A SURVEY OF MANPOWER:

LONDONDERRY, COLERAINE, LIMAVADY AND STRABANE

-A Case Study

By J W GARMANY

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It is a curious fact that, while the uneven pattern of economic development, income and employment in an international context is currently engaging the attention of the economist to a greater extent than ever before and more than any other issue, the same problem, when found within the confines of the nation-state has, at least until recently, been largely neglected as unsuitable for analytical treatment. The neglect is not wilful, but in these islands at any rate, has stemmed from a proper feeling that more is to be gained from a positive study of national economic growth, and the conditions required for this, than from mulling over regional disparities which, for the most part, compare favourably with those in other countries and with those of earlier times. Allied with this has been a disinclination to move into fields of enquiry involving social and political considerations not amenable to quantitative treatment.

Analysis has consequently been largely macro-economic, based on national accounts, it has also been pre-occupied with the factor of production, capital, its scarcity, alternative uses and how returns to it might be maximised, to the comparative neglect of other elements, land, labour and entrepeneurship Little regard has been paid to spatial geographical factors, land use, conservation, rural and urban planning, so that the work of the economist, the geographer and planner seem strangely unrelated

As for labour and the efficient use of available manpower there has been a similar reluctance to challenge established habits of thought and practice and to question whether these are not unduly static and restrictive in present circumstances. Economic efficiency, postulating a distribution of resources, including labour, such that no increase in production is possible through movement from one occupation or place to another, is unexceptionable in principle and as a formal definition, but it is unrealistic in a modern welfare state in which mobility may be encouraged in some

ways but discouraged in others ¹ It requires, too, a lack of obstacles to such movement, the existence of employment opportunities and the necessary skills and a degree of wage flexibility which runs counter to national agreements

There is another aspect of the matter which can only be mentioned. This is the dilemma of maintaining a high national level of employment without inflation, or, to put it the other way round, avoiding inflation in spite of high employment. The mixed economies of Western Europe have all had to grapple with this Full employment is recurrently disturbed by inflationary pressures, sometimes repressed by complicated and far-fromperfect administrative controls, and sometimes manifest as an upward drift of prices and wages. This is recognised as a threat to its maintenance, but if the inflationary pressures are reduced it becomes evident that they were necessary for some parts of the economy, some industries, some firms, some areas to maintain a reasonably high level of employment. As soon as the inflationary pressure is reduced unemployment appears at the same time as movement becomes more difficult.

Recent chillier economic winds and the sharpening of the division between North and South (or, in the Irish contest, between West and East) have brought about a realisation that such a situation has not only political and social implications but also represents an economic loss that the community can ill afford This is recognised by NEDC in its report "Conditions Favourable to Faster Growth" "The level of employment in different regions of the country varies widely and high unemployment in the less prosperous regions is usually thought of as a social problem

But the relatively high unemployment rates and, more important still, the relatively low activity rates in these regions also indicate considerable labour reserves. To draw these reserves into employment would make a substantial contribution to national employment and national growth" (para 54) 2 "A national policy of expansion would improve the regional picture, in turn, a successful regional development programme would make it easier to achieve a national growth programme" (para 111) An O E E C report on "Regional Economic Planning" (Paris, 1961) puts the point more strongly "National targets call for regional action to avoid unbalanced development moreover, a national programme, whatever method is chosen, is necessarily based on macro-economic quantities and offers in itself very little scope for analysis or action at regional levels"

Needless to say, regional planning is subject to many limitations and regional targets cannot differ substantially from national targets. Obviously it is not meaningful to plan against a purely regional background for many

² It is interesting that this was the substance of the recommendations of the first official report on this question, the Barlow report, published some twenty-five years ago

^{1 &}quot;There is a relationship (though one which it is hardly possible to define precisely) between the rate of unemployment, the level of social services and the rate of migration Thus, the net outward migration from Northern Ireland is about 9,000 (or 0 6 per cent of the population) a year, that from the Irish Republic, whose population is about twice as large but whose present social services are much more modest, is about 40,000 (or 1 4 per cent) a year" (Report of the Working Party into the Economy of Northern Ireland, Hall Report, para 181)

reasons which require no elaboration, the most important one being that for many industries the market necessarily goes fai beyond the boundaries of a region or of the nation-state Any regional programme must, moreover. take account of other dimensions besides those purely economic, that of administration, ranging from the national down to local authority level. that of physical environment, land use, amenity, housing, spatial arrangements, the legal and political framework and cultural and psychological factors and attitudes These considerations may be just as important as those more narrowly economic and having to do with costs and the use of resources they may at times be more intractable. For some regions, e g that part of Northern Ireland with which this survey is concerned. the situation is made more complicated (though in some respects possibly easier) through the existence of several levels of government each with its own amour-propre, its own powers and responsibilities not always clearly defined

