

Mapping Segregation on Belfast NIHE Estates

IG Shuttleworth and CD Lloyd

Introduction

Population in the communally-divided society of Northern Ireland is a high-profile topic for media and political debate about communal balance/imbalance. One major element in this debate concerns residential segregation. It is often assumed that there has been an increase in segregation since the outbreak of the latest round of civil strife in the late 1960s and that this increase has continued unabated despite the ceasefires of the 1990s. Indeed, it has been argued that the ceasefires and the subsequent attempt at a political settlement has hardened communal identities, institutionalised sectarianism and seen an increase in residential segregation. In fact, although this is the received wisdom, there are good grounds for arguing that segregation did not increase between 1991 and 2001, and, on some measures, even fell. Of course, the general statistics might conceal variations in segregation by location and social class. There is evidence, for example, that segregation is higher in working-class areas and in interface areas. These dimensions are often closely correlated with housing tenure. For this reason it is therefore important to understand in general what is happening in the Housing Executive (NIHE) stock as this contributes to the wider picture.

However, there are also policy reasons why the NIHE needs to know more about the demographic and communal make-up of its estates. The NIHE is a major actor in the Northern Ireland housing market; and policies concerning its stock can have a significant impact on communal mixing or separation. The NIHE has been intimately involved since its inception in social policy with regard to these issues but, at the same time, its ability to control its housing stock has diminished because some of its housing has passed into private ownership under the 'right-to-buy' initiative.

This background means that there are pressing reasons to learn more about residential segregation on NIHE estates and patterns of change through time. These translate into three research aims that have been set out by the Executive:

1. To determine the level of residential segregation between Catholics and Protestants on NIHE estates using the 2001 Census of Population

2. To determine the difference in segregation between NIHE and other estates
3. To determine changes in segregation through time in NIHE and other estates

However, the ability of the NIHE to undertake analyses in pursuit of these aims has been limited to date for two reasons. Firstly, the NIHE has little or no reliable information on the individual religion or communal composition of its tenants. Secondly, although religion information from the Census could be used as a substitute to profile the make-up of estates, there has been a shortage of available small-area Census data on a scale fine enough to capture the intricacies of housing estates. There have also been problems in looking at change through time robustly because of incompatible census output geographies which meant that analysts could not compare 'like with like'.

In this report we attempt to overcome these difficulties by undertaking an exploratory analysis of NIHE estates in Belfast using data from the Northern Ireland Census Grid-Square Product which has recently been produced as the output of a research project funded by the ESRC and based in the School of Geography, Archaeology and Paleoecology¹. The initial focus of the analysis is on the demographic and housing profiles of NIHE estates in 2001. Following this, changes from 1971 to 2001 are sketched to provide some information on changes through time. To conclude the report, some broader comments are offered to set the results in context. However, before these substantive sections, we deal first of all with the data used and the methods employed in the analysis as these are of key importance in interpreting the findings.

Data and Methodology

The NI Grid Square Product facilitates the analysis of residential segregation on housing estates and of change through time, providing both data for very small spatial units and units that are consistent through time. Unique to Northern Ireland, this resource provides univariate counts for a wide variety of Census variables for 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 for 1km cells (over all Northern Ireland) and 100m cells for all NI in 2001 and for urban areas in earlier years. Full counts are not available for all

¹ RES-000-23-0478

variables for all areas. For cells with less than 8 households or 25 individuals counts are suppressed to preserve confidentiality and only the total population and household counts are given. The cells are constant through time and so they provide a ready made geography for analysis. The 1km grids are of questionable value for our present purpose because they may be too coarse for the analysis of housing estates that may be geographically small in some cases. However, the 100m counts can capture detail at a finer spatial scale in urban areas, so these data are used for the report.

The estate boundaries were provided by NIHE and describe estates boundaries as of 2001. Change through time is described, therefore, on the basis of these units. In 2002, the NIHE commissioned an external GIS data capture organization to digitize the boundaries of all Housing Executive estates. The boundaries were based on the locations of all properties on the corporate address management database PRAWL (Property Record, Allocations and Waiting List). These address locations referenced all sold, tenanted and void NIHE properties and were already captured in GIS format as an XY point coordinate. Estate codes and estate names were attached to each address point and the estate polygons were digitized based on these characteristics.

The 100m counts for consistent units through time represent a major step forward in achieving the aims of the research. Nevertheless, uncertainties in the data with regard to the measurement of community and religion remain. The format of the religion changed between different censuses; the incidence of response/non-response to the voluntary religion question varies between censuses; and the 2001 Census had a wholly new community background question; and the basis of enumeration changed through time from 'population present' to 'population usually resident' to the One Number Census (ONC) of 2001 where individuals estimated to be missing from the regular enumeration were imputed using a methodology developed by the Office for National Statistics (ONS). The NI 100m Grid Square Product is also a complex dataset in other ways. The 1981 data are discounted because of the well-known problems with the Census that year. These are likely to make estimates of the religious/communal composition of the population questionable for that year although the omission of the 1981 data point means that there is a twenty year gap between 1971 and 1991 which limits our understanding of the timing of changes. The description and analysis of housing tenure is less complicated. Between 1971 and

1991 the same categories were used to collect and output data on tenure. However, in 2001, the public rented category was dropped and a socially rented category was used in its place. The assumption is made that there is a substantial (or complete) overlap between public renting and social renting in Census responses although there is some question about housing association stock although it is likely that this is excluded.

There are also some uncertainties about the 100m grid data's spatial definition and coverage between different years. In 2001, for example, the 100m grid data covers all NI, both urban and rural, and as an ONC product the population totals for all 100m grids sum to published NI totals. However, in 1991, 100m counts are not available for all areas but are restricted to urban locations covering just a subset of the NI population. In 1971 there are again 100m counts for urban areas but the geographical coverage of the 100m grids differs from that for 1991 perhaps because of differences in the definition of 'urban' or inaccuracies in coding the geographical coordinates of 100m cells in earlier years. This means that 1971-2001 comparisons for which data at all three time periods are required are restricted to urban areas and the more geographically-limited set of 100m grid counts available in 1971 and 1991.

In combination, these caveats mean that matching Census data through time is not an exact science in which it is possible to be accurate to the nearest person (or even ten people). The findings should therefore be taken as showing overall patterns, trends, and structures. A further source of inaccuracy is introduced by the process of comparing the 100m counts with NIHE estate boundaries. The process that was adopted was to allocate a 100m cell to an estate if its centroid fell within the boundary of that estate. For practical purposes this method of matching the 100m data to NIHE estate boundaries was likely to be sufficient but there could be a small minority of cases where population from a 100m cell is not allocated to an estate because its centroid lies outside the estate boundaries despite a substantial part of the cell lying within the estate. Experience of similar exercises, however, suggests that these problems are marginal especially in comparison with other sources of error (eg changes in the religion question and responses to it) and that the spatial linkage procedure is adequate for purpose.

At this stage it is worthwhile to make some general comments about the descriptive

statistics that are presented later. First, the percentages calculated and presented on religion in later tables in the body of the report and in appendices use the whole population as the base. Second, following this procedure, no attempt is made to attribute the ‘not knowns’ and ‘not stateds’ to either the Protestant or Catholic groups. The 2001 community background variable to some extent does this but for earlier years it was felt that it would be better to leave the data ‘as were’. There were several reasons for this. Prime among these was that the data recorded by the Census represents the way that people report their own identity. Also, the ‘true’ religious composition of the population can never be known. Various statistical methods can be used to allocate individuals to one group or the other but these methods can always be challenged. Moreover, there are limits to the extent to which the labels ‘Catholic’ or ‘Protestant’ can adequately capture complex political and social identities. Finally, population and household totals in 2001 (and to a lesser extent 1991) do not match the sum of individuals by religion or households across tenure types. This is because of the process of small cell adjustment (for reasons of confidentiality) in which small counts are modified so they are not disclosive. This means that population and household totals vary between Census tables as well as not always being internally consistent. To avoid grand totals being inconsistent with internal summations, grand totals have therefore been replaced by sum totals.

Results I – The Situation in 2001

The tables (Tables A1 to A3) in Appendix A show the 2001 position with respect to (a) total population and household numbers; (b) religion; (c) community background; and (d) housing tenure for each NIHE estate in Belfast. There are data for 96 estates. A total of 108 estates were defined by the NIHE. However, for ten estates, there were no intersections with 100m cell centroids so they are excluded from the analysis, and two only had base population and household counts only. A further two estates fell below the confidentiality thresholds for the 2001 NI Grid-Square Product and so did not have counts detailing religion, community background, and housing tenure. What is the overall picture that can be summarised from these data?

Firstly, it is estimated that the majority of housing stock – around 60% – in NIHE estates remains in the socially-rented category although there is a substantial minority – about a third of the stock – which is classed as being owner occupied. The

remainder (about 6%) is privately rented. Secondly, Catholics are the majority of NIHE tenants in Belfast by community background according to our estimates making up some 53% of the population as against 43% for Protestants. With regard to religion Catholics remain the largest group at 48% as against 37% for Protestants with the remainder being in other categories. Thirdly, NIHE estates appear to be polarised by both religion and community background (see Figures 1 to 4 in which show the percentage of estates falling into each category) with very few estates seeming to be mixed. In general, around 91% of estates fall into a ‘very polarised category’ defined as having more than 80% of one community or less than 20% of that community using community background. To investigate further the index of dissimilarity (D) was calculated to provide another perspective on segregation. This was calculated across all NIHE estates. It was problematic, however, to examine internal segregation within estates because, on average, estates only had information for seven 100m cells and so there were insufficient data.

The index of dissimilarity, D , is one of the most widely used measures of segregation. D indicates the total differences between the spread of the two population groups over all of the areal units – in this case NIHE estates; it is given by:

$$D = 0.5 \times \sum_{i=1}^n \left(\left| \frac{x_i}{X} - \frac{y_i}{Y} \right| \right)$$

where x_i and y_i are counts of population in two groups for areal unit i and there are n units. X and Y are the total population counts across the whole of the study area. D takes a value between 0 and 1 where a large value implies a high degree of segregation. The two groups were defined as ‘Catholics’ compared with ‘Others’ (Protestant denominations plus other religions – in practice Protestants). Non-responders to the religion question were excluded.

