Ireland’s Contradictory Welfare Reality, Globalisation and a Diversity of Migration Experiences - The Case of County Clare.

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Dedication

I gcuimhne ar Paddy McHugh.
Pearsantacht mór, gealgháireach, dána a bhí i gconaí lán de beocht.
Ag cuimhneamh ort a stór agus ag guí gach sonas ort pé áit ina bhuí tú.
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To the legion of friends and family, thank you for putting up with me – particularly for your support in the final stages. Finally, I am eternally grateful to the woman who supervised me, Dr. Maura Adshead, for her advice, support, kindness and friendship.
Declaration

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work and contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

Éidín Ni Shé

Signed:.........................................................

Date:.............................................................
A number of fundamental concepts will be discussed at a theoretical level during the first two chapters of this thesis and more will feature in the empirical explorations and analysis. It is useful, therefore, to offer a brief understanding of the following concepts:

• **Immigrant**: The definition in this thesis will follow closely what Tomas Hammar (1985) has suggested is a workable definition. An ‘‘immigrant’’ is a person who migrates to a country and then actually resides there longer than a short period of time, i.e. for more than three months’ (Hammar, 1985: 11). This definition encompasses a wide range of groups and sub-groups, including: refugees and asylum-seekers; ‘guestworkers’ or others working in a country for an extended period of time regardless of legal status; holders of residence visas; and others who have overstayed tourist or work visas for whatever reason. This definition excludes people who enter a state to visit friends or relatives for a short period of time; tourists who leave the country within the expiration of their visa; and others who reside in a country for a short amount of time, i.e. performers in a show or people on business trips.

• **Migrant Worker**: A migrant worker is a person who is working in a state of which s/he is not a national. A migrant worker can be documented or undocumented.

• **Asylum Seeker**: An asylum seeker is a person who has applied for refugee status and is awaiting a decision on their case. A person seeking asylum has very limited rights and does not have the right to work. An asylum seeker is defined, by the UN (Geneva) Convention on Refugees (1951) as:

Any person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of her/his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail her/himself of the protection of that country; or (any person) who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of her/his former habitual residence, is unable, or owing to such fear is unwilling to return to it.
• **Refugee:** A refugee is a person whose application for refugee status has been successful. Refugee status will be given only when there is a well-founded fear that that person will be subjected to persecution if they return to their country. Once a person has refugee status s/he can work without any restrictions.

• **Roma:** Roma refers to the international Roma community, which is made up of diverse groups throughout the world. As a minority ethnic group, the Roma do not have an exclusive nation or homeland but share a common ancestry of origin, history and culture. Despite a traditional nomadic culture, today many Roma groups are settled, particularly in the former Eastern European countries where sedentary living was enforced under communist rule. However, there are still Roma who are peripatetic nomads, that is they travel in order to practice their trades and skills where they can.

• **EU National:** An EU national is a person who is a citizen of an EU member state. All EU citizens have the right to move freely within the European Union, including Romania and Bulgaria who joined on 1st January 2007. A number of EU states have restrictions on who can access their labour market. Ireland imposed restrictions on Romanian and Bulgarian nationals accessing jobs here.

• **Non-EU National:** A Non-EU national is a person who is not a citizen of an EU member state. They have fewer rights than EU migrant workers.

• **Irish Born Child:** ‘Irish born child’ (IBC) usually refers to a child born in Ireland whose parents are not Irish or EEA citizens. Following the Citizenship Referendum in 2004, legislation was passed so that it is no longer possible for persons born in Ireland to obtain automatic citizenship.

• **Leave to Remain:** This is a statement of the conditions and the length of time that a non-EEA citizen is permitted to remain in Ireland. It is given at the discretion of the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform, usually on humanitarian grounds.

• **Globalisation:** Simply defined, globalisation is about openness and integration of markets, people and nations. Taylor-Gooby (2009: 20) defines
globalisation as ‘the process of greater international integration at the level of trade, fiscal markets, and production, leading to the decline of the authority of the nation state, to greater social and cultural interaction and, at the basic human level, migration’.

- **Racism:** Racism can be broadly defined as any belief or practice that attributes negative characteristics to any group or persons either intentionally or unintentionally, on the basis of their supposed ‘race’ or ethnicity, within the context of differential relations of power (Loyal, 2003: 86). Racism can also be expressed through the acts of political institutions. Macpherson defined institutional racism in the following terms:

  The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage ethnic minority people (Macpherson, 1999: 22).