Measures aimed at levelling out regional disparities fall broadly into two groups, those operating on the labour market and geared towards greater flexibility, mobility and rehabilitation, and those designed to induce a more even and more stable spread of investment. At any time both are necessary but where the emphasis lies depends on the prevailing employment situation and on the objectives, whether the worker is to be brought to the job or the job to the worker. The issues are, of course, less clear-cut and policies must aim at getting the best of both worlds, a higher note of national economic growth and a fuller use of resources in less-favoured areas According to NEDC, "Apart from the social cast of migration and the social and economic costs of congestion in some parts of the South East and Midlands, it would be impracticable to absorb the labour reserves in the less-prosperous regions sufficiently quickly by migration alone in the meantime there would be a loss of potential output on the other hand, these regions were to be allowed to run down, and migration were speeded up, the problem might in five years time be even more difficult to solve than it is today" (para 71)

The emphasis during post-war boom conditions was on labour movement which was correct, economically and logically, in a situation in which there existed a demand for important categories of labour in the open market Moreover, such measures are cheaper and can for the most part be operated through existing administrative machinery. The need for such movement is no less now than before, but undue reliance on it is, in present circumstances of availability of skills, psychological attitudes towards mobility and retraining, comparable social service benefits, and housing, a reducted ad absurdum³

As for numbers involved the Report (para 178) states "The net movement of insured workers to Great Britain is about 5,000 a year, but the gross movement is probably in the region of 8,000 An average of 3,000 persons a year return after employment in

Great Britain and register as unemployed in Northern Ireland"

³ "The type of labour is not that which is in specially short supply in Great Britain As we have noted, over 80% of the 23,000 men on the unemployed register in Northern Ireland are unskilled or semi-skilled, but as there is a shortage of unskilled unemployed men only in particular localities in Great Britain the scope for the moment of unskilled workers from Northern Ireland is limited and the jobs available to them are often considered to be unattractive, either in pay or in conditions of work" (Hall Report,

However, as regards the alternative, taking work to the workers, the indications are that the approach will be selective and that certain localities will be chosen for development, not only on the basis of the prevailing unemployment situation, but taking into account also their future growth possibilities An early suggestion of this is to be found in the Scottish Council (Toothill) Inquiry into the economy of Scotland (1961) "We do not think that the immediate provision of employment should be the only factor in giving assistance nor do we want dying industries propped up, or assistance directed to areas of high unemployment to the exclusion of potential growth areas If new industry is guided to whatever local pockets of unemployment exist without adequate regard to the possibilities of building up promising industrial centres or complexes, the full benefits to be had from attracting it may be dissipated. The build-up of industrial complexes and centres which offer prospects of becomind zones of growth cannot be the only aim, but it should be one of the principal aims of policy"

The idea has since been developed and is now part of official government policy in the United Kingdom. The National Economic Development Council puts the matter thus "But it is arguable that better results might be secured for the slowly-expanding regions as a whole by identifying their natural growth points and seeking to attract industry to them. This would increase the likelihood of attracting a larger number and a greater variety of firms and of stimulating the development of industrial complexes. Firms would then benefit from the presence of kindred industry. These complexes and other places especially attractive to industry could be developed into growth points within the less prosperous regions. It could be expected that the benefit of new growth in any part would repercuss fairly quickly throughout the region".