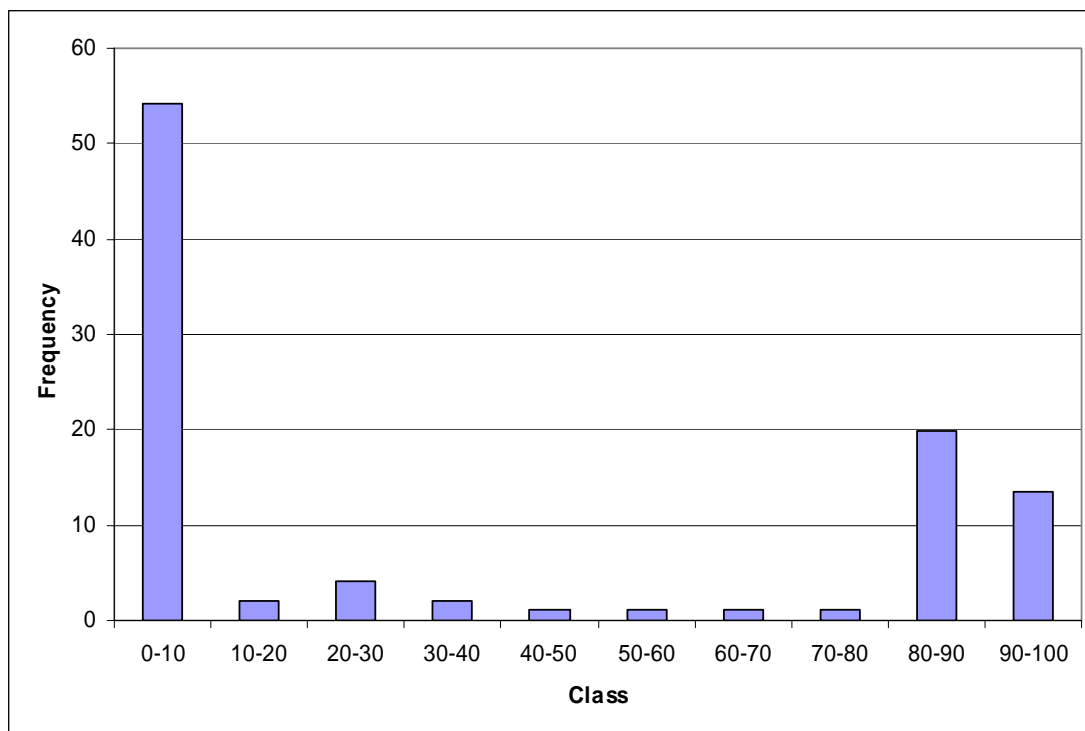


Figure 1: Histogram of NIHE Estates by Percentage Catholic (Religion) 2001

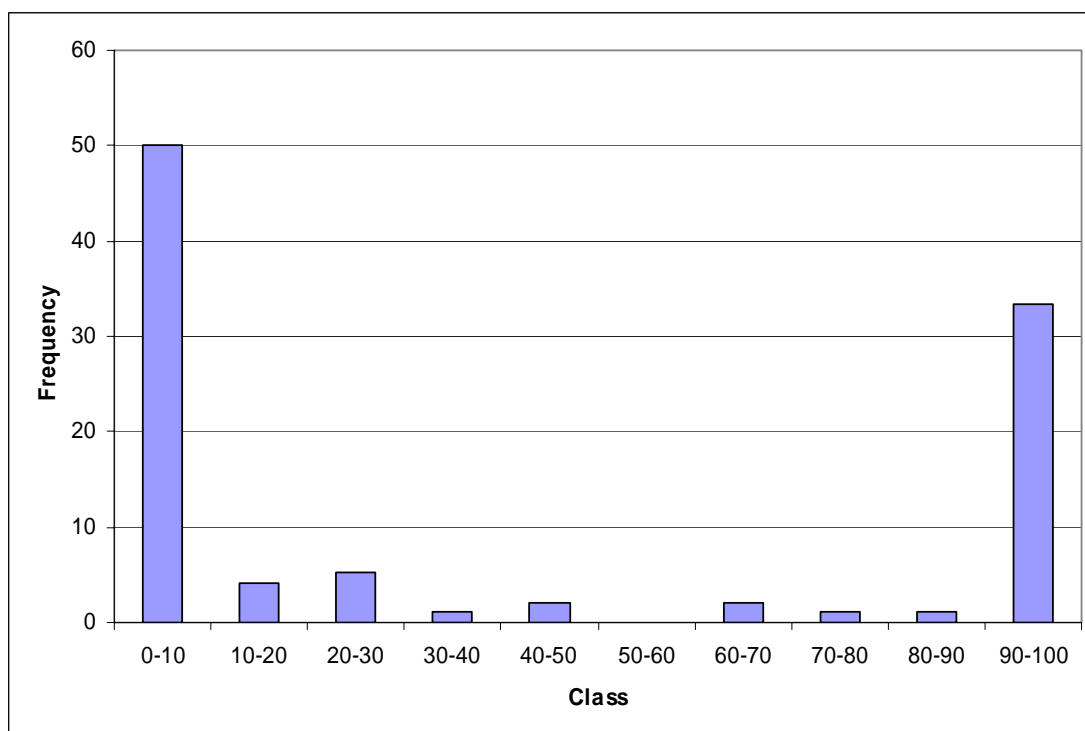


Figure 2: Histogram of NIHE Estates by Percentage Catholic (Community Background) 2001

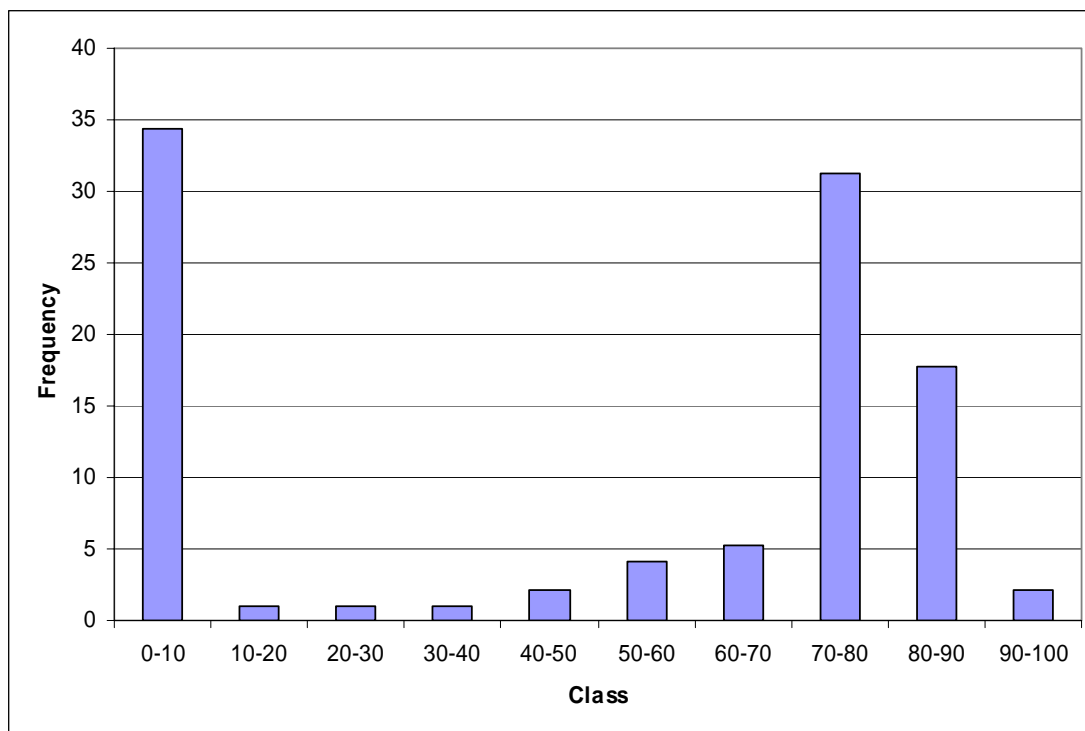


Figure 3: Histogram of NIHE Estates by Percentage Protestant (Religion) 2001

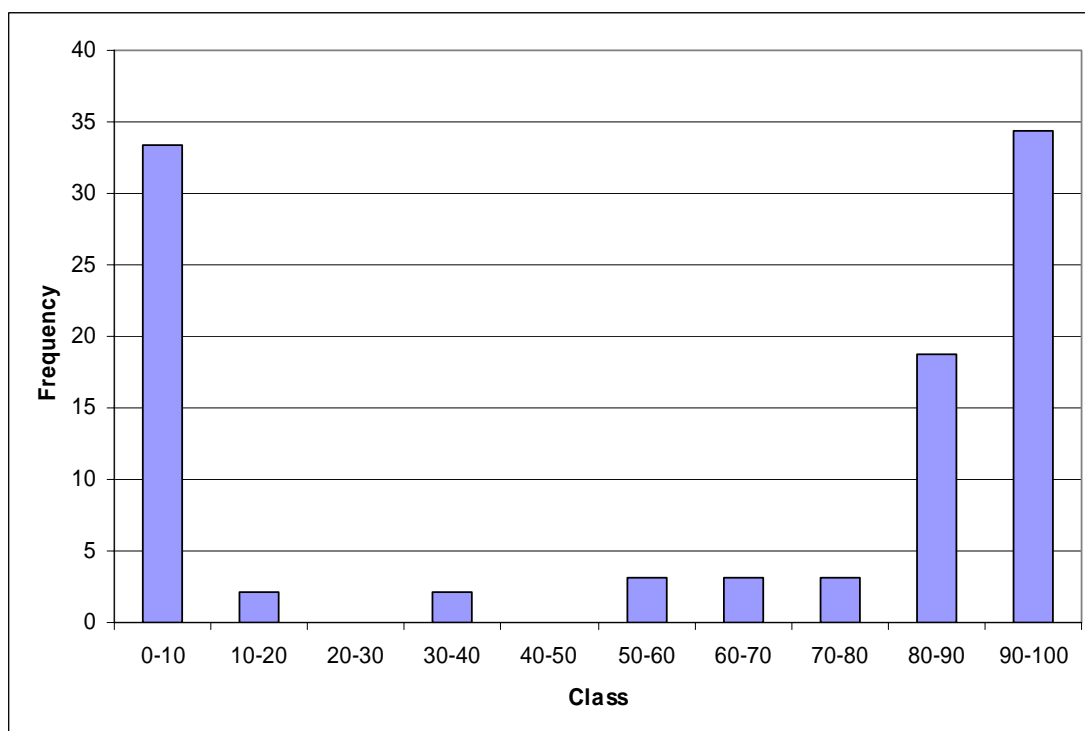


Figure 4: Histogram of NIHE Estates by Percentage Protestant (Community Background) 2001

For 2001 the value of D was 0.94 using community background and 0.90 using religion. The level of segregation is much higher than if (a) electoral wards; (b) output areas; (c) 1km squares or (d) 100m squares were used as the base for the calculation. In comparison, for wards using either religion or community background in 2001 the value of D is 0.61 for all NI; for output areas it is around 0.69 depending on the precise details of the calculation for all NI; for 100m cells it is usually nearer 0.76. One important observation is that D is higher for smaller units – it is greater for OAs than for wards, and higher still for 100m cells.

This should be no surprise since smaller geographical units should, everything else being equal, tend to be more socially homogenous. This provides a basis to understand the high levels of segregation seen in NIHE estates in 2001 since the majority of NIHE estates have a limited spatial extent. This point is explored in Map A1 in Appendix A. This shows that the communal geography of Belfast is characterised by large spatial blocks (eg Protestant East and Catholic West Belfast). NIHE estates are too small to cross over the boundaries of these blocks – indeed normally they nest within them with no overlap. So the explanation for high levels observed segregation in NIHE estates is at least in part due to spatial scale – small units located in areas which are predominantly one religion or the other could usually be expected to share the same composition. Of course, there is more to it than that – the NIHE estates are larger than 100m cells and this indicates other processes may be at work and that higher segregation in the estates may be related to social class or other issues. Thinking just in terms of spatial scale also treats the communal geography of Belfast as being exogenous – that is to say as given – when in fact housing policies have themselves helped to shape the demographic structure of the city. An often-cited example is the growth of the Catholic population in outer West Belfast as the result of the construction of public housing. Nevertheless, the spatial scale of estates might be important as a part of the explanation of our observations especially in instances when NIHE estates have been built in already-segregated areas.

Results II – Changes through Time

It is useful to set these comments on 2001 in a wider context of change through time. This was done by linking the boundaries of NIHE estates as of 2001 to 100m grid-

square data for 1991 and 1971 with cell centroids that fell with the estates boundaries again being allocated to these estates. This permitted the demographic and housing profile of estates as they exist now to be traced through time. This task is started in Tables 1 and 2. These tables show, respectively, the numbers of persons, households, communal composition and tenure for NIHE estates and for Belfast as a whole. There is a fall both in the NIHE estates areas and in Belfast in the total number of persons 1971-1991 which was also matched by a fall in the number of households over the same period. This contrasts with 1991-2001 which sees small increases in total population and larger growth in the number of households. These shifts have meant that the number of people per household has changed through time falling from 3.50 in NIHE estates in 1971, to 2.68 in 1991, and to 2.43 in 2001. The analogous figures for Belfast are 3.25, 2.48, and 2.41. The absolute number of houses that are publicly/socially rented remains relatively constant compared to other tenure types. However, the relative share of housing in these categories is more volatile. This is because of (a) the growth in the proportion of owner occupied housing and (b) the large fall in private renting 1971-1991 and its subsequent recovery – more marked in Belfast in general than in NIHE estates – 1991-2001. These changes in tenure are explored with regard to changes by estate in Maps A2 to A4. These show that there have been significant variations in tenure change in different parts of the city. Initially, in 1971, there were high rates of public ownership in the South West and the West. These, however, had declined markedly by 2001. At the same time, the estates in the city centre continued with relatively high rates of public ownership whereas in the East, the proportion of houses in this category grew. One interpretation of these patterns is that houses in the South and West passed into private ownership whereas in the East there has been NIHE involvement and building of houses in public ownership, perhaps part of urban regeneration.