Goldberg (2002) argues that modern nation-states are ‘racial states’, defined by their power to include and exclude in racially ordered terms, to categorise hierarchically, through various technologies of governance and techniques of power. Racialised patterns of inclusion and exclusion are evident in laws and policies that selectively integrate some immigrants, while strenuously keeping others out. The result of such racism includes unequal access to services. One obvious example would be the experiences of Irish Travellers in the areas of health, education and accommodation (Fanning, 2002: 152-68).

- **Integration:** This thesis agrees with the working definition of integration as outlined by Sarah Spencer in 2004, the then Deputy Chair for the Commission for Racial Equality in Great Britain. In 2004, as part of holding the EU presidency, the Irish government hosted a conference titled ‘Reconciling Mobility and Social Inclusion – The Role of Employment and Social Policy’\(^1\). Spencer was one of the speakers who argued that ‘integration is not simply

\(^1\) Papers presented at the conference are accessible here: [http://tiny.cc/2zmfw](http://tiny.cc/2zmfw)
about access to the labour market and services, or about changing attitudes of civic engagement; it is a two-way process of adaptation by migrant and host society at all of those levels’ (italics in original, Spencer, 2004: 24).

- **Xenophobia:** Is a Greek word that means ‘fear of strangers’ (Mudde, 1995: 212). However, xenophobia may be targeted at any group of people regarded as strange or deviant. Therefore xenophobia can be a fear of people from a foreign country but also fear of groups such as sexual minorities or religions.

The thesis also contains phrases and terms in the Irish language. Rather than treating them as a foreign language the Irish words have been assimilated into Irish English and are not italicised in the text. A short glossary of terms is as follows:

- **Bunreacht na hÉireann:** The Irish Constitution
- **Ceann Comhairle:** Chairperson of the Parliament
- **Dáil Éireann:** Parliament
- **Fianna Fáil:** Political party translated into English as ‘Soldiers of Destiny’
- **Fine Gael:** Political party literally meaning ‘Family or Tribe of the Irish’
- **Garda Síochána:** Police, translated from the Irish for ‘the Guardians of the Peace’.
- **FÁS (Forás Áiseanna Saothair):** Training and Employment Authority
- **Tithe an Oireachtas:** House of Parliament
- **Seanad Éireann:** Senate of Ireland
- **Tánaiste:** Deputy Prime Minister
- **Taoiseach:** Prime Minister
- **Teachta Dála (TD):** Member of Dáil Éireann and literally meaning ‘Deputy of the Dáil’.
Abstract

Éidín Ní Shé

Traditional approaches to welfare state literature have tended to be dominated by a concentration on welfare regimes and a subsequent focus on fitting countries into classifications. This thesis seeks to go beyond these debates by concentrating the analysis of empirical investigation on changes within welfare states, with a view to contributing to a further understanding of the changes taking place within welfare states. It is in this context that the work focuses on the impact of globalisation, noting that even the globalisation literature has devoted little attention to the internal dimensions of the globalisation process within states. Arguably, the biggest globalisation impact is the movement of people across state borders and the resultant challenges of integrating race, ethnicity and migration into our understanding of welfare states. The thesis therefore aims to map welfare state responses to immigration and outcomes for immigrants, and posits Ireland as an exemplar case of globalisation. In doing so, it highlights that three general types of incorporation of immigrants (differential exclusion, assimilation and multiculturalism) can be found throughout Europe, resulting in an assortment of immigration policies encompassing restrictive and expansive tendencies and varying types of inclusion and exclusion of migrants and their families. In the Irish case, the research finds that the state has created a hybrid model giving different rights and entitlements to immigrants depending on their status. The empirical research is underpinned by an emancipatory methodological approach and draws on the testimonies of immigrants and local service providers. Drawing from these conceptual and empirical sources, the thesis explores the practical implications of, and possibilities for, immigration into the Irish state.
Introduction
Introduction