The important practical task for economists, planners and others concerned with these matters is presumably to select the most appropriate growth points in Ireland in much the same way as has been done for the North-East of England and for Central Scotland Any such assessment must presumably begin with an inventory of existing resources, together with a study of the past, in particular the reasons for the rise and decline of various industries, and the reasons why investors and industrialists made the decisions they did This represents a preliminary breakdown of the situation and should help, first, in classifying the various obstacles involved, natural resources, manpower, factors relating the supply and use of capital and those relating to physical, human and possibly institutional limitations in the region and second, in determining which sectors have the greatest potential for growth

In regional surveys elsewhere a beginning is generally made with man-

⁴ See also National Institute Economic Review, August 1963, and the British Government White Papers on "Economic Development and Growth" in Central Scotland and the North-East of England, 1963

power and this is logical and appropriate, especially in an area of high unemployment and low activity rates. Provided the statistics are available, such a survey can be prepared for any size of region, ranging from the nation-state down to local authority administrative areas. Statistics and analysis for national and broad regional areas are readily available, but this is not true of specific localities within regions, yet it is some of these localities that are to constitute zones of growth in future planning. This argues for local surveys to supplement those prepared at national and provincial level. The industrialist assessing various localities as possible sites for development is less interested in broad regional figures than those relating to particular localities and such information, especially relating to labour, is often scanty. Further justification for a more restricted analysis is provided by the fact that even within regions there can be a North-versus-South situation between the centre and other areas which may well become accentuated if local information is lacking

The area selected for this survey covers the Ministry of Labour administrative areas of Londonderry, Limavady, Coleraine and Strabane, not that this necessarily represents any natural economic unit or what the OECD calls a "uniform focal region", but as a reasonably compact area from the point of view of communications and travel to work, having the beginnings of a few industrial complexes together with considerable labour reserves. For surveys of a different sort, concerned with aspects such as communications, transport and tertiary activities, the area should, of course, be a different one, extending possibly further afield into the Irish Republic, but as regards labour, this is not realistic in present circumstances. This survey is concerned with manpower and its object is to assemble and interpret such statistical material as is available and to suggest further lines for some detailed enquiry

It is necessary at the outset to recognise two aspects of human resources, quantitative and qualitative, the former being self-explanatory, the latter being largely concerned with skills and technical know-how and their relevance to existing and new types of industrial activity. Information on quantitative aspects is relatively easy to come by, but this is not so of qualitative aspects about which much has to be inferred. Yet without doubt it is these aspects that must receive most emphasis in any development programme

A survey of this sort begins with estimates of future population according to age-groups. These are available for the Province as a whole, but not for particular regions. More relevant for present purposes is the expected working population, making due allowance for mortality, migration and the proportion of each age-group likely to be at work. Any assessment of active working population involves an additional variable, activity rates, i.e. the proportion of each age group that is at work. Again, official estimates of working population are available for Northern Ireland, not for particular areas. These estimates are not reproduced here as the scope of this survey is more limited.

Turning to the area selected for this survey, detailed information over time is required of its industrial structure, of the occupational distribution of the insured population and of unemployment according to occupation Table I represents such information as is available on the industrial structure of the County and County Borough of Londonderry for the year 1958 (estimates for other years are not available) It will be noted that the area covered by this table is not the same as that covered in this survey, but it may be assumed that for manufacturing industry at any rate the inclusion of Strabane and the exclusion of Magherafelt and part of the Cookstown Local Office area would not materially affect the pattern

Table II gives particulars of the occupational distribution of insured employees at mid-year 1961 in the four Ministry of Labour Local Office areas covered by this survey. It seemed wise not to clutter up this survey with similar tables relating to earlier years but it would be necessary to have such information and to discern trends. In the last decade employment in the food, drink and tobacco group seems to have remained fairly constant in clothing (the largest group) it has increased by about 10% while in textiles and construction it has more than doubled. Other significant features are an expansion in engineering and electric goods (predominantly in Londonderry) and the emergence of a new category, chemicals

Table III gives a breakdown of unemployment in the four Local Office areas according to occupation and sex as at December 1962 Again, for systematic and continuous study a sequence would be necessary, over-time and making allowance for seasonal influences. What is lacking is information on skills this will be discussed in a moment

Table IV is concerned with unemployment and activity rates. Summary figures are provided for the regions in the United Kingdom these provide a basis for comparison with the more detailed information on the arae under scrutiny Activity rates are of particular importance as a measure of under-employment, especially in rural areas where there exists a substantial labour reserve in need of adaptation and replacement in the years to come It was calculated by the Scottish Council (Toothill) Report that "bringing the Scottish activity rate down to the national average level in 1959 would have added some 90,000 workers to the labour force, whereas bringing the unemployment rate to the national average would have added only some 30,000" In Northern Ireland, too, it is not uncommon, especially in rural areas, for a factory to be set up and in full production, without having any significant effect on unemployment rates in the vicinity, labour being found among those not registered Unemployment and activity rates provide a first approximation of available labour reserves, making due allowance for the self-employed figures for these are uncertain