There are interesting shifts in populations by communal background both in Belfast in general and in NIHE estates. Broadly, the occupants of NIHE estates and the city in general have become more Catholic and less Protestant through time. This is because the number of Catholics has remained roughly constant 1971-2001 whilst the absolute number of Protestants has declined sharply over the same period leading to their relative population share falling.

Table 1: Profile of NIHE Estates 1971-2001

	1971		1991		2001	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Persons	113591		65180		66421	
Households	32421		24340		27327	
Catholic (religion)	38825	34.18	29917	45.90	31786	47.86
Protestant (religion)	61591	54.22	28071	43.07	24244	36.50
Catholic (CB)	*		*		35423	53.33
Protestants (CB)	*		*		28810	43.37
Owner occupied	7161	22.09	6190	25.43	9390	34.36
Social rented	15145	46.71	17269	70.95	16469	60.27
Private rented	10115	31.20	881	3.62	1468	5.37

Source: Census of Population 1971, 1991, 2001

Table 2: Profile of Belfast 1971-2001

	1971		1991		2001	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Persons	388973		248063		256770	
Households	119437		92685		106330	
Catholic (religion)	107815	27.72	96680	38.97	109141	42.51
Protestant (religion)	211140	54.28	99950	40.29	102621	39.97
Catholic (CB)	*		*		122410	47.67
Protestants (CB)	*		*		123657	48.16
Owner occupied	50380	42.18	52070	56.18	58646	55.15
Social rented	31009	25.96	32058	34.59	33852	31.84
Private rented	38048	31.86	8557	9.23	13832	13.01

Source: Census of Population 1971, 1991, 2001

Appendices B and C present detailed estate-by-estate information for 1991 and 2001 respectively in tabular format but it is to Figures 5, 6 7 and 8 that we now refer when starting to explore changes in segregation through time. These indicate that in 1991 there were high percentages of estates at the extremes of the distribution – more than 80% and less than 20% of one or other of the two communities – and very few estates that appeared mixed.

Table 3: Households in Polarised Estates 1971-2001

Absolute Numbers	1971	1991	2001r	2001cb
More than 80% Catholic and less than 20% Catholic	22469	24259	25772	26107
More than 80% Protestant and less than 20% Protestant	19902	21869	15818	25657
Total	32421	24340	27327	27327
Percentages				
More than 80% Catholic and less than 20% Catholic	68.82	97.23	93.55	94.77
More than 80% Protestant and less than 20% Protestant	60.96	87.65	57.42	93.13

Source: Census of Population 1971, 1991, 2001

Note: 2001r=religion; 2001cb=community background

In 1971, 79% of estates were more than 80% or less than 20% Catholic; 74% were more than 80% or less than 20% Protestant. In 1991, 92% were more than 80% or less than 20% Catholic; and 79% were more than 80% or less than 20% Protestants. In 2001, using the religion variable 94% of estates were more than 80% or less than 20% Catholic although 57% were more than 80% or less than 20% Protestant; and using community background 91% of estates fall in the more than 80% or less than 20% categories for both Catholics and Protestants. This impression is strengthened when data not on the number of estates but on the numbers of households in the more than 80% and less than 20% categories are considered as in Table 3. These show an increase in the proportion of households through time in the categories that were defined as polarised with major increases between 1971 and 2001. The biggest leap is between 1971 and 1991 but polarisation shows no sign of diminishing between 1991 and 2001. The lower figure for Protestants in 2001 on religion is a result of non-response to the religion question and the use of the total population as the base for calculating the percentages. The community background variable gives perhaps a more realistic picture.

It is therefore true in 1971 that NIHE estates started as being relatively polarised although there is evidence that there was more 'middle ground' in 1971, and that this has subsequently been eroded. This impression, of greater residential segregation, is confirmed by the *D* statistics calculated for each of the years. These show that *D*

increased from 0.79 in 1971 to 0.94 in 1991, 0.94 (community background) and 0.90 (religion) in 2001. The absolute level of segregation is much higher than that seen for wards, enumeration districts, and output areas over the same period. It is interesting to note, however, that the same relative pattern of change – increases in segregation 1971 to 1991 and then stability or decrease 1991 to 2001 – is the same as that noted by Shuttleworth and Lloyd (2006) for 1km grid squares for NI as a whole. It is therefore tempting to speculate that perhaps the same demographic and social processes were operating in Belfast NIHE estates as in NI in general.