It is now estimated that by 2030 one in five persons living in the Republic of Ireland will be an immigrant. Diversity has become, and will remain, a defining feature of Irish society (Punch, 2005: 5). However, this diversity is posing a number of challenges to the Irish state with regard to welfare state responses and the experiences of immigrants accessing these services and supports. Debates within the literature on welfare states during recent years have focused on the perceived attack on welfare states from globalisation. The literature has also been pre-occupied with the utilisation of welfare regimes and/or typologies that have become the centrepiece of comparative welfare research. As a result there has been very little focus on other issues that are challenging welfare states internally, such as diversity in family structures, ageing populations and, perhaps the biggest challenge, inward migration. In order to fill a gap in current knowledge this research examines how welfare states have responded to immigrants, stepping back from the debates around fitting empirical data into welfare regime classifications. It examines the varying forms of welfare state responses and the diverse forms of access for immigrants given that ‘sweeping statements about immigration and welfare are unlikely to be very helpful when trying to understand the political and social dilemmas that arise’ (Geddes, 2003: 152). The core of this thesis therefore reflects upon how the Irish state, a country classified within the literature as a ‘showpiece of globalisation’, has responded to immigration (Smith, 2005). Of particular interest for this research was to undertake an emancipatory approach in gathering the empirical data.

Research Hypothesis and Objectives

The basic hypothesis explored in this research is that an immigrant’s status as constructed by the host state results in significantly different experiences in accessing welfare services and in integrating. This research project aims therefore to achieve a number of objectives:

- It seeks to illustrate how, within welfare state literature, the focus has been predominantly on country classification within welfare regimes.
• The research identifies that what is absent within welfare debates is a focus on the internal impacts of globalisation, and in particular the impact of immigration.
• Of particular interest in this thesis is to classify welfare state responses to immigration and subsequent outcomes for immigrants, by testing in particular Schierup, Hansen and Castles’ (2006) three ‘modes of incorporation’ model which argues that depending on an immigrant’s status/access, a person is entitled to different levels of social rights.
• Ireland is taken as a case study to focus on how a state that is considered as a ‘showpiece of globalisation’ has responded to the influx of immigrants. The thesis discusses whether the influx challenged the construction of Irish identity and if the status of an immigrant has an impact on their rights and entitlements or in accessing state supports and services.
• The thesis also explores these issues at an empirical level, through an examination of the experiences of immigrants and service providers at a local level. The thesis achieves this by deploying an emancipatory approach in gathering the empirical data and focuses on testing if policy initiatives at national level have impacted at a local level.
• Finally the research aims to identify from the empirical data what factors should be considered for immigrants’ integration.

Together these research objectives combine to stimulate a central research objective, namely to reflect upon state responses to immigration and their impact at a local level on service providers and upon immigrants.

**Outline of the Thesis**
To address the various issues and research questions outlined above, chapter 1 introduces a summary of the debates around the utilisation of welfare regimes/typologies. The chapter suggests that the literature on welfare states since the 1970s has been preoccupied with debates regarding the interaction of the globalisation ‘threat’ and welfare states. Thus the chapter suggests that what has been absent is a focus on the internal impact of globalisation (such as diversities
in family structures, ageing populations, etc.). Within this, the chapter argues that perhaps the biggest impact of globalisation has been the movement of people across borders and the subsequent challenge for welfare states to consider race, ethnicity and migration in welfare debates. The discussion then extends its analysis into exploring how states have responded to recent immigration, where the generosity of the welfare system is believed by some to act as a ‘magnet’ for immigrants (Borjas, 1999, 1995; Menz, 2006). The chapter outlines the impact of immigration on welfare states, suggesting that the status of an immigrant is of particular importance in how an immigrant integrates. This is reflected in the work of Schierup, Hansen and Castles (2006: 41) who describe three general types of incorporation across Europe: differential exclusion, assimilation and multiculturalism. The chapter draws to the conclusion that the recent literature is in agreement (Timonen and Doyle, 2009; Morissens and Sainsbury, 2005) with the need to assess further how immigration regimes are impacting on migrants in accessing welfare services such as education and health.

Chapter 2 deepens the exploration by focusing on the Irish case, since Ireland exemplifies many of the problems associated with welfare state typologising. The chapter then outlines the external and internal impacts of globalisation on the Irish state and how definitions of Irishness can pose a number of significant challenges for immigrants living, working and accessing services here. The chapter moves to classify how the Irish state has responded to immigration. Utilising the three general types of incorporation as classified by Schierup, Hansen and Castles (2006: 41) the chapter concludes that Ireland has a hybrid model for immigrants and all three modes of incorporation can be found.

