*–0.29*
	Returned/migrated pre-1990	*–0.50*	*–0.01*	*–0.12*	*–0.09*	*–0.16*
	Not stated	*–0.14*	*–0.08*	*0.09*	*–0.06*	*0.15*
Age group	30–34	*0.30*	*0.10*	*–0.08*	*0.01*	*–0.03*
(Ref=25–29)	35–39	*0.68*	*0.28*	*–0.10*	*0.02*	*0.06*
	40–44	*0.97*	*0.26*	*–0.14*	*–0.01*	*0.19*
Location	Town/village 1,500–20,000	*0.00*	*0.04*	*–0.16*	*–0.06*	*–0.33*
(Ref=town 20k+)	Rural <1,500	*0.08*	*0.09*	*–0.43*	*–0.10*	*–1.52*
Region	Border	*0.49*	*0.00*	*0.34*	*0.37*	*–0.10*
(Ref=Dublin)	Mid-East	*0.09*	*0.12*	*–0.06*	*0.19*	*–0.61*
	Midlands	*0.28*	*0.05*	*0.14*	*0.36*	*–0.13*
	Mid-West	*0.10*	*0.03*	*0.12*	*0.39*	*–0.19*
	South-East	*0.31*	*0.02*	*0.19*	*0.45*	*–0.21*
	South-West	*0.06*	*0.18*	*0.04*	*0.37*	*–0.37*
	West	*0.01*	*0.03*	*0.20*	*0.45*	*–0.22*
Education	Education not stated		*0.87*	*0.47*	*0.28*	*0.30*
(Ref=upper 2nd)	Primary		*1.08*	*1.53*	*0.94*	*0.91*
	Lower secondary		*0.52*	*0.76*	*0.62*	*0.47*
	Diploma		*–0.51*	*–0.52*	*–0.70*	*–0.30*
	Degree		*–0.95*	*–0.68*	*–1.36*	*–0.19*
	Still at school/student					*0.25*
Labour status	Unemployed					*0.83*
(Ref=at work)	Inactive					*0.70*
Social class	Social class not stated					*–1.42*
(Ref=skilled	Higher professional/managerial					*–0.35*
manual)	Lower professional/managerial					*–0.19*
	Other white collar					*0.12*
	Semi-skilled manual					*0.49*
	Unskilled manual					*0.73*
	Unknown or never worked					*0.70*
	Nagelkerke R-squared	.1724	*.428*	*.1693*	*.1721*	*.3552*

Source: Census 2006, special analysis. Bold = P≤.0001.