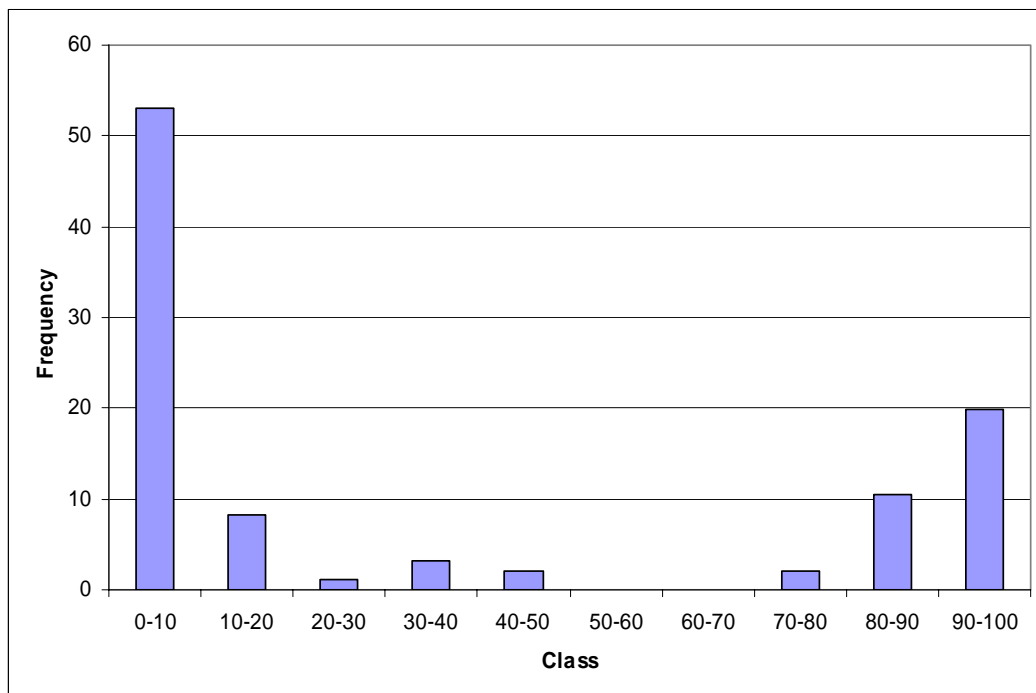


Figure 5: Histogram of NIHE Estates by Percentage Catholic 1991

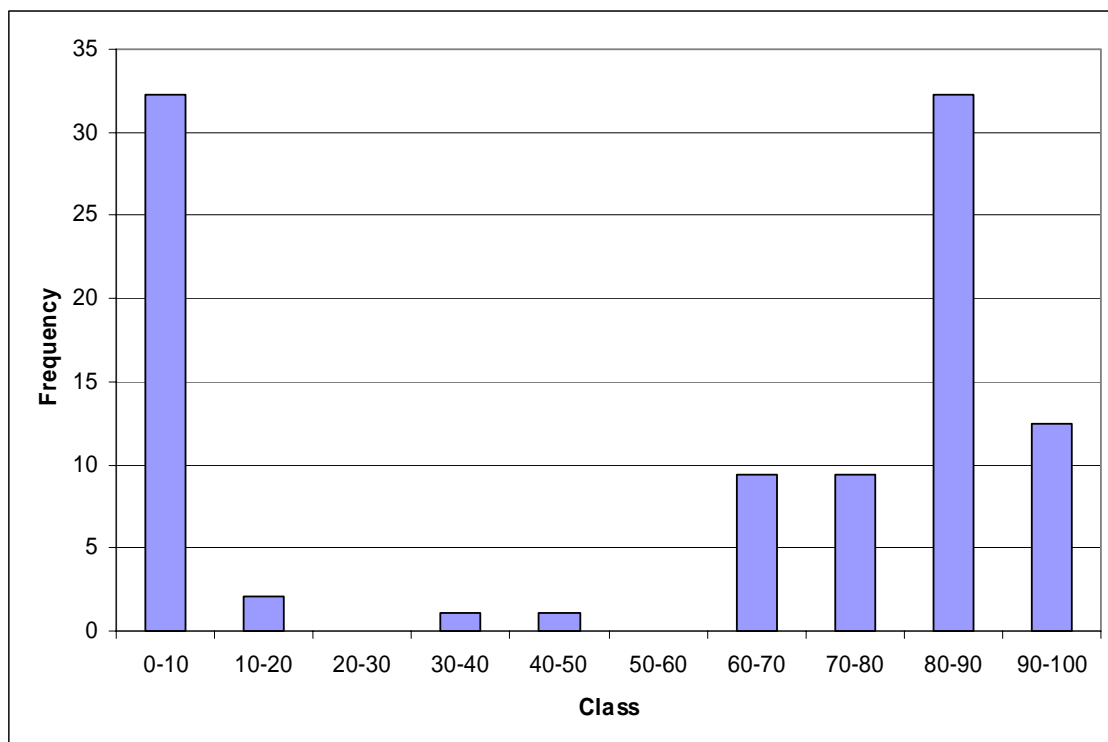


Figure 6: Histogram of NIHE Estates by Percentage Protestant 1991

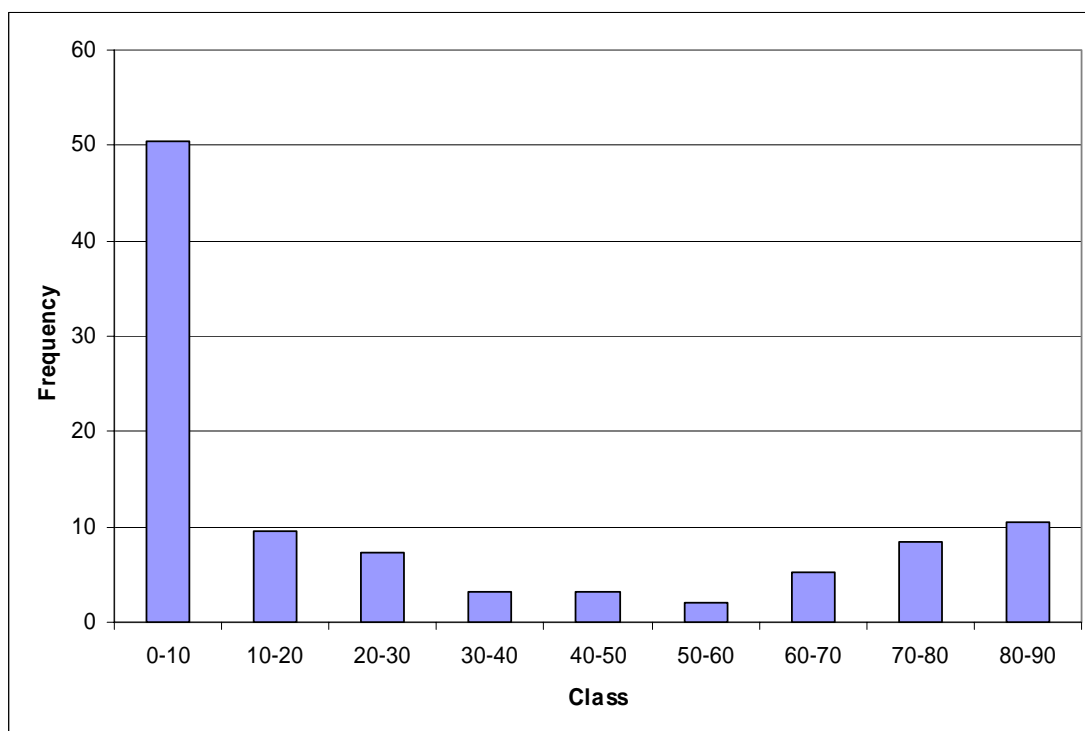


Figure 7: Histogram of NIHE Estates by Percentage Catholic 1971

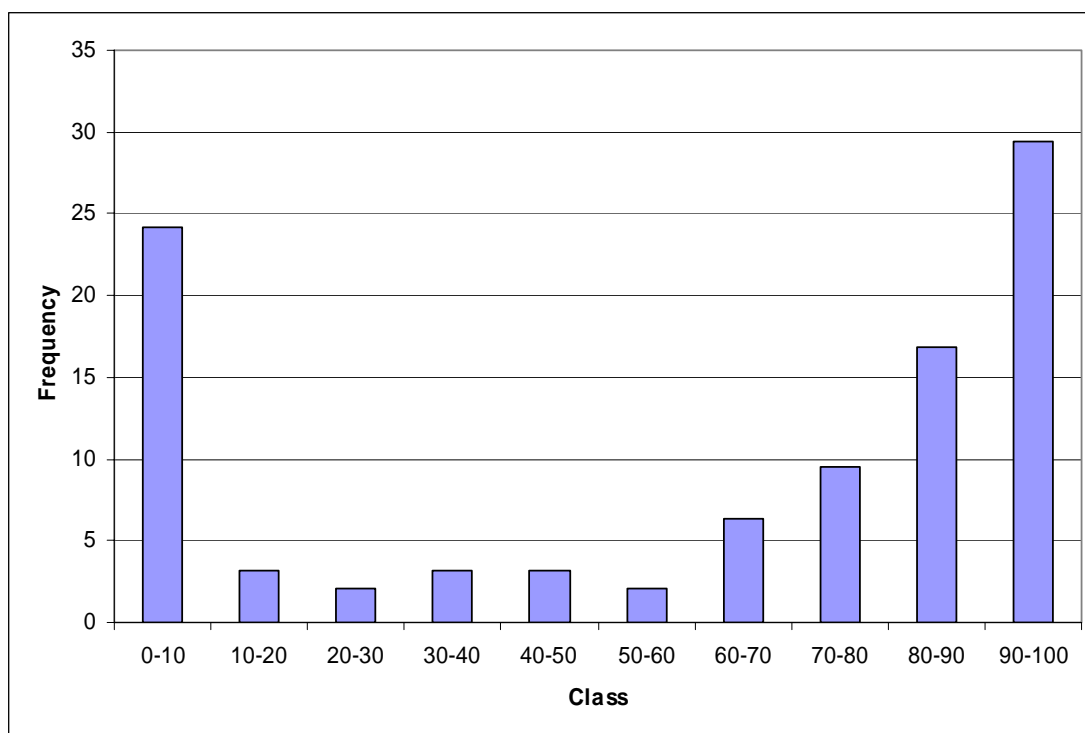


Figure 8: Histogram of NIHE Estates by Percentage Protestant 1971

Discussion

The matching of gridded Census data with other geographical units is an inexact science at the best of times with differing methods yielding slightly different results. Measuring local communal change by religion is not the ‘best of times’ either because of varying levels of non-response to the religion question mean it is impossible to know the ‘true’ composition of the population (indeed it may be impossible to arrive at the ‘truth’ in this case). There are thus some caveats about the data that are presented. Nevertheless, despite these, it is possible to be confident about the trends and the general patterns that have been identified. The population falls noted in Belfast are similar to those observed in other European industrial cities (Power and Shuttleworth 1997) and the relative Catholic proportionate increase in Belfast as well as the growth in residential segregation was noted earlier by Boal (1995). The demographic trends – and also the shifts in the composition of the housing market – conform to prior expectations. The decline of the private-rented sector through time and the growth in public ownership and owner occupation are interesting. In the 1971-1991 period the expansion of public housing reflects the work of the NIHE. It is impossible to know the causes of the population shifts that have been noted.

Explanations range from sectarian causes (eg intimidation) to structural social and economic changes (eg urban job loss) (Anderson and Shuttleworth 1998). Sectarian factors may have been important in some cases but it difficult to see how they can be the full story both because of the large shifts in population (the Protestant population of Belfast fell by around 100,000 between 1971 and 1991 and it is hard to believe they were all 'forced out'). Furthermore, the similar population declines seen in other cities in Europe and the USA suggest comparable population processes at work throughout the developed world and Belfast has perhaps not been immune to these.

It is highly likely that Belfast NIHE estates have become more communally segregated between 1971 and 2001 and are more segregated than most other areas in NI. The values for segregation index D are interesting on two counts. Firstly, the values for the NIHE estates are far higher than those calculated for 100m cells or, indeed, other geographical units such as wards. Everything else being equal, it would be reasonable to assume that the smaller 100m cells would be more homogenous than the larger NIHE estates. But this does not appear to be case. One reason for this could be attributed to social class – lower class areas are usually considered to be more segregated than middle class neighbourhoods (McNair 2006) – and NIHE estate residence could be considered as a good proxy indicator of not being middle class. Therefore, the social class composition of the estates could explain this observation. Furthermore, the location of NIHE estates is geographically non-random since they tend to be located in areas that are already residentially segregated although the existence of NIHE estates can contribute to the growth of homogenous communal blocks of population and thus to the growth of segregation. However, it is also interesting to speculate about the role of the housing market and its operation as a contributory factor, particularly in the way it channels people of the same kind together into communal blocs in housing estates in the city centre and the urban periphery. Secondly, although starting at a higher absolute level, the relative changes in segregation observed between 1971 and 2001 match very closely with those seen using other geographical units. There are a number of interpretations of this. It could be attributed to pure chance. Alternatively, Belfast NIHE estates may have a shared experience of some of the same demographic and social processes seen in other parts of NI. There is also a possibility that changing patterns of response to the religion question 1971-2001 may contribute to part of the observed changes but if this were

true it would also be interesting as it suggests that NIHE estates are similar in this respect to other parts of NI although differing from them in being more segregated.

References

Anderson, J. and Shuttleworth, I. (1998) Sectarian demography, territoriality and political development in Northern Ireland, *Political Geography*, **17**, 187–208

Boal, F., (1995), *Shaping a City: Belfast in the Late Twentieth Century*, Institute of Irish Studies, Belfast

Power, J., and Shuttleworth, I., (1997) Population, segregation and socio-economic change in the Belfast Urban Area (BUA) 1971-1991, *International Journal of Population Geography*, **3**, 91–108

McNair, D. (2006), *Social and Spatial Segregation: Ethno-National Separation and Mixing in Belfast*, Unpublished PhD thesis, School of Geography, Archaeology and Paleoecology, Queen's University Belfast: Belfast

Shuttleworth, I., and Lloyd, C., (2006), Are Northern Ireland's two communities dividing? Evidence from the Census of Population 1971-2001, *Shared Space*, **2**, 5-14

Appendix A- 2001 Statistical Output

Table A1: Total Persons, Households and Religion by NIHE Estate 2001

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Catholic (R)	Percentage Protestant (R)	Percentage other religions (R)
301208	HANNAHSTOWN	77	23	96	0	4
301301	GREATER ANDERSONSTOWN	9528	3390	89	1	11
301403	LOWER SUFFOLK	578	242	6	73	21
301411	ST JAMES AREA	353	138	94	0	6
301809	RODEN STREET	620	224	85	0	15
302101	LORD ST/AVONIEL	911	401	7	70	23
302102	ASHMOUNT	303	142	1	82	17
302104	BRIDGE END	22	18			
302105	BLOOMFIELD	423	220	1	74	26
302111	GARNERVILLE	359	150	1	73	26
302112	INVERARY	301	123	0	76	24
302113	KNOCKNAGONEY	567	260	3	78	19
302114	NEWTOWNARDS ROAD	1706	890	0	78	22
302115	SUMMERHILL	142	62	0	68	32
302116	SYDENHAM	719	317	1	75	25
302203	ARDCARN	262	97	2	73	25
302208	CLARAWOOD	495	248	0	80	20
302210	EDENVALE	120	74	0	74	26
302527	SHORT STRAND	1143	417	82	2	16
302606	WILLOWFIELD/UPPER CASTLEREAGH	32	22	0	76	24
302607	CHERRYVALLEY	148	61	10	53	37
302617	WANDSWORTH	458	197	7	66	27
302706	LOWER BEERSBRIDGE/THE MOUNT	521	246	1	78	21
302718	ORCHARD COURT	85	26	0	76	24
303104	LOWER SPRINGFIELD ROAD	341	106	89	1	10
303105	CAVENDISH STREET	329	138	89	1	10
303106	BEECHMOUNT	258	87	81	2	17
303109	MOYARD	571	158	89	2	10

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Catholic (R)	Percentage Protestant (R)	Percentage Other Religions (R)
303110	NEW BARNSLEY	811	254	84	0	16
303117	ROCKMOUNT	183	71	93	2	5
303207	WHITEROCK	880	297	94	0	6
303208	BALLYMURPHY	1920	594	95	0	5
303213	WESTROCK	383	117	94	1	5
303214	SPRINGHILL	345	93	95	0	5
303311	TURF LODGE	2240	706	88	0	12
303312	GRANSHA/DOWNFINE	157	57	93	2	6
303501	HAMILL ST/JOHN ST	148	73	85	0	15
303502	DIVIS COMPLEX	634	228	84	0	16
303603	LOWER FALLS	1267	473	89	0	11
303618	FALLS COURT/CLONARD	503	194	90	1	9
303843	CLUAIN MOR	591	189	93	0	7
303845	SPRINGFIELD PARK	250	60	97	0	3
303847	ARDMOULIN	210	78	90	1	9
307211	DONEGALL PASS	729	393	3	72	25
307213	SANDY ROW	504	262	1	82	17
307410	CROMAC	1135	494	88	2	10
307502	LOWER ORMEAU	301	120	96	1	3
307503	UPPER ORMEAU	296	146	52	27	22
307504	FLUSH	384	201	10	67	23
307505	LISBURN ROAD	470	237	30	42	28
307506	STRANMILLIS	172	96	49	32	20
307507	DONEGALL ROAD	1361	722	2	75	23
307509	WOODSTOCK/RAVENHILL	1380	640	2	74	24
307601	ANNADALE	307	190	15	55	29
307812	FINAGHY	1674	835	5	76	18
307908	TAUGHMONAGH	1180	511	2	78	20
314109	UPPER & LOWER DUNCAIRN	711	363	0	80	20
314113	CARRICK HILL	117	52	91	0	9

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Catholic (R)	Percentage Protestant (R)	Percentage Other Religions (R)
314204	CARLISLE/NEW LODGE/HENRY ST	1938	796	95	1	4
314206	WHITE CITY	297	128	4	84	12
314405	FAIRHILL/WAVENEY/DOWNVIEW	1020	456	7	80	14
314411	MOUNT VERNON ESTATE	405	159	1	85	13
314507	WHITEWELL/FAIRYKNOWE	622	269	69	14	17
314508	GRAYMOUNT/ShORE CRESCENT	261	135	2	75	23
314509	GAINSBOROUGH/MOUNTCOLLYER	489	268	1	77	22
314515	ARDAVON PARK	37	29	28	72	0
314516	SKEGONEILL	294	125	22	55	23
315308	DOVER	298	140	0	80	20
315405	HIGHFIELD	1100	469	0	86	13
315606	UPPER SHANKILL	514	235	1	86	13
315609	LOWER SHANKILL	536	247	0	82	18
315612	TUDOR	454	235	0	81	19
315613	LAWNBROOK	35	19	0	84	16
315701	SPRINGMARTIN	88	37	0	90	10
315702	BALLYGOMARTIN	424	186	3	86	11
315703	AINSWORTH	180	85	0	89	11
315704	GLENCAIRN	779	318	0	83	17
315808	BROWN SQUARE	99	37	0	84	16
315810	MID SHANKILL	321	148	0	91	9
315811	CAMBRAI/WOODVALE	462	227	1	87	12
315907	TWADDELL/WOODVALE	710	333	1	86	13
315913	SPRINGFIELD ROAD/DUNBOYNE	574	257	9	79	12
315914	AGNES STREET	161	82	0	91	9
316308	UPPER LIGONIEL	935	358	74	1	25
316309	SUNNINGDALE	670	344	3	69	29
316310	WESTLAND	219	112	3	75	22
316402	WHEATFIELD	965	450	9	79	12
316404	CLIFTONDENE	231	105	39	44	16