Chapter 3 introduces the methodology used in undertaking the empirical analysis. It starts by outlining the operational understanding for testing an emancipatory approach using the four core domains of ethical issues, reciprocity in the research relationship, dialogical theory building and reflexivity. The chapter then details the questions which frame the empirical research presented in chapters 4 to 6 and profiles county Clare as the case selection. The aim of the methodology is to test an emancipatory approach and to therefore include the researched in generating, analysing and representing the data, and to focus on the benefit for universities in
supporting such a method. Following this, the chapter describes how data were gathered and the analysis process, and concludes by providing a postscript on how effective it has been in undertaking an emancipatory approach.

Chapter 4 examines Irish approaches to integration through the exploration of national policy and through the testimonies of service providers and immigrants locally in county Clare. Chapter 5 looks at Irish approaches to education and language immersion, highlighting in particular the influence of the Catholic church and how it poses significant challenges, in particular for non-Catholic immigrants. The experience of educators and immigrants in accessing education and language immersion in county Clare is explored. The final case study chapter looks at the state’s responses to labour market shortages and outlines the experience of immigrants working in county Clare. The aim of the three case studies is to highlight that Ireland has a hybrid model of immigration where status impacts how they access services and integrate into the community. The case studies also highlight that other factors such as religion, colour and perceptions of Irishness also need to be considered. The final chapter provides a summary of each chapter by drawing conclusions from the empirical experiences and from the theoretical discussions. The chapter concludes with an identification of elements of an ongoing research agenda to develop their potential further.
Chapter 1: Recasting Welfare States, Globalisation and the Integration of Immigration into Welfare Debates
1.1 Introduction

The utilisation of welfare regimes and/or typologies has become the centrepiece of comparative welfare research. Most critiques of welfare regimes and/or typologies thus far have focused on whether a country fits into a particular regime type or is deserving of its own regime category. More recently, the focus on social rights that dominates the welfare modelling business has been challenged (Abrahamson, 1999). Some have argued that in response to globalisation states have shifted the emphasis of their social policies towards that of a ‘supporting and subjugated’ role vis-à-vis economic policy. Indeed, Evans and Cerny (2003, 1999), focusing on Britain, suggest that the welfare state has been replaced by a ‘competition state’, with traditional income protections being gradually dismantled in favour of social investment policies such as education and training that can boost economic competitiveness. Jessop (2000) similarly argues that we have seen the death of the old-style ‘Keynesian Welfare National State’ and the rise of the ‘Schumpeterian Workfare Post-National Regime’ in which the state constrains social rights in the face of an increasingly competitive global economy. On a contradictory note, others have argued that the emergence of a post-industrial, knowledge economy has led states to place an increasing emphasis on social investment (Midgley and Tang, 2001; Room, 2002).

Following on from these debates this chapter firstly looks at some of the challenges to contemporary welfare states since the 1970s, noting their transitions and outlining the literature surrounding the ‘threat’ of globalisation that has led to current challenges (diverse family structures, migration, etc.) being largely ignored in the literature. This chapter will not outline the historical evolution of the welfare state as this has been covered extensively in the literature (refer to Titmuss, 1958, 1963, 1974; Flora, 1981, 1986, 1987; Alber, 1987, 1988a, 1988b; Pierson, C. 1991; Pierson, P. 1994; Thane, 1999; Lowe, 1999; Taylor-Gooby, 2005). Neither will the chapter make reference to the literature on welfare classification and regimes as this also been comprehensively covered (refer to Cutright, 1965; Wilensky, 1975; Higgins, 1981; Mishra, 1984; Myles, 1984a; Korpi, 1980; Esping-Andersen and Korpi, 1984; Esping-Andersen, 1987b, 1990, 2002; Lewis, 1992; Leibfried, 1992; Castles and Mitchell, 1993; Ragin, 1994; Alber, 1995; Ferrera, 1996; Bonoli, 1997; Pierson, 1998; Korpi and Palme, 1998;
Daly, 1999; Holliday, 1999; Pitruzzello, 1999; Kiely, O’Donnell et al., 1999; Kasza, 2002; Kautto, 2002; Pfau-Effinger, 2005; Bambra, 2005). Having set this backdrop, the chapter proceeds to examine the literature on globalisation. In particular, it will reflect on how immigration as a result of globalisation has been integrated into European welfare states by focusing on the outcomes for immigrants.