Certain constituents of the labour supply will be brought to light only as a development programme gets under way and the potential of various activities revealed Especially relevant in this connection is migration, internal within Northern Ireland, and external, and this must obviously substantially modify calculations based on live statistics. In regard to migration prognostication is impossible with the many "push and pull" factors involved, internal migration too would presumably be strongly

influenced, in an as yet impredictable way, by the final selection of suitable growth points

Relevant, too, is redundancy brought about through mechanisation, the decline of traditional industries, the growth of others, the changing structure of agriculture⁵ and of the tertiary sector. Here again precise measurement is impossible, but it should be possible to form some idea of what proportion of the available labour force is not likely to be absorbed in the region within the existing and planned economic framework. A classification of industries into expanding, stationary and declining (see National Institute Economic Review, August 1963) could also be of value (but less so for a largely undiversified locality) as could current research into manpower forecasting

The table below provides basic population statistics for the area during the inter-censal period 1951-1961. For all districts natural increase was considerably in excess of the net population increase during the period ⁶

Popul	ation 1951 and	1961	
•		Increase (+) or	
	1951	1961	decrease (—)
Londonderry	50,092	53,744	+ 3,652
(County Borough)			
Londonderry	21,031	22,380	+ 1,349
(Rural District)			
Coleraine	30,266	31,227	+ 961
(Municipal Borough and Rur	al District)		
Limavady	19,382	21,954	+ 2,572
(Urban and Rural Districts)			
Strabane	23,874	24,731	+ 857
(Urban and Rural Districts)			
Northern Ireland	1,370,921	1,425,462	+54,541

The mere existence of surplus labour, some of it chronically unemployed or under-employed and without reference to skills relevant to modern industry, is a doubtful asset, this raises the question of qualitative aspects of labour which are much more difficult to assess. Yet, to quote, for example, the Second Annual Report of the North-East Development Council, p. 33 "If, however, private industry is to be convinced that the North-East is a suitable area in which to plan expansion, more information is required on just what kinds of labour are available and where, within the region, it is located. Many industrialists from outside the area appear to believe that whereas the North-East may have a large number of unemployed, they are all unskilled workers, and a long period of expensive training would be necessary if a new factory was located in the area". The

⁵ "Today there are rather less than 112,000 people working on farms as compared with some 210,000 forty years ago (in Northern Ireland) The last ten years have seen a reduction of 30,000 workers in farming" ("Facts and Figures", Northern Ireland Government Information Service, September 1963)

Hall Report makes this comment "If Northern Ireland is materially to reduce her present level of unemployment one of the prime necessities is that new industrial development should be able to find, or to train without undue difficulty, a labour force with the skills required" (para 137)

Reliable statistics on skilled manpower comparable to those listed in the North-East Report are not available for the area under consideration Evidence suggests that the number of unemployed skilled workers is small and that industrial expansion has to rely on non-indigenous supplies and the return of migrant labour. This has, of course, important implications and demonstrates, inter alia, the need for a more detailed survey than is at present available of the characteristics of the unemployed Such a socio-economic survey (for which the Ministry of Labour Gazzette Report on the Manpower Situation, "Characteristics of the Unemployed". February and May 1962, serves as a guide), would fill some gaps, giving information on skills and, for the untrained, those capable af acquiring some skill, those capable of undergoing re-training and those not Lacking such information reliance must be placed on such factors as the incidence of unemployment according to age group and the duration of unemployment ⁷ Table V provides composit figures for the area and represents the totals for the four Minstry of Labour regions under investigation

As regards age, the Hall Report (para 28) makes this comment "Normally a new or expanding industry looks for workers in the lower age groups when building up its labour force (the total labour force in eight factories opened in recent years contained 78% men and 80% women under the age of 40 years) The numbers of unemployed persons under 45 years can, therefore, be taken as an indication of the numbers available for employment in new industry who would also be suitable for training in such industry, although there might be added to the figure for males some of the 1,500 craftsmen (in Northern Ireland) over that age Undoubtedly, however, some of the men and women under 45 could not be trained to the standards required On general grounds it is probable that, as unemployment diminishes, the remaining unemployed will increasingly be mainly fitted for unskilled jobs"

A simple calculation reveals that on the date, 10th December 1962, there were, in the Londonderry administrative area, 1,711 men and 456 women unemployed under the age of 45, in Coleraine 504 men and 334 women, in Limavady 256 men and 171 women and in Strabane 602 men and 239 women. In the event of industrial expansion in the area migration from other parts of the Province and from abroad would also have to be taken into account, together, of course, with the raising of the activity rate

⁶ For Londonderry County (excluding county borough) the natural increase of 14,369 between 1951 and 1961 was accompanied by a net outward movement of 8,252. The comparable figures for the county borough were 9,962 and 6,310.