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Catholic (R)	Percentage Protestant (R)	Percentage Other Religions (R)
316405	LOWER OLDPARK	949	408	8	75	17
316406	CLIFTONVILLE	607	231	88	6	6
316407	LOWER LIGONIEL	189	102	0	77	23
316411	CAVEHILL	619	247	81	8	12
316701	BALLYSILLAN	1402	581	0	80	20
316803	ARDOYNE	2809	994	87	0	13
316805	OLDPARK	1707	605	85	2	13
316908	TORRENS	182	76	39	55	6
316909	ALLIANCE	203	89	21	66	13
316910	ROSEWOOD/CRUMLIN	21	8	13	12	

Table A2: Total Persons, Households and Community Background by NIHE Estate 2001

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Catholic	Percentage Protestant	Percentage other religion	Percentage No Religion
301208	HANNAHSTOWN	77	23	100	0	0	0
301301	GREATER ANDERSONSTOWN	9528	3390	97	2	0	1
301403	LOWER SUFFOLK	578	242	7	87	1	5
301411	ST JAMES AREA	353	138	100	0	0	0
301809	RODEN STREET	620	224	97	3	0	0
302101	LORD ST/AVONIEL	911	401	10	83	0	7
302102	ASHMOUNT	303	142	1	92	0	7
302104	BRIDGE END	22	18				
302105	BLOOMFIELD	423	220	3	90	0	7
302111	GARNERVILLE	359	150	2	89	0	9
302112	INVERARY	301	123	3	92	0	5
302113	KNOCKNAGONEY	567	260	3	92	0	6
302114	NEWTOWNARDS ROAD	1706	890	3	93	0	3
302115	SUMMERHILL	142	62	2	92	0	6
302116	SYDENHAM	719	317	4	93	0	3
302203	ARDCARN	262	97	6	89	0	5
302208	CLARAWOOD	495	248	2	93	0	5
302210	EDENVALE	120	74	5	93	2	0
302527	SHORT STRAND	1143	417	92	6	0	1
	WILLOWFIELD/UPPER						
302606	CASTLEREAGH	32	22	9	91	0	0
302607	CHERRYVALLEY	148	61	21	66	4	10
302617	WANDSWORTH	458	197	9	81	2	8
302706	LOWER BEERSBRIDGE/THE MOUNT	521	246	1	95	1	3
302718	ORCHARD COURT	85	26	0	86	0	14
303104	LOWER SPRINGFIELD ROAD	341	106	94	3	0	3
303105	CAVENDISH STREET	329	138	98	1	0	1
303106	BEECHMOUNT	258	87	93	5	2	0

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Catholic	Percentage Protestant	Percentage Other Religion	Percentage None
303109	MOYARD	571	158	97	3	0	0
303110	NEW BARNSELY	811	254	95	3	0	1
303117	ROCKMOUNT	183	71	97	3	0	0
303207	WHITEROCK	880	297	99	1	0	0
303208	BALLYMURPHY	1920	594	100	0	0	0
303213	WESTROCK	383	117	99	1	0	0
303214	SPRINGHILL	345	93	99	1	0	0
303311	TURF LODGE	2240	706	97	3	0	0
303312	GRANSHA/DOWNFINE	157	57	98	2	0	0
303501	HAMILL ST/JOHN ST	148	73	100	0	0	0
303502	DIVIS COMPLEX	634	228	96	4	0	0
303603	LOWER FALLS	1267	473	96	3	0	1
303618	FALLS COURT/CLONARD	503	194	97	1	0	2
303843	CLUAIN MOR	591	189	98	2	0	0
303845	SPRINGFIELD PARK	250	60	100	0	0	0
303847	ARDMOULIN	210	78	98	2	0	0
307211	DONEGALL PASS	729	393	7	84	2	7
307213	SANDY ROW	504	262	4	95	0	2
307410	CROMAC	1135	494	92	7	0	1
307502	LOWER ORMEAU	301	120	98	2	0	0
307503	UPPER ORMEAU	296	146	61	34	1	4
307504	FLUSH	384	201	18	77	1	5
307505	LISBURN ROAD	470	237	38	54	1	7
307506	STRANMILLIS	172	96	61	39	0	7
307507	DONEGALL ROAD	1361	722	5	91	0	4
307509	WOODSTOCK/RAVENHILL	1380	640	1	86	1	7
307601	ANNADALE	307	190	21	66	0	13
307812	FINAGHY	1674	835	7	86	0	3
307908	TAUGHMONAGH	1180	511	1	91	1	5
314109	UPPER & LOWER DUNCAIRN	711	363	0	94	0	0

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Catholic	Percentage Protestant	Percentage Other Religion	Percentage None
314113	CARRICK HILL	117	52	100	0	0	0
314204	CARLISLE/NEW LODGE/HENRY ST	1938	796	99	1	0	0
314206	WHITE CITY	297	128	0	90	0	2
314405	FAIRHILL/WAVENEY/DOWNVIEW	1020	456	9	89	0	2
314411	MOUNT VERNON ESTATE	405	159	2	95	0	2
314507	WHITEWELL/FAIRYKNOWE	622	269	0	20	0	3
314508	GRAYMOUNT/ShORE CRESCENT	261	135	5	90	0	5
314509	GAINSBOROUGH/MOUNTCOLLYER	489	268	5	91	0	4
314515	ARDAVON PARK	37	29	27	73	0	0
314516	SKEGONEILL	294	125	1	67	1	4
315308	DOVER	298	140	1	96	0	3
315405	HIGHFIELD	1100	469	2	98	0	0
315606	UPPER SHANKILL	514	235	0	98	0	2
315609	LOWER SHANKILL	536	247	4	92	0	4
315612	TUDOR	454	235	0	97	0	2
315613	LAWNBROOK	35	19	0	91	0	0
315701	SPRINGMARTIN	88	37	0	97	0	3
315702	BALLYGOMARTIN	424	186	0	95	0	0
315703	AINSWORTH	180	85	0	94	0	6
315704	GLENCAIRN	779	318	1	97	0	2
315808	BROWN SQUARE	99	37	0	100	0	0
315810	MID SHANKILL	321	148	2	96	0	2
315811	CAMBRAI/WOODVALE	462	227	3	97	0	0
315907	TWADDELL/WOODVALE	710	333	0	95	0	3
315913	SPRINGFIELD ROAD/DUNBOYNE	574	257	12	88	0	0
315914	AGNES STREET	161	82	0	96	0	4
316308	UPPER LIGONIEL	935	358	0	9	0	1
316309	SUNNINGDALE	670	344	0	87	0	7
316310	WESTLAND	219	112	0	89	0	4
316402	WHEATFIELD	965	450	1	85	1	3

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Catholic	Percentage Protestant	Percentage Others	Percentage None
316404	CLIFTONDENE	231	105	43	52	0	4
316405	LOWER OLDPARK	949	408	11	85	0	4
316406	CLIFTONVILLE	607	231	95	5	0	0
316407	LOWER LIGONIEL	189	102	7	89	0	4
316411	CAVEHILL	619	247	86	10	0	3
316701	BALLYSILLAN	1402	581	2	93	0	4
316803	ARDOYNE	2809	994	98	2	0	0
316805	OLDPARK	1707	605	96	4	0	0
316908	TORRENS	182	76	0	58	0	2
316909	ALLIANCE	203	89	23	75	0	1
316910	ROSEWOOD/CRUMLIN	21	8				

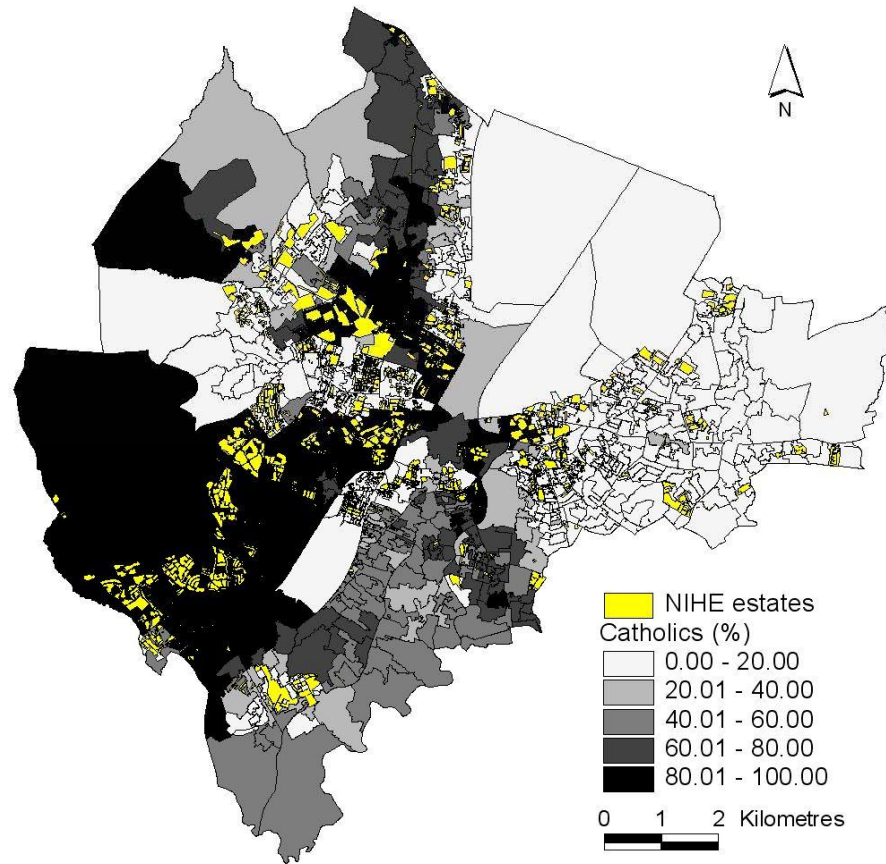
Table A3: Total Persons, Households and Housing Tenure by NIHE Estate 2001

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage owner occupied	Percentage socially rented	Percentage privately rented
301208	HANNAHSTOWN	77	23	52	48	0
301301	GREATER ANDERSONSTOWN	9528	3390	50	47	3
301403	LOWER SUFFOLK	578	242	30	70	0
301411	ST JAMES AREA	353	138	57	36	7
301809	RODEN STREET	620	224	17	81	1
302101	LORD ST/AVONIEL	911	401	22	70	8
302102	ASHMOUNT	303	142	34	64	2
302104	BRIDGE END	22	18			
302105	BLOOMFIELD	423	220	31	50	18
302111	GARNERVILLE	359	150	20	74	6
302112	INVERARY	301	123	31	69	0
302113	KNOCKNAGONEY	567	260	42	43	15
302114	NEWTOWNARDS ROAD	1706	890	17	81	1
302115	SUMMERHILL	142	62	60	35	5
302116	SYDENHAM	719	317	53	40	7
302203	ARDCARN	262	97	51	46	3
302208	CLARAWOOD	495	248	48	51	1
302210	EDENVALE	120	74	58	32	9
302527	SHORT STRAND WILLOWFIELD/UPPER	1143	417	29	69	2
302606	CASTLEREAGH	32	22	27	73	0
302607	CHERRYVALLEY	148	61	67	25	8
302617	WANDSWORTH	458	197	74	22	4
302706	LOWER BEERSBRIDGE/THE MOUNT	521	246	29	48	22
302718	ORCHARD COURT	85	26	15	73	12
303104	LOWER SPRINGFIELD ROAD	341	106	22	75	3
303105	CAVENDISH STREET	329	138	58	33	9
303106	BEECHMOUNT	258	87	17	72	10