**1.2 Recasting Welfare States**

Since the late 1970s, all the developed welfare states of Europe have been recasting the basic policy mix upon which their national systems of social protection were built after 1945 (Scharpf and Schmidt, 2000; Ferrera and Rhodes, 2000; Kuhnle, 2000; Pierson, 2001). The oil crises of 1973-74 and 1979 led to an economic slump throughout the Western industrialised world. In many nations, policy makers reduced the generosity of benefits, tightened programme eligibility, privatised some social services, and increased targeting of benefits. Keywords in the political and economic debates became ‘crisis’, ‘stagnation’, ‘ungovernability’, ‘unaffordability’, and ‘perverse effects’ (Pierson, 2001, 1994, 1996; Powell, 2002; Leibfried, 2001; Mishra, 1999, 1984; Esping-Andersen, 1996). Stereeck and Thelen (2005) outline that a shift occurred as the tide began to turn:

> In most Western countries heightened distributional conflict, reinforced by the welfare losses imparted on the rich industrialised world by two oil crises, caused rising inflation and, subsequently, unemployment. In some places earlier than in others, but ultimately throughout the countries of the second postwar settlement, governments gradually reneged on their promise to provide for full employment and began to return to the market growing segments of national economies that had become politicized to be governable by democratic politics (Streeck and Thelen, 2005: 3).

Rising competition in world markets forced and often legitimated revisions of welfare state policies, with social policy tending to move in a ‘market-conforming (i.e. work and efficiency orientated) direction’ (Streeck and Thelen, 2005). Reluctance to support extended welfare in capitalist societies represented part of a trend, encompassed by the popular phrase ‘swing to the political right’ (Levitas, 1986: 21). The effects of this swing of political opinion, together with changing and more problematic economic conditions, were interpreted by some as creating
‘a crisis of the welfare state’ (Offe, 1984; Mishra, 1984). Offe (1984: 149) notes that the rise of the political right led to a ‘fundamental critique of the welfare state which is seen to be an illness of which it pretends to be the cure: rather than effectively harmonizing the conflicts of a market society, it exacerbates them and prevents the forces of social peace and progress (namely, the forces of the marketplace) from functioning properly and beneficially’.

Privatisation, the moving of state functions into the private sector, has been a highly visible strategy that encapsulates this trend. During the 1980s and 1990s, a neo-liberal ideological offensive challenged the tenets and legitimacy upon which welfare had previously developed (Mishra, 1999; Hewitt, 1998; Gray, 1998; George, 1996; Pierson, 1991; Johnson, 1990; Alber, 1988a; Offe, 1984). As Moreno and Palier note, this:

...discourse elaborated on the effects that the processes of globalisation of the economy and industrial transformations had on the national labour markets. In parallel, deep structural modifications had taken place as a consequence of the ageing of population, the increasing participation of women in the formal labour market, and the re-arrangements that occurred within households as producers and distributors of welfare. In sum, fiscal crisis and the erosion of the ideological consensus which gave way to the ‘Mid-century Compromise’ had conditioned the recasting of welfare states in Europe (Moreno and Palier, 2005: 149).