Table A2: Models of disadvantage for adults aged 45 to 64 years

		Low education	*Not in labour market*	*Unemployed*	*Lower manual social class*	*Lack of access to a car*
	Intercept	*–0.49*	*–2.92*	*–3.41*	*–1.84*	*–3.64*
Gender	Women	*–0.05*	*1.96*	*0.11*	*0.07*	*–0.10*
Family type	Never married, no children	*0.48*	*0.56*	*1.12*	*0.50*	*2.43*
(Ref=married with children)	Never married, lone parent	*0.40*	*0.34*	*0.81*	*0.42*	*1.49*
	Never married, cohabitee, no children	*0.13*	*–0.10*	*0.56*	*0.34*	*1.51*
	Never married, cohabitee, child(ren)	*0.57*	*0.09*	*1.01*	*0.43*	*1.00*
	Married, no children	*0.01*	*0.34*	*0.09*	*0.05*	*1.37*
	Ex-married, no children	*0.23*	*0.45*	*0.98*	*0.28*	*1.79*
	Ex-married, lone parent	*0.18*	*0.31*	*0.45*	*0.14*	*0.81*
	Ex-married, cohabitee, child(ren)	*0.13*	*–0.04*	*0.29*	*–0.05*	*0.04*
	In same-sex couple	*–0.72*	*0.53*	*0.50*	*0.21*	*2.01*
Female	Never married, no children	*–0.85*	*–1.49*	*–0.51*	*–0.57*	*–0.10*
x family type	Never married, lone parent	*–0.11*	*–1.14*	*0.03*	*–0.14*	*0.62*
(Ref=married with children)	Never married, cohabitee, no children					
	Never married, cohabitee, child(ren)	*–0.20*	*–0.28*	*–0.69*	*–0.30*	*–0.03*
	Married, no children	*–0.25*	*-0.55*	*0.29*	*0.26*	*0.15*
	Ex-married, no children	*–0.06*	*–1.10*	*–0.20*	*0.11*	*0.25*
	Ex-married, lone parent	*0.10*	*–0.83*	*–0.04*	*0.05*	*0.57*
	Ex-married, cohabitee, child(ren)	*0.26*	*–0.09*	*–0.11*	*0.18*	*0.22*
	In same-sex couple	*0.05*	*–1.85*	*–0.02*	*–0.12*	*–1.95*
Disability (Ref=no disability)	Physical disability	*0.59*	*1.87*	*0.64*	*0.11*	*0.39*
	Intellectual/learning disability	*1.45*	*1.36*	*0.37*	*0.18*	*0.10*
Religion	Religion not stated	*–2.81*	*3.09*	*–0.36*	*–0.08*	*–0.56*
(Ref=Catholic)	Church of Ireland	*–0.43*	*0.04*	*–0.13*	*–0.40*	*–0.34*
	Other Christian	*–0.61*	*–0.03*	*–0.06*	*–0.12*	*–0.03*
	Muslim	*–0.23*	*0.63*	*0.86*	*–0.57*	*–0.11*
	Other non-Christian	*–1.10*	*0.22*	*0.39*	*–0.16*	*0.01*
	No religion	*–1.14*	*0.10*	*0.21*	*–0.19*	*0.20*
Ethnicity	Other ethnicity	*–0.44*	*0.10*	*0.01*	*0.29*	*0.31*
(Ref=white	Irish Traveller	*1.73*	*0.56*	*2.61*	*0.72*	*–0.16*
Irish)	Other white	*–0.48*	*0.00*	*0.23*	*0.29*	*0.43*
	African	*–0.51*	*–0.45*	*1.50*	*0.98*	*0.33*
	Chinese	*1.35*	*–0.07*	*–0.14*	*–0.74*	*–0.25*
	Other Asian	*–0.80*	*–0.33*	*0.33*	*0.79*	*1.18*
Nationality	Irish–other	*–0.68*	*0.12*	*0.33*	*0.07*	*0.07*
(Ref=Irish)	UK	*0.47*	*0.21*	*0.26*	*0.13*	*–0.15*
	Other EU15	*–0.47*	*0.17*	*–0.03*	*0.01*	*–0.01*
	EU10	*–0.42*	*–1.36*	*–0.32*	*1.19*	*1.01*
	Rest of world	*–0.37*	*0.30*	*0.18*	*0.38*	*0.53*

Table A2: Models of disadvantage for adults aged 45 to 64 years *(continued)*

		Low education	*Not in labour market*	*Unemployed*	*Lower manual social class*	*Lack of access to a car*
Migration	Returned/migrated 2004–2006	*–0.57*	*0.41*	*1.02*	*–0.06*	*0.23*
(Ref=not lived	Returned/migrated 2000–2003	*–0.66*	*0.13*	*0.52*	*0.03*	*0.02*
abroad)	Returned/migrated 1990–1999	*–0.70*	*0.00*	*0.20*	*–0.06*	*–0.06*
	Returned/migrated pre-1990	*–0.60*	*–0.15*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*–0.04*
	Not stated	*–0.07*	*–0.05*	*0.36*	*0.01*	*0.22*
Age group	50–54	*0.29*	*0.25*	*0.07*	*–0.09*	*0.03*
(Ref=45–49)	55–59	*0.63*	*0.78*	*0.04*	*–0.20*	*–0.01*
	60–64	*0.80*	*1.62*	*–0.02*	*–0.33*	*–0.04*
Location (Ref=large	Town/village 1,500–20,000	*–0.02*	*0.02*	*–0.11*	*0.01*	*–0.25*
town/city)	Rural <1,500	*0.16*	*0.00*	*–0.42*	*–0.13*	*–1.53*
Region	Border	*0.44*	*0.21*	*0.54*	*0.32*	*0.00*
(Ref=Dublin)	Mid-East	*0.04*	*0.08*	*0.07*	*0.09*	*–0.40*
	Midlands	*0.25*	*0.18*	*0.18*	*0.21*	*–0.02*
	Mid-West	*0.06*	*0.16*	*0.19*	*0.26*	*–0.02*
	South-East	*0.31*	*0.30*	*0.35*	*0.26*	*–0.07*
	South-West	*0.09*	*0.29*	*0.18*	*0.19*	*–0.20*
	West	*0.12*	*0.16*	*0.36*	*0.23*	*–0.02*
Education	Education not stated		*0.43*	*0.96*	*0.93*	*0.75*
(Ref=upper	Primary		*0.56*	*1.29*	*1.35*	*0.99*
2nd level)	Lower secondary		*0.24*	*0.54*	*0.72*	*0.39*
	Diploma		*–0.49*	*–0.46*	*–0.74*	*–0.38*
	Degree		*–0.71*	*–0.87*	*–1.62*	*–0.34*
	Still at school/student					*0.37*
Labour status	Unemployed					*1.05*
(Ref=at work)	Inactive					*0.65*
Social class	Social class not stated					*–1.28*
(Ref=skilled	Higher professional/managerial					*–0.78*
manual)	Lower professional/managerial					*–0.45*
	Other white collar					*0.03*
	Semi-skilled manual					*0.64*
	Unskilled manual					*1.10*
	Unknown or never worked					*0.97*
	Nagelkerke R-squared	*.1337*	*.340*	*.1365*	*.1685*	*.3935*