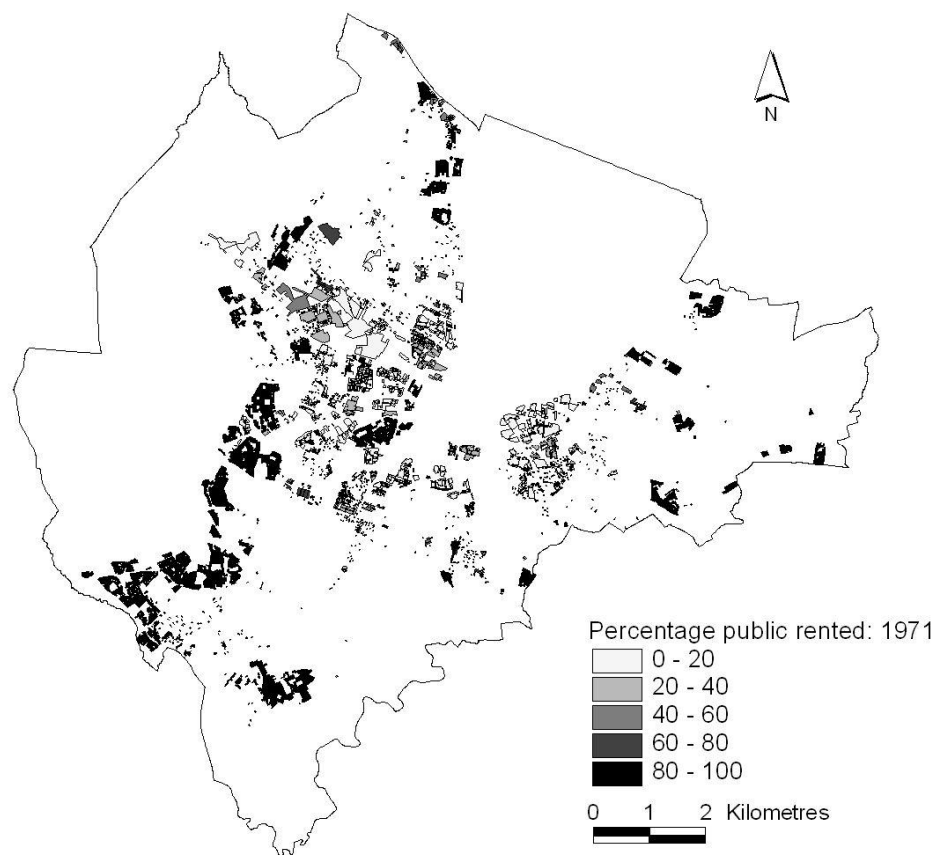
Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage owner occupied	Percentage socially rented	Percentage privately rented
303110	NEW BARNSELEY	811	254	21	78	1
303207	WHITEROCK	880	297	41	56	3
303208	BALLYMURPHY	1920	594	30	67	3
303213	WESTROCK	383	117	21	79	0
303214	SPRINGHILL	345	93	3	97	0
303311	TURF LODGE	2240	706	42	57	2
303312	GRANSHA/DOWNFINE	157	57	63	37	0
303501	HAMILL ST/JOHN ST	148	73	52	36	12
303502	DIVIS COMPLEX	634	228	16	84	0
303603	LOWER FALLS	1267	473	25	75	0
303618	FALLS COURT/CLONARD	503	194	29	66	5
303843	CLUAIN MOR	591	189	22	78	0
303845	SPRINGFIELD PARK	250	60	53	47	0
303847	ARDMOULIN	210	78	37	63	0
307211	DONEGALL PASS	729	393	18	79	3
307213	SANDY ROW	504	262	21	73	6
307410	CROMAC	1135	494	22	71	7
307502	LOWER ORMEAU	301	120	25	70	5
307503	UPPER ORMEAU	296	146	54	32	14
307504	FLUSH	384	201	54	41	5
307505	LISBURN ROAD	470	237	30	29	41
307506	STRANMILLIS	172	96	55	4	41
307507	DONEGALL ROAD	1361	722	33	47	19
307509	WOODSTOCK/RAVENHILL	1380	640	36	51	13
307601	ANNADALE	307	190	27	67	5
307812	FINAGHY	1674	835	54	43	3
307908	TAUGHMONAGH	1180	511	21	76	4
314109	UPPER & LOWER DUNCAIRN	711	363	13	86	1
314113	CARRICK HILL	117	52	21	79	0
314204	CARLISLE/NEW LODGE/HENRY ST	1938	796	24	72	4

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage owner occupied	Percentage socially rented	Percentage privately rented
314411	MOUNT VERNON ESTATE	405	159	31	64	6
314507	WHITEWELL/FAIRYKNOWE	622	269	60	26	14
314508	GRAYMOUNT/ShORE CRESCENT	261	135	34	58	8
314509	GAINSBOROUGH/MOUNTCOLLYER	489	268	16	78	5
314515	ARDAVON PARK	37	29	10	90	0
314516	SKEGONEILL	294	125	30	66	3
315308	DOVER	298	140	13	83	4
315405	HIGHFIELD	1100	469	19	81	0
315606	UPPER SHANKILL	514	235	15	85	0
315609	LOWER SHANKILL	536	247	8	89	2
315612	TUDOR	454	235	11	85	4
315613	LAWNBROOK	35	19	16	84	0
315701	SPRINGMARTIN	88	37	8	84	8
315702	BALLYGOMARTIN	424	186	43	55	2
315703	AINSWORTH	180	85	44	46	11
315704	GLENCAIRN	779	318	31	68	1
315808	BROWN SQUARE	99	37	19	81	0
315810	MID SHANKILL	321	148	18	82	0
315811	CAMBRAI/WOODVALE	462	227	16	80	4
315907	TWADDELL/WOODVALE	710	333	54	40	6
315913	SPRINGFIELD ROAD/DUNBOYNE	574	257	51	46	4
315914	AGNES STREET	161	82	11	89	0
316308	UPPER LIGONIEL	935	358	18	80	3
316309	SUNNINGDALE	670	344	51	43	6
316310	WESTLAND	219	112	31	66	3
316402	WHEATFIELD	965	450	36	49	16
316404	CLIFTONDENE	231	105	63	28	10
316405	LOWER OLDPARK	949	408	9	89	2
316406	CLIFTONVILLE	607	231	45	50	5
316407	LOWER LIGONIEL	189	102	38	47	15

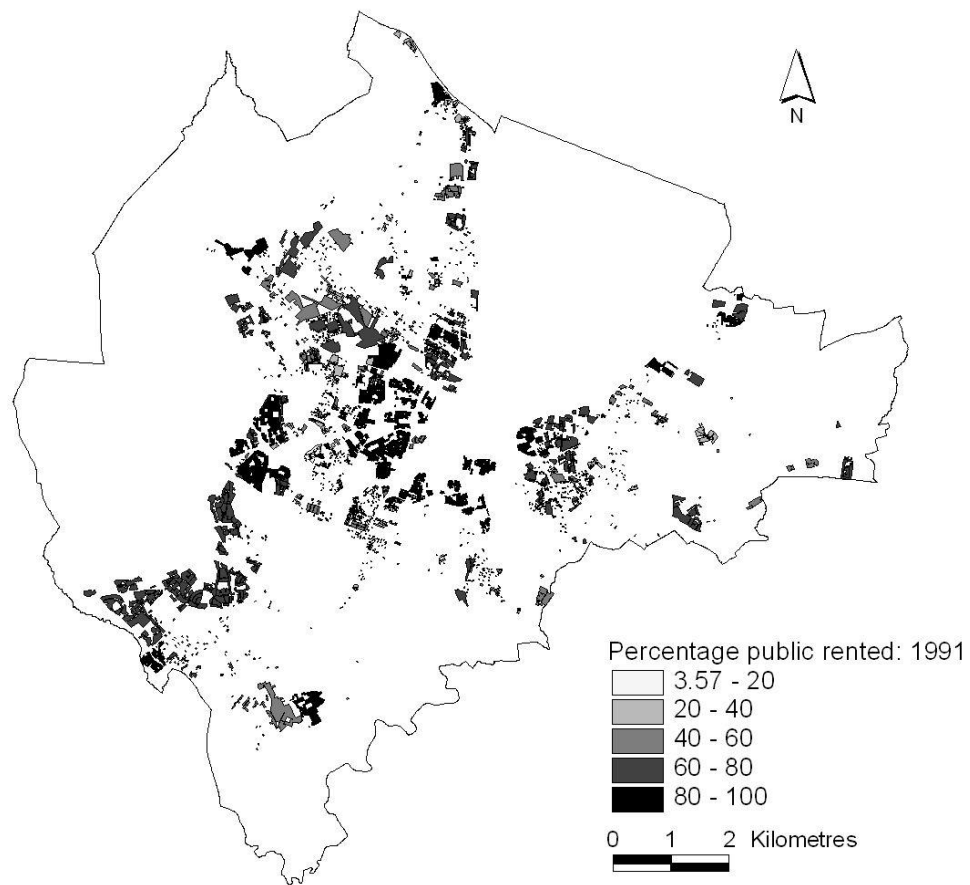
Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage owner occupied	Percentage socially rented	Percentage privately rented
316803	ARDOYNE	2809	994	32	63	6
316805	OLDPARK	1707	605	36	56	7
316908	TORRENS	182	76	28	59	13
316909	ALLIANCE	203	89	22	74	3
316910	ROSEWOOD/CRUMLIN	21	8			



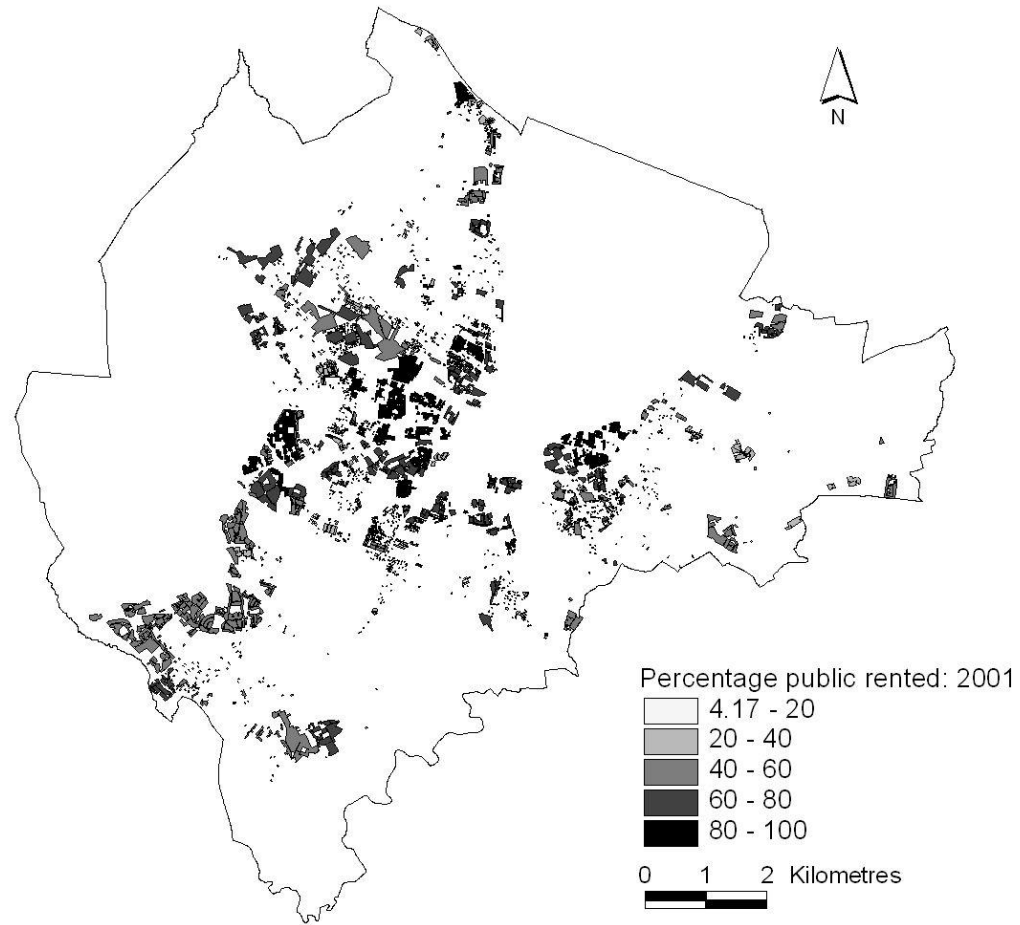
Map A1: NIHE Estates overlain on the Religious Geography of Belfast (OAs) 2001