Most commentators on the historical evolution of the welfare state have identified a break with a long-standing pattern of growth and development from the early 1970s. Some have done no more than highlight the slackening pace of welfare state growth in this period (Flora, 1986; Alber, 1988a). It seemed as if ‘complacency about the momentum of the welfare state gave way to doom-mongering by many in the intellectual elite’ (Heclo, 1981: 399). The warnings of a looming crisis (particularly those of the New Right) seemed to replace the benign assumptions of social democracy as a privileged discourse among governing and ‘opinion-forming’ elites (Pierson, 1991: 142). In several countries during the 1980s and in the early 1990s rates of economic growth began to slow down; inflation rose with government borrowing on the increase and public opposition to direct taxation becoming more visible (George, 1996: 5-9).
A few figures will illustrate the economic crisis challenges. Between 1965 and 1973, the economies of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries showed an annual average growth rate of about 5%. By 1974 this annual growth rate fell to 2% and in 1975, nine OECD economies ‘shrank’ bringing the annual average growth rate below zero. However, there was some recovery until the second oil-price ‘shock’ in 1979. For the decade 1974 to 1984, the annual growth rate was little over 2% (Alber, 1988a: 187). These economic difficulties were not just related to sluggish growth; by 1975 unemployment in the OECD area had risen to an unprecedented 15 million, inflation had accelerated and there was a growing balance-of-trade deficit throughout the OECD (Pierson, 1991: 145). As a result of this economic recession demands upon public expenditure grew whilst tax-generating growth declined. The final quarter of the twentieth century has often been depicted in terms of the ‘demise of the welfare state’. As Flora notes, ‘the modern welfare state is a European invention’ (1986: xii). Currently the welfare state commands greater attention than ever (Pierson, 1998). The welfare state has been in crisis (Mishra, 1984), under threat (Lowe, 1999a), in transition (Esping-Andersen, 1996), resilient or robust (Le Grand in Hills (ed), 1991), reshaped (Johnson, 1990), reconstructed (Johnson, 1990), residualised (Townsend, 1995), recast (Ferrera and Rhodes, 2000) and even transformed (Holman, 1993). The next section looks at some of the literature regarding challenges to, and the transition of, welfare states.

### 1.3 Transition and Challenges to Welfare States

Many believe that the welfare state has become incompatible with other cherished goals, such as economic development, full employment, and even personal liberties — that it is at odds with the fabric of advanced postindustrial capitalism (Esping-Andersen, 1996: 1).

It would be easy to leap to the conclusion that European welfare state models are facing an unprecedented challenge and are at risk of having to be dismantled due to globalisation and the supposed ascendancy of neo-liberal economics. Titles such as *The End of the Nation State* (Ohmae, 1996) or *The Retreat of the State* (Strange, 1996) have created the impression that the state is seriously under attack. This is coupled with the emergence of new social risks (Taylor-Gooby,
2009, 2004) associated with demography (increased ethnic, culture and religious diversity, ageing, etc.), labour market (changing patterns of job creation/destruction due to knowledge-based society and globalisation) and family (increased diversity of family types, changing of family roles). These changes are expected to redefine the scope of social cohesion and social policy in Europe. Pierson (2001: 81) notes that the association of these pressures with global economic change:

...creates a new context where the generous social provision characteristic of advanced industrial societies represents an unaffordable luxury. There is a widespread sentiment that this new global environment threatens a ‘race to the bottom’, or at least convergence on the much more modest level of social provision characteristic of ‘liberal’ welfare states like the United States or United Kingdom.

A number of approaches have suggested that financial, political and popular support for the welfare state will decline, whether as a result of increasing affluence (Inglehart, 1997), the decline in the capacity of nation-states to address domestic problems (Castles, 1995), a transition to a post-Fordist political economy (Jessop, 2000), sharper social divisions (Galbraith, 1993; Wilensky, 1975) or new patterns of experience and social interests reinforced by greater individual self-confidence (Beck et al., 1994; Giddens, 1994, 2000).

Still, we should be cautious about such claims since, according to Pierson, ‘to focus on globalization is to mistake the essential nature of the problem which derives from national pressures on the welfare state’ (Pierson, 1998: 540). While acknowledging that globalisation is associated with welfare state change, Pierson refutes the argument that globalisation is the overarching factor that explains those changes. Instead he argues that although globalisation has accompanied transitions, accentuating pressures on welfare states, the root source of the transition pressures lies at national level. In particular, he cites the slowdown in the growth of productivity associated with the shift from manufacturing to services employment, the expansion and maturation of governmental commitments, and a demographic shift to an older population (Pierson, 1998: 541). In summary, Pierson claims that the focus on globalisation distracts us from identifying the real source of these trends and pressures which, he argues, lies in the domestic arena. Furthermore, blaming ‘globalisation’ enables politicians and
other interest groups to argue that there are immutable external forces over which they have no control (also refer to Klein, 2007). Esping-Andersen takes a similar position: in identifying the causes of the ‘profound crisis’ faced by all welfare state models today, he places much more emphasis on the pressures posed by an ageing population, family change and the new economic role of women, than he does on globalisation. He concludes that ‘the view that ambitious welfare aims are incompatible with the new global order is not persuasive’ (Esping-Andersen, 2002: 219). The next section will look further at the literature around globalisation and the welfare state.