Source: Census 2006, special analysis. Bold = P≤.0001.

Table A3: Models of disadvantage for adults aged 25 to 44 years with gender–disability interaction term

		Low education	*Not in labour market*	*Unemployed*	*Lower manual social class*	*Lack of access to a car*
	Intercept	*–1.49*	*–4.24*	*–3.32*	*–1.78*	*–3.71*
Gender	Female	*–0.42*	*3.34*	*0.38*	*–0.05*	*–0.25*
Family type	Never married, no children	*0.17*	*0.46*	*1.00*	*0.42*	*1.82*
(Ref=married with	Never married, lone parent	*0.81*	*0.98*	*1.18*	*0.53*	*1.74*
children)	Never married, cohabitee, no children	*–0.35*	*–0.78*	*–0.15*	*0.18*	*1.50*
	Never married, cohabitee, child(ren)	*0.76*	*0.19*	*0.64*	*0.35*	*1.09*
	Married, no children	*–0.31*	*–0.30*	*–0.13*	*–0.01*	*1.31*
	Ex-married, no children	*0.30*	*0.15*	*0.69*	*0.18*	*1.55*
	Ex-married, lone parent	*0.53*	*1.10*	*0.61*	*0.11*	*1.28*
	Ex-married, cohabitee, child(ren)	*0.34*	*0.26*	*0.40*	*0.00*	*0.34*
	In same-sex couple	*–0.71*	*–0.26*	*0.20*	*0.05*	*2.10*
Female x	Never married, no children	*–0.67*	*–2.64*	*–0.74*	*–0.32*	*0.20*
family type	Never married, lone parent	*0.43*	*–1.44*	*–0.11*	*0.03*	*0.99*
(Ref=married with children)	Never married, cohabitee, no children	*–0.46*	*–2.08*	*–0.06*	*–0.18*	*0.16*
	Never married, cohabitee, child(ren)	*–0.10*	*–0.56*	*–0.13*	*0.01*	*0.12*
	Married, no children	*–0.23*	*–1.46*	*0.14*	*–0.03*	*–0.07*
	Ex-married, no children	*–0.01*	*–1.73*	*–0.30*	*0.17*	*0.26*
	Ex-married, lone parent	*0.20*	*–1.65*	*–0.03*	*0.26*	*0.65*
	Ex-married, cohabitee, child(ren)	*0.23*	*–0.63*	*–0.11*	*0.13*	*0.08*
	In same-sex couple	*0.14*	*–2.43*	*–0.19*	*0.35*	*–0.56*
Disability	Physical disability	*0.64*	*2.70*	*0.80*	*0.10*	*0.43*
(Ref=no disability)	Intellectual/learning disability	*1.67*	*2.21*	*0.34*	*0.12*	*0.07*
Women x disability	Physical disability	*0.10*	*–1.21*	*–0.16*	*0.04*	*–0.03*
(Ref=no disability)	Intellectual/learning disability	*0.77*	*–0.39*	*–0.03*	*0.13*	*–0.03*
Religion	Religion not stated	*–3.01*	*3.96*	*–0.27*	*–0.13*	*–0.33*
(Ref=Catholic)	Church of Ireland	*–0.20*	*0.13*	*0.01*	*–0.23*	*–0.07*
	Other Christian	*–0.47*	*0.12*	*0.18*	*0.07*	*0.00*
	Muslim	*0.28*	*0.78*	*0.50*	*–0.35*	*0.11*
	Other non-Christian	*–0.35*	*0.43*	*0.14*	*–0.25*	*0.44*
	No religion	*–0.78*	*0.21*	*0.17*	*–0.11*	*0.38*
Ethnicity	Other	*–0.08*	*0.38*	*0.20*	*0.31*	*0.49*
(Ref=white Irish)	Irish Traveller	*3.05*	*0.60*	*2.88*	*0.69*	*0.04*
	Other white	*–0.18*	*0.08*	*0.34*	*0.28*	*0.58*
	African	*–0.28*	*–0.51*	*1.97*	*0.80*	*–0.02*
	Chinese	*0.97*	*–0.32*	*–0.16*	*0.32*	*0.58*
	Other Asian	*–0.81*	*–0.10*	*0.32*	*0.53*	*1.04*
Nationality	Irish–other	*–0.29*	*0.32*	*0.37*	*0.04*	*0.24*
(Ref=Irish)	UK	*0.84*	*0.18*	*0.11*	*0.04*	*–0.05*
	Other EU15	*–0.50*	*–0.08*	*–0.30*	*0.10*	*0.96*
	EU10	*0.05*	*–0.67*	*–0.22*	*1.26*	*1.21*
	Rest of world	*0.10*	*0.51*	*0.56*	*0.69*	*0.98*