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⁷ It is being assumed (see Ministry of Labour Gazette, February 1962) that there is a relationship between employability and duration of unemployment. On duration the statistics do not give the full story in that they relate merely to unemployment since the last job held even though this may have been held for only a short period. What would be useful would be information covering an individual's working life.

in some areas nearer to the national level 8 It should also be noted that for juveniles particularly official figures omit considerable numbers who, for one reason or another, have not registered

As regards skills the Hall Report (para 27) goes some way to providing the breakdown necessary for a manpower survey "Outside a radius of about 20 miles from the centre of Belfast there are no concentrations of time-served craftsmen among the unemployed — The ratio of craftsmen to other men registered as unemployed is about 3 7 in the Belfast area, while outside Belfast the ratio is 1 9 About 60% of the unemployed craftsmen are under the age of 45 Of the 21,000 unemployed men (83% of the total unemployed men aged 18 or over) who are not time-served craftsmen, nearly half are classified as general labourers, the proportion being the same in Belfast as in Northern Ireland as a whole About 40% of the unemployed women could be said to have a background of experience as trained workers in various occupations in manufacturing industry, four-fifths of them in the textile industry"

Using the 1 9 ratio of skilled to unskilled men as a guide would give a highly uncertain figure for the total of skilled workers in any locality outside Belfast. According to the Ministry of Labour and National Insurance a more accurate result is reached by regarding as "skilled" or "trained" all those listed in occupational groups and as unskilled general and other labourers (see Table VI). The degree of skill and training, however, varies from group to group, being particularly light and variable in the five occupational groups at the end of the list, transport and communications, clerical workers, shop assistants and service workers. These are probably better placed in a separate category. On this basis such skilled male labour as exists is heavily concentrated in engineering and allied trades, farm-workers (if it can be assumed that these are skilled) and construction which is subject to seasonal influences. It would be a mistake to read too much into these figures for, although nominally skilled, many may be unemployable on other grounds.

Using the Hall Report criteria, age and skill, we have an initial break-down of labour resources in the main industrial groups. A more complete picture would require several further stages in the enquiry, some of which may be open only to official investigators. Using the Ministry of Labour Gazette survey as a guide these would presumably cover such questions as (1) types and extent of skills available, (11) age groups and duration of unemployment of skilled workers with particular reference to those aged under 45 years, (111) the "characteristics" and special circumstances of those likely to become redundant in agriculture and in declining

⁸ A manpower survey calls for something more than a purely demographic analysis, especially in a largely agricultural area. Of particular importance is the fact that official unemployment figures do not provide an accurate indication of the manpower potential, due to underemployment and lack of registration. Examples in Northern Ireland are common but a dramatic Italian experience is chosen. "The Palmolive Company opened a factory near Rome, in a district where only 400 persons were registered at the Labour Exchange as available for work, although the Company needed 700 but in fact when the Company had made its needs known throughout the region it was able to choose its workers from 6,000 applicants" (O E E C Rural Manpower and Industrial Development 1961 p. 27)

industries or in industries becoming more capital-intensive and requiring fewer workers (e.g. textiles and clothing), (iv) the characteristics, i.e. levels of education, attitudes to work, to training, to movement of the unskilled unemployed, particularly those in the younger age-groups. This could well be done through the recently-established Youth Employment Service in the Province.

A survey of juveniles should occupy a central place in any enquiry concerned more with the future than with the present. Here again a breakdown of information according to locality is not available. Accordingly, the figures in Table VI on levels of employment in 1961 and 1962 relate to the Province.