Map A2: Percentage public rented 1971



Map A3: Percentage public rented 1991



Map A4: Percentage public rented 2001

Appendix B - 1991 Statistical Output

Table B1: Total Persons, Households and Religion by NIHE Estate 1991

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Catholic	Percentage Protestant	Percentage Other/None
301301	GREATER ANDERSONSTOWN	8899	2847	92	0	7
301403	LOWER SUFFOLK	660	265	16	69	15
301411	ST JAMES AREA	435	148	95	0	5
301809	RODEN STREET	670	222	92	0	8
302101	LORD ST/AVONIEL	1153	449	5	80	15
302102	ASHMOUNT	264	108	0	86	14
302105	BLOOMFIELD	268	134	1	89	10
302111	GARNERVILLE	364	135	0	84	16
302112	INVERARY	309	118	0	84	16
302113	KNOCKNAGONEY	294	118	1	90	9
302114	NEWTOWNARDS ROAD	1910	899	0	88	12
302115	SUMMERHILL	197	91	2	85	14
302116	SYDENHAM	668	283	1	82	17
302203	ARDCARN	268	99	0	88	12
302208	CLARAWOOD	555	252	1	83	17
302210	EDENVALE	120	79	5	85	10
302527	SHORT STRAND	783	281	95	0	5
302606	WILLOWFIELD/UPPER CASTLEREAGH	56	27	0	66	34
302607	CHERRYVALLEY	112	48	4	62	34
302617	WANDSWORTH	486	199	5	78	17
302706	LOWER BEERSBRIDGE/THE MOUNT	696	314	0	86	13
302718	ORCHARD COURT	82	24	1	78	21
303104	LOWER SPRINGFIELD ROAD	308	103	89	4	7
303105	CAVENDISH STREET	334	120	93	0	7
303106	BEECHMOUNT	134	34	90	0	10
303109	MOYARD	542	146	90	1	9
303110	NEW BARNSLEY	925	261	91	0	9
303117	ROCKMOUNT	138	44	88	1	11
303207	WHITEROCK	811	255	92	0	8

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Catholic	Percentage Protestant	Percentage Other/None
303213	WESTROCK	391	97	96	0	4
303214	SPRINGHILL	347	90	90	0	10
303311	TURF LODGE	2080	585	93	0	7
303312	GRANSHA/DOWNFINE	88	26	100	0	0
303501	HAMILL ST/JOHN ST	153	74	86	1	12
303502	DIVIS COMPLEX	877	326	93	3	5
303603	LOWER FALLS	1150	429	95	0	5
303618	FALLS COURT/CLONARD	593	211	97	0	3
303843	CLUAIN MOR	125	28	94	0	6
303845	SPRINGFIELD PARK	221	53	89	0	11
303847	ARDMOULIN	242	84	87	5	8
307211	DONEGALL PASS	718	378	4	74	22
307213	SANDY ROW	457	236	0	93	7
307410	CROMAC	1002	350	94	0	6
307502	LOWER ORMEAU	278	99	79	1	19
307503	UPPER ORMEAU	260	117	38	45	17
307504	FLUSH	361	168	5	78	17
307505	LISBURN ROAD	336	193	11	67	21
307506	STRANMILLIS	135	83	31	37	32
307507	DONEGALL ROAD	1532	699	0	87	13
307509	WOODSTOCK/RAVENHILL	1349	625	1	82	17
307601	ANNADALE	340	184	12	66	22
307812	FINAGHY	1725	698	4	84	12
307908	TAUGHMONAGH	1166	460	3	87	11
314109	UPPER & LOWER DUNCAIRN	892	421	0	80	20
314113	CARRICK HILL	148	48	99	0	1
314204	CARLISLE/NEW LODGE/HENRY ST	1906	663	90	1	9
314206	WHITE CITY	233	85	5	83	12
314405	FAIRHILL/WAVENEY/DOWNVIEW	1114	462	6	81	13
314411	MOUNT VERNON ESTATE	443	169	2	87	11

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Catholic	Percentage Protestant	Percentage Other/None
314508	GRAYMOUNT/SHORE CRESCENT	286	154	10	82	8
314509	GAINSBOROUGH/MOUNTCOLLYER	630	315	3	83	14
314515	ARDAVON PARK	30	25	33	63	3
314516	SKEGONEILL	450	187	17	64	20
315308	DOVER	381	173	0	95	5
315405	HIGHFIELD	1198	443	0	90	10
315606	UPPER SHANKILL	509	209	0	90	10
315609	LOWER SHANKILL	685	299	0	93	7
315612	TUDOR	807	408	1	89	10
315613	LAWNBROOK	35	17	0	94	6
315701	SPRINGMARTIN	129	52	0	91	9
315702	BALLYGOMARTIN	522	208	0	92	8
315703	AINSWORTH	209	94	1	90	9
315704	GLENCAIRN	406	173	0	88	12
315808	BROWN SQUARE	91	49	0	84	16
315810	MID SHANKILL	258	133	0	94	6
315811	CAMBRAI/WOODVALE	480	238	0	93	7
315907	TWADDELL/WOODVALE	661	307	1	93	7
315913	SPRINGFIELD ROAD/DUNBOYNE	177	70	15	71	14
315914	AGNES STREET	140	80	0	76	24
316308	UPPER LIGONIEL	280	123	80	10	10
316309	SUNNINGDALE	649	293	3	86	11
316310	WESTLAND	142	66	1	82	16
316402	WHEATFIELD	1204	520	13	75	12
316404	CLIFTONDENE	176	75	22	65	13
316405	LOWER OLD PARK	1270	571	2	86	12
316406	CLIFTONVILLE	739	234	85	3	12
316407	LOWER LIGONIEL	170	95	0	83	17
316411	CAVEHILL	623	248	64	17	18
316701	BALLYSILLAN	1354	531	0	87	13

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Catholic	Percentage Protestant	Percentage Other/None
316805	OLDPARK	1550	545	83	7	10
316908	TORRENS	320	148	10	73	17
316909	ALLIANCE	334	150	8	81	10
316910	ROSEWOOD/CRUMLIN	71	28	1	66	32

Table B2: Total Persons, Households and Housing Tenure by NIHE Estate 1991

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Occupied	Owner	Percentage Public	Percentage Private
301301	GREATER ANDERSONSTOWN	8899	2847		36	64	1
301403	LOWER SUFFOLK	660	265		11	89	0
301411	ST JAMES AREA	435	148		49	48	3
301809	RODEN STREET	670	222		1	99	0
302101	LORD ST/AVONIEL	1153	449		20	76	4
302102	ASHMOUNT	264	108		21	79	0
302105	BLOOMFIELD	268	134		57	31	12
302111	GARNERVILLE	364	135		5	95	0
302112	INVERARY	309	118		17	82	1
302113	KNOCKNAGONEY	294	118		21	79	0
302114	NEWTOWNARDS ROAD	1910	899		16	69	15
302115	SUMMERHILL	197	91		55	45	0
302116	SYDENHAM	668	283		49	43	8
302203	ARDCARN	268	99		28	72	0
302208	CLARAWOOD	555	252		31	69	0
302210	EDENVALE	120	79		47	53	0
302527	SHORT STRAND WILLOWFIELD/UPPER	783	281		0	100	0
302606	CASTLEREAGH	56	27		26	74	0
302607	CHERRYVALLEY	112	48		47	45	9
302617	WANDSWORTH	486	199		63	34	3
302706	LOWER BEERSBRIDGE/THE MOUNT	696	314		28	53	19
302718	ORCHARD COURT	82	24		0	100	0
303104	LOWER SPRINGFIELD ROAD	308	103		46	48	6
303105	CAVENDISH STREET	334	120		70	25	5
303106	BEECHMOUNT	134	34		9	91	0
303109	MOYARD	542	146		10	90	0
303110	NEW BARNESLEY	925	261		8	92	0

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Occupied	Owner	Percentage Public	Percentage Private
303207	WHITEROCK	811	255		21	79	0
303208	BALLYMURPHY	2075	557		11	89	0
303213	WESTROCK	391	97		5	95	0
303214	SPRINGHILL	347	90		0	100	0
303311	TURF LODGE	2080	585		21	79	0
303312	GRANSHA/DOWNFINE	88	26		38	62	0
303501	HAMILL ST/JOHN ST	153	74		42	53	4
303502	DIVIS COMPLEX	877	326		0	99	0
303603	LOWER FALLS	1150	429		3	97	0
303618	FALLS COURT/CLONARD	593	211		1	99	0
303843	CLUAIN MOR	125	28		96	4	0
303845	SPRINGFIELD PARK	221	53		33	67	0
303847	ARDMOULIN	242	84		2	96	1
307211	DONEGALL PASS	718	378		1	98	1
307213	SANDY ROW	457	236		5	93	2
307410	CROMAC	1002	350		3	97	0
307502	LOWER ORMEAU	278	99		9	91	0
307503	UPPER ORMEAU	260	117		55	42	3
307504	FLUSH	361	168		48	51	1
307505	LISBURN ROAD	336	193		45	25	30
307506	STRANMILLIS	135	83		68	12	20
307507	DONEGALL ROAD	1532	699		35	53	12
307509	WOODSTOCK/RAVENHILL	1349	625		29	63	7
307601	ANNADALE	340	184		21	76	3
307812	FINAGHY	1725	698		41	58	1
307908	TAUGHMONAGH	1166	460		8	91	1
314109	UPPER & LOWER DUNCAIRN	892	421		10	89	2
314113	CARRICK HILL	148	48		0	100	0
314204	CARLISLE/NEW LODGE/HENRY ST	1906	663		21	77	2
314206	WHITE CITY	233	85		5	95	0

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Occupied	Owner	Percentage Public	Percentage Private
314411	MOUNT VERNON ESTATE	443	169		21	79	0
314507	WHITEWELL/FAIRYKNOWE	591	231		59	36	5
314508	GRAYMOUNT/ShORE CRESCENT	286	154		27	73	0
314509	GAINSBOROUGH/MOUNTCOLLYER	630	315		26	71	3
314515	ARDAVON PARK	30	25		0	100	0
314516	SKEGONEILL	450	187		38	60	3
315308	DOVER	381	173		8	92	0
315405	HIGHFIELD	1198	443		11	89	0
315606	UPPER SHANKILL	509	209		1	99	0
315609	LOWER SHANKILL	685	299		1	99	0
315612	TUDOR	807	408		39	58	3
315613	LAWNBROOK	35	17		13	88	0
315701	SPRINGMARTIN	129	52		8	92	0
315702	BALLYGOMARTIN	522	208		30	70	0
315703	AINSWORTH	209	94		38	46	16
315704	GLENCAIRN	406	173		32	68	0
315808	BROWN SQUARE	91	49		0	100	0
315810	MID SHANKILL	258	133		3	96	1
315811	CAMBRAI/WOODVALE	480	238		46	37	17
315907	TWADDELL/WOODVALE	661	307		41	58	1
315913	SPRINGFIELD ROAD/DUNBOYNE	177	70		59	31	10
315914	AGNES STREET	140	80		3	96	1
316308	UPPER LIGONIEL	280	123		2	98	0
316309	SUNNINGDALE	649	293		44	52	4
316310	WESTLAND	142	66		21	77	2
316402	WHEATFIELD	1204	520		37	55	7
316404	CLIFTONDENE	176	75		61	37	1
316405	LOWER OLD PARK	1270	571		12	84	4
316406	CLIFTONVILLE	739	234		53	46	2
316407	LOWER LIGONIEL	170	95		41	56	2