1.4 Does Globalisation Undermine Welfare States?

Most of the research examining the relationship between globalisation and the welfare state focuses on the effects of economic openness, i.e. a country’s involvement in the world market. There are four contrasting theoretical arguments found in this field of inquiry (Brady, Beckfield & Seeleib-Kaiser, 2005). The first position holds that the welfare state cannot be sustained as globalisation increases, because due to mobility of capital, countries will no longer be able to maintain the high taxes that are required to fund the welfare state (Bowles & Wagman, 1997). Others argue that there is a positive relationship between globalisation and welfare spending because financially open countries require substantial welfare state investment to shield citizens from external shocks caused by fluctuations on international markets (Taylor-Gooby, 2009, 2001; Scharpf and Schmidt, 2000; Rodrik, 1998). A third theoretical argument is that welfare states will converge based on the idea that in less-developed countries welfare states will grow due to globalisation while well-developed welfare states will be reduced as globalisation continues (Hicks, 1999). And finally, according to the proponents of a fourth stream of research, there is no effect of globalisation based on the argument that other factors – e.g. political institutions, deindustrialisation – are more important for changes in the welfare state (Iversen & Crusack, 2000; Korpi, 2003).

Much of the current literature on welfare states has focused on the threats to welfare states from globalisation. Table 1 outlines some of the major issues involved in the debate.
Table 1: Economic globalisation and welfare: a simplified model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Politics: Response by State</th>
<th>Economics: Response by Firms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Remain in country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market-conforming liberalisation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regulation to protect welfare</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sørensen (2004: 43)

Cell 1 illustrates the result of the interplay ‘between capital pushing for liberalization and politicians conforming to that pressure’ (Sørensen, 2004: 43). Sørensen argues that cell 2 is the worst-case scenario for welfare, where the state liberalises but still fails to attract investment and capital resorts to exiting. Cell 3 is what happens in many OECD countries where the ‘state continues to protect welfare but firms remain in place because there are other incentives (e.g. attractive markets, a qualified labour force, political stability, and so on) that induce them to carry on business’ (Sørensen, 2004: 43). Finally, in cell 4, state policies lead to a lack of incentives for capital to invest in the country and may also involve exit by existing undertakings. Stelzer (1999) has commented that such a process has been at work in Germany.

Sørensen explains why the debate about welfare consequences of economic globalisation remains difficult to resolve, where scholars:

...appropriate approach to economic globalization and welfare is that the changes wrought by globalization, in combination with a host of other factors, set a new context for welfare policies. The new context is in some ways more constraining than before, but it does not necessarily put an end to the welfare state, or even seriously threaten it (Sørensen, 2004: 44).

Whilst economic globalisation has presented new challenges to welfare policies it has not led to welfare curtailment. An ever-increasing amount of academic research supports this argument, the overwhelming verdict of which is that few systems of social protection have experienced fundamental shifts (Sykes, 2008; Pierson, 1994, 1998, 2001; Esping-Andersen, 1999; Bonoli, George, and Taylor-
Pierson (1998: 551) outlines that whilst ‘mature’ welfare states are under severe pressure, this does ‘not imply that the expected result is a collapse or radical retrenchment of national welfare states’. Pierson (1998: 551) notes that the foundation of the welfare state’s political strength is based on two basic types:

The electoral incentives associated with programs which retain broad and deep popular support and the institutional ‘stickiness’ which further constrains the possibilities for policy reform.

Reinforcing this, Navarro, Schmitt, and Astudillo (2004) argue that there is no ‘race to the bottom’ in terms of expenditure. In particular they find that social democratic countries ‘fared no worse’ than liberal ones in the 1990s with Norway, Austria and Denmark all growing faster than liberal economies such as Canada, Japan and the UK in the period 1989-1999, despite having more extensive welfare states. On these grounds there is simply no evidence to suggest that the future of the welfare state is ‘bleak’ (Smith, 2005: 16). Indeed, in a European context it is difficult to find clear data to support this thesis. Macro-level data on welfare do not show any overall reduction in effort in recent decades (Castles, 2004) and studies have found it difficult to find a causal link between increased globalisation and any significant reduction in welfare state effort (Garrett and Mitchell, 1999).