It must be stressed that the statistics in this Table are incomplete in that they do not take account of subsequent transfers of young people between industries and occupations, but merely record first jobs after leaving school Young people who left school to enter universities or who had no immediate intention of entering paid employment are also omitted Adequate follow-up of records of young people are not maintained, a gap which will, it is hoped, be filled by the Youth Employment Service The figures for apprenticeships are an under-estimate of the actual total as they do not make allowance for the practice in Northern Ireland of recruiting apprentices from those already in employment

Nevertheless, on the basis of the evidence the conclusions are not reassuring in particular (1) the higher percentage of early school leavers in the province (and in the locality under consideration) than for Great Britain (80% 70%), and (2) the lower percentage of apprenticeships 13-16% of boys entering employment in the Province as compared with 37-38% in Great Britain

As indicated earlier, this survey is essentially exploratory, having as its object the gathering together of such statistics as are available and suggesting gaps that might be filled, especially on qualitative aspects. Restricted as the information is it does nevertheless make manifest the need for bolder policies of training and re-training largely under State auspices. Traditional attitudes die hard, especially that which implies that it is somehow up to industry to provide the skilled workers it and the national economy need. Moreover, such training tends to cater for existing patterns of industry whereas some central direction, backed up by investigations and prognoses, can gear training to the newer and potential industries. This is now generally accepted and forms part of government policy, but its practical implementation is proving difficult

It is more than usually difficult in areas of high male unemployment for reasons which require no elaboration. This applies particularly to retraining which is unfortunate in an area and at a time requiring maximum adaptability and flexibility, but it applies also to the training of young people. Investigation has shown, for example, that there is a close correlation between unemployed fathers and unemployed sons, the latter often lacking the initiative and will to take up apprenticeships and other forms of training. Consequently there may exist the anomalous situation of employers experiencing some difficulty in finding suitable recruits even

for the limited number of apprenticeships available and of facilities for further education and training being under-utilised

A comprehensive manpower survey, taken in conjunction with other investigations, covering infra-structure and other forms of public investment, transport costs, housing and facilities and amenities of various kinds beyond the scope of this paper, should facilitate more precise objective judgments on the potentialities of areas as possible growth points for development. The characteristics of such centres would naturally vary and these variations would in turn largely determine the nature, extent and object of public investment. A series of socio-economic profiles of particular localities should be of value to the government and to Regional Councils whose function it would be to advise on these matters.

In the last resort success in promoting regional economic development will depend less on government action, unless it is prepared to move out of its traditional infra-structural role and participate in direct industrial investment, than on industrialists and investors in the private sector. To assist them in their calculations it is suggested that local investigations be carried a stage further in the form of "feasibility studies" of possible lines of expansion and diversification, to be undertaken by such bodies as Chambers of Commerce, local authorities and university research workers. Such studies would be primarily and directly concerned with the systematic investigation (costs, labour, transport, facilities, etc.) of specific industries, but they might also throw some light on existing short-comings, some of which could be put right by increased judiciously-selected public investment. It may be, for example, that lagging areas possess important latent advantages which have gone unnoticed by investors and which need a little extra development to make them apparent and attractive

Feasibility studies may also throw some light on the differences between private and social costs as between areas such as this region and those more heavily concentrated. The degree to which marginal cost of social overhead capital exceeds average cost will be larger in the conurbations than in the less-developed areas. Costs borne by industry and by migrants to the more congested areas are average costs and not marginal costs which are more relevant socially

Finally, the detailed examination of costs might well demonstrate what has often been suspected, that non-economic factors play a much more dominant role in industrial location than is commonly realised

TABLE I
INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE IN LONDONDERRY COUNTY AND COUNTY BOROUGH, 1958

Area and trade group	Gross Output	Net Output	Average number of persons employed	Proportion of total number of persons employed
	£'000	£'000	Number	%
County Londonderry		1		/ / /
Textiles	2,178	583	600	10 6
Clothing	1,367	636	1,300	22 8
Engineering	189	132	166	29
Food, drink and tobacco	3,317	536	687	12 1
Mineral Products	460	260	233	4 1
Construction	5,882	1,988	2,442	42 9
Other trades	471	168	264	46
Total	13,865	4,303	5,692	100
Londonderry County Borough				
Clothing	5,320	2,218	5,654	55 8
Food, drink and tobacco	4,285	779	914	90
Paper, printing and publishing	142	93	152	1 5
Textiles, engineering and other				
manufacturing trades	6,237	2,869	2,348	23 2
Construction	1,435	579	874	8.6
Gas, electricity and water	604	218	191	19
TOTAL	18,023	6,756	10,133	100

Comparable statistics for recent years are not available