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Occupied	Owner	Percentage Public	Percentage Private
316701	BALLYSILLAN	1354	531		23	76	1
316803	ARDOYNE	2445	844		20	77	3
316805	OLDPARK	1550	545		20	74	6
316908	TORRENS	320	148		27	57	16
316909	ALLIANCE	334	150		34	50	16
316910	ROSEWOOD/CRUMLIN	71	28		39	21	39

Appendix C - 1971 Statistical Output

Table C1: Total Persons, Households and Religion by NIHE Estate 1971

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Catholic	Percentage Protestant	Percentage Not Known
301301	GREATER ANDERSONSTOWN	12694	2710	68	12	20
301403	LOWER SUFFOLK	1162	312	9	82	9
301411	ST JAMES AREA	496	138	78	1	21
301809	RODEN STREET	1406	446	37	46	17
302101	LORD ST/AVONIEL	1732	596	3	92	5
302102	ASHMOUNT	466	113	3	92	5
302105	BLOOMFIELD	628	234	2	96	2
302111	GARNERVILLE	272	63	2	92	1
302112	INVERARY	382	77	8	78	13
302113	KNOCKNAGONEY	841	190	2	90	5
302114	NEWTOWNARDS ROAD	4643	1634	0	96	3
302115	SUMMERHILL	208	55	4	88	8
302116	SYDENHAM	906	273	2	91	7
302203	ARDCARN	472	114	9	85	4
302208	CLARAWOOD	924	239	2	94	3
302210	EDENVALE	139	64	4	95	0
302527	SHORT STRAND	1831	554	80	3	18
	WILLOWFIELD/UPPER					
302606	CASTLEREAGH	29	14	0	93	0
302607	CHERRYVALLEY	100	40	6	83	11
302617	WANDSWORTH	575	192	2	87	10
	LOWER BEERSBRIDGE/THE					
302706	MOUNT	1311	491	1	96	3
302718	ORCHARD COURT	17	4	0	0	0
303104	LOWER SPRINGFIELD ROAD	732	214	58	29	13
303105	CAVENDISH STREET	537	156	82	1	17
303106	BEECHMOUNT	74	19	61	0	39
303109	MOYARD	647	154	75	3	22
303117	ROCKMOUNT	237	66	75	5	18

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Catholic	Percentage Protestant	Percentage Not Known
303208	BALLYMURPHY	3659	562	82	2	16
303213	WESTROCK	463	74	74	0	13
303214	SPRINGHILL	772	145	83	0	17
303311	TURF LODGE	3545	575	83	0	16
303312	GRANSHA/DOWNFINE	5	1	0	0	0
303501	HAMILL ST/JOHN ST	224	76	90	0	10
303502	DIVIS COMPLEX	1757	539	82	0	16
303603	LOWER FALLS	3334	1016	82	0	17
303618	FALLS COURT/CLONARD	1088	321	79	3	18
303843	CLUAIN MOR	173	29	87	0	13
303845	SPRINGFIELD PARK	207	47	65	11	24
303847	ARDMOULIN	260	78	80	9	11
307211	DONEGALL PASS	2161	761	21	67	11
307213	SANDY ROW	1042	388	0	96	4
307410	CROMAC	974	276	83	0	16
307502	LOWER ORMEAU	476	160	42	45	13
307503	UPPER ORMEAU	420	136	26	61	13
307504	FLUSH	609	173	4	89	6
307505	LISBURN ROAD	634	247	8	86	5
307506	STRANMILLIS	112	49	13	73	13
307507	DONEGALL ROAD	2868	1035	3	93	4
307509	WOODSTOCK/RAVENHILL	2575	965	4	89	6
307601	ANNADALE	651	191	15	75	10
307812	FINAGHY	2286	683	6	89	5
307908	TAUGHMONAGH	1409	269	8	85	7
314109	UPPER & LOWER DUNCAIRN	2305	832	2	93	5
314113	CARRICK HILL	375	88	78	2	20
314204	CARLISLE/NEW LODGE/HENRY ST	2847	796	70	8	21
314206	WHITE CITY	448	113	23	67	10
314405	FAIRHILL/WAVENEY/DOWNVIEW	1585	424	9	81	5

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Catholic	Percentage Protestant	Percentage Not Known
314507	WHITEWELL/FAIRYKNOWE	868	250	33	52	14
314508	GRAYMOUNT/ShORE CRESCENT	358	112	24	68	7
314509	GAINSBOROUGH/MOUNTCOLLYER	1742	573	13	79	8
314515	ARDAVON PARK	6	4	0	0	0
314516	SKEGONEILL	442	149	12	77	10
315308	DOVER	1323	446	0	97	3
315405	HIGHFIELD	2167	465	1	93	6
315606	UPPER SHANKILL	2104	687	0	98	2
315609	LOWER SHANKILL	950	321	14	77	9
315612	TUDOR	1458	537	0	96	3
315613	LAWNBROOK	118	46	0	98	2
315701	SPRINGMARTIN	312	102	0	96	4
315702	BALLYGOMARTIN	738	193	2	91	7
315703	AINSWORTH	443	126	29	60	11
315704	GLENCAIRN	715	173	0	97	3
315808	BROWN SQUARE	210	78	6	93	0
315810	MID SHANKILL	924	341	0	97	2
315811	CAMBRAI/WOODVALE	1651	572	0	95	4
315907	TWADDELL/WOODVALE	818	322	3	92	5
315913	SPRINGFIELD ROAD/DUNBOYNE	242	71	22	68	10
315914	AGNES STREET	583	207	1	98	1
316308	UPPER LIGONIEL	843	246	57	35	9
316309	SUNNINGDALE	1070	300	8	84	8
316310	WESTLAND	61	14	10	26	44
316402	WHEATFIELD	1951	590	17	72	9
316404	CLIFTONDENE	288	91	21	66	13
316405	LOWER OLDPARK	3599	1246	13	81	6
316406	CLIFTONVILLE	925	261	46	40	14
316407	LOWER LIGONIEL	373	137	13	78	9
316411	CAVEHILL	678	218	38	50	9

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Catholic	Percentage Protestant	Percentage Not Known
316803	ARDOYNE	4032	1111	62	17	21
316805	OLDPARK	2867	895	50	37	13
316908	TORRENS	748	238	18	72	10
316909	ALLIANCE	778	273	7	86	6
316910	ROSEWOOD/CRUMLIN	98	31	0	98	2

Table C2: Total Persons, Households and Housing Tenure by NIHE Estate 1971

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Owner Occupied	Percentage Public Rented	Percentage Private Rented
301301	GREATER ANDERSONSTOWN	12694	2710	7	92	1
301403	LOWER SUFFOLK	1162	312	4	95	0
301411	ST JAMES AREA	496	138	17	66	17
301809	RODEN STREET	1406	446	40	20	40
302101	LORD ST/AVONIEL	1732	596	31	21	47
302102	ASHMOUNT	466	113	5	93	2
302105	BLOOMFIELD	628	234	35	15	49
302111	GARNERVILLE	272	63	0	90	5
302112	INVERARY	382	77	8	86	5
302113	KNOCKNAGONEY	841	190	0	97	1
302114	NEWTOWNARDS ROAD	4643	1634	26	17	56
302115	SUMMERHILL	208	55	4	95	2
302116	SYDENHAM	906	273	26	51	23
302203	ARDCARN	472	114	0	97	0
302208	CLARAWOOD	924	239	0	99	1
302210	EDENVALE	139	64	17	80	3
302527	SHORT STRAND	1831	554	22	13	65
	WILLOWFIELD/UPPER					
302606	CASTLEREAGH	29	14	0	100	0
302607	CHERRYVALLEY	100	40	15	83	3
302617	WANDSWORTH	575	192	15	82	3
	LOWER BEERSBRIDGE/THE					
302706	MOUNT	1311	491	27	4	69
302718	ORCHARD COURT	17	4	0	0	0
303104	LOWER SPRINGFIELD ROAD	732	214	29	19	49
303105	CAVENDISH STREET	537	156	35	6	58
303106	BEECHMOUNT	74	19	0	100	0

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Owner Occupied	Percentage Public Rented	Percentage Private Rented
303207	WHITEROCK	1118	245	2	94	2
303208	BALLYMURPHY	3659	562	1	98	1
303213	WESTROCK	463	74	0	91	0
303214	SPRINGHILL	772	145	0	96	2
303311	TURF LODGE	3545	575	1	96	1
303312	GRANSHA/DOWNFINE	5	1	0	0	0
303501	HAMILL ST/JOHN ST	224	76	0	99	1
303502	DIVIS COMPLEX	1757	539	2	94	3
303603	LOWER FALLS	3334	1016	3	89	6
303618	FALLS COURT/CLONARD	1088	321	27	20	53
303843	CLUAIN MOR	173	29	100	0	0
303845	SPRINGFIELD PARK	207	47	98	0	2
303847	ARDMOULIN	260	78	14	33	51
307211	DONEGALL PASS	2161	761	32	7	61
307213	SANDY ROW	1042	388	26	17	57
307410	CROMAC	974	276	12	25	62
307502	LOWER ORMEAU	476	160	48	6	46
307503	UPPER ORMEAU	420	136	29	61	10
307504	FLUSH	609	173	2	97	1
307505	LISBURN ROAD	634	247	37	27	36
307506	STRANMILLIS	112	49	27	43	31
307507	DONEGALL ROAD	2868	1035	28	25	47
307509	WOODSTOCK/RAVENHILL	2575	965	36	17	46
307601	ANNADALE	651	191	12	85	3
307812	FINAGHY	2286	683	12	87	1
307908	TAUGHMONAGH	1409	269	4	94	2
314109	UPPER & LOWER DUNCAIRN	2305	832	27	19	53
314113	CARRICK HILL	375	88	0	100	0
314204	CARLISLE/NEW LODGE/HENRY ST	2847	796	22	36	40
314206	WHITE CITY	448	113	0	99	1

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Owner Occupied	Percentage Public Rented	Percentage Private Rented
314507	WHITEWELL/FAIRYKNOWE	868	250	40	41	18
314508	GRAYMOUNT/ShORE CRESCENT	358	112	2	96	2
314509	GAINSBOROUGH/MOUNTCOLLYER	1742	573	37	10	52
314515	ARDAVON PARK	6	4	0	0	0
314516	SKEGONEILL	442	149	37	49	11
315308	DOVER	1323	446	28	20	52
315405	HIGHFIELD	2167	465	0	99	0
315606	UPPER SHANKILL	2104	687	20	21	59
315609	LOWER SHANKILL	950	321	23	20	57
315612	TUDOR	1458	537	47	11	42
315613	LAWNBROOK	118	46	28	9	61
315701	SPRINGMARTIN	312	102	0	100	0
315702	BALLYGOMARTIN	738	193	9	91	0
315703	AINSWORTH	443	126	50	4	46
315704	GLENCAIRN	715	173	0	100	0
315808	BROWN SQUARE	210	78	17	28	55
315810	MID SHANKILL	924	341	36	12	51
315811	CAMBRAI/WOODVALE	1651	572	34	18	48
315907	TWADDELL/WOODVALE	818	322	8	87	4
315913	SPRINGFIELD ROAD/DUNBOYNE	242	71	42	39	18
315914	AGNES STREET	583	207	24	4	72
316308	UPPER LIGONIEL	843	246	40	7	52
316309	SUNNINGDALE	1070	300	14	77	9
316310	WESTLAND	61	14	64	0	14
316402	WHEATFIELD	1951	590	22	52	25
316404	CLIFTONDENE	288	91	40	60	0
316405	LOWER OLDPARK	3599	1246	42	9	49
316406	CLIFTONVILLE	925	261	65	7	28
316407	LOWER LIGONIEL	373	137	34	21	45
316701	BALLYSILLAN	2614	615	9	88	2

Estate Code	Estate Name	Persons	Households	Percentage Owner Occupied	Percentage Public Rented	Percentage Private Rented
316805	OLDPARK	2867	895	38	16	45
316908	TORRENS	748	238	37	11	52
316909	ALLIANCE	778	273	23	21	51
316910	ROSEWOOD/CRUMLIN	98	31	77	3	19