Table A3: Models of disadvantage for adults aged 25 to 44 years with gender–disability interaction term *(continued)*

		Low education	*Not in labour market*	*Unemployed*	*Lower manual social class*	*Lack of access to a car*
Migration (Ref=never lived abroad)	Returned/migrated 2004–2006	*–0.65*	*0.38*	*0.42*	*–0.14*	*0.34*
	Returned/migrated 2000–2003	*–0.84*	*0.14*	*–0.11*	*–0.22*	*–0.12*
	Returned/migrated 1990–1999	*–0.85*	*0.04*	*–0.24*	*–0.32*	*–0.29*
	Returned/migrated pre-1990	*–0.50*	*–0.01*	*–0.12*	*–0.09*	*–0.16*
	Not stated	*–0.14*	*–0.08*	*0.09*	*–0.06*	*0.15*
Age group (Ref=25–29)	30–34	*0.30*	*0.10*	*–0.08*	*0.00*	*–0.03*
	35–39	*0.68*	*0.28*	*–0.10*	*0.02*	*0.06*
	40–44	*0.97*	*0.26*	*–0.14*	*–0.01*	*0.19*
Location (Ref=town/city, 20k+)	Town/village 1,500–20,000	*0.00*	*0.04*	*–0.16*	*–0.06*	*–0.33*
	Rural <1,500	*0.08*	*0.09*	*–0.43*	*–0.10*	*–1.52*
Region (Ref=Dublin)	Border	*0.49*	*0.00*	*0.34*	*0.37*	*–0.10*
	Mid-East	*0.09*	*0.12*	*–0.06*	*0.19*	*–0.61*
	Midlands	*0.28*	*0.05*	*0.14*	*0.36*	*–0.13*
	Mid-West	*0.10*	*0.03*	*0.12*	*0.39*	*–0.19*
	South-East	*0.31*	*0.02*	*0.19*	*0.45*	*–0.21*
	South-West	*0.06*	*0.18*	*0.04*	*0.37*	*–0.37*
	West	*0.01*	*0.03*	*0.20*	*0.45*	*–0.22*
Education (Ref=upper 2nd)	Education not stated		*0.87*	*0.47*	*0.28*	*0.30*
	Primary		*1.08*	*1.53*	*0.94*	*0.91*
	Lower secondary		*0.52*	*0.76*	*0.62*	*0.47*
	Diploma		*–0.52*	*–0.52*	*–0.70*	*–0.30*
	Degree		*–0.95*	*–0.68*	*–1.36*	*–0.19*
	Still at school/student					*0.25*
Labour status (Ref=at work)	Unemployed					*0.83*
	Inactive					*0.70*
Social class (Ref=skilled manual)	Social class not stated					*–1.42*
	Higher professional/managerial					*–0.35*
	Lower professional/managerial					*–0.19*
	Other white collar					*0.12*
	Semi-skilled manual					*0.49*
	Unskilled manual					*0.73*
	Unknown/never worked					*0.70*
	Nagelkerke R-squared	*0.17*	*0.43*	*0.17*	*0.17*	*0.36*

Source: Census 2006, special analysis. Bold = P≤.0001.

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