On the other hand, Mishra (1999) argues that globalisation is eroding some of the cultural underpinnings of a strong and robust welfare state:

Three major developments in recent decades have altered the economic, political and ideological context of the welfare state…the collapse of the socialist alternative, the globalisation of the economy and the relative decline of the state…for the foreseeable future…the prospect of a viable and progressive systemic alternative to capitalism seems to have disappeared…the opening up of economies has curtailed the policy autonomy of nation states…pressures – in part political and ideological – stemming from globalisation have impinged significantly on labour markets, taxation, social spending and systems of social protection. And the arrow points downwards (Mishra, 1999: ix-1).

In the face of globalisation states must compete to attract multi-national corporations’ (MNC) investment. Mishra (1999: 70) concludes that the welfare state is at best a holding operation: ‘True, many European nations have inherited a large welfare state from the golden age and, for the moment, seem to be able to
hold on to them. But can they hold out against global pressures?’ Such concerns also led Mishra to identify seven propositions regarding the implications of globalisation logic for welfare. Globalisation, he argues:

1. Undermines the ability of national governments to pursue the objectives of full employment and economic growth through reflationary policies. ‘Keynesianism in one country’ ceases to be a viable option.
2. Results in an increasing inequality in wages and working conditions through greater labour market flexibility, a differentiated ‘post-Fordist’ work-force and decentralized collective bargaining. Global competition and mobility of capital result in ‘social dumping’ and a downward shift in wages and working conditions.
3. Exerts a downward pressure on systems of social protection and social expenditure by prioritizing the reduction of deficits and debt and the lowering of taxation as key objectives of state policy.
4. Undermines notions of ‘social solidarity’ and social protection by increasing inequality.
5. Weakens the basis of social partnership and tripartism by shifting the balance of power away from labour and the state towards capital.
7. Will increasingly lead to conflict between the economic logic of globalisation and the ‘logic’ of national community and democratic politics (1999: 15).

There has been disagreement with Mishra’s propositions (Rodrik, 1997; Pierson, 1998; Garrett, 1998; Huber & Stephens, 2001; Vij, 2007). In particular Rodrik (1997) finds that trade openness is positively associated with high levels of welfare spending in both developed and developing countries. Garrett (1998) also found that open capital markets lead to higher spending in situations where the political left is strong and unions are encompassing. Castles (2004: 113) suggests that what we are seeing is ‘a process of programme maturation and convergence’ which, due to trade openness, leads ‘not so much to permanently higher levels of public and social expenditure as to the early adoption of public sector programmes designed to minimise the impact of exposure to the world market (Castles, 2004: 113). How accurate are Mishra’s propositions? Reviewing welfare development in a number of countries (Sweden, Germany and Japan), he argues that there is substantial evidence to support propositions 1, 4 and 5. There are increasing trends towards neo-liberal market strategies, growing inequality within countries and increasing marginalisation of trade unions and states. Mishra (1995: 94-109) expressed doubts regarding propositions around increasing inequality of wages, a downward pressure on social systems, the exclusion of left-of-centre approaches
in policy and a conflict between the ‘logic’ of globalisation and the ‘logic’ of national community and democratic politics. In respect to proposition 2 on an increasing inequality of wages, for example, comparative data illustrate that not all countries adopt the cheap labour, flexibility, and low social cost model to attract inward investment. As he notes, the case of Germany:

...shows a dynamic and competitive economy is apparently quite compatible with a well-regulated labour market, centralised collective bargaining, high wages, good working conditions and strongly entrenched workers’ rights (1999: 95).

In terms of a downward pressure on social systems Mishra notes wide variations in tax levels within OECD countries and ‘governments find it difficult to retrench social expenditure for fear of political repercussions’ (1999: 97). For Mishra, these facts both highlight the ideological basis of globalisation logic and also hold out some hope for some form of a social democratic agenda at a national level (proposition 6 – the exclusion of left-of-centre approaches) and at an international level (proposition 7 – conflict between the ‘logic’ of globalisation and the ‘logic’ of national community and democratic politics). His key point on the basis of an examination of substantial comparative data is that some of the main claims for globalisation logic may by flawed. For some theorists, it is the resilience of state welfare in the face of globalisation logic, rather than its disappearance, that should be emphasised (Burchardt and Hills, 1999). Rhodes, for example, has argued that globalisation can be interpreted as leading to an expansion in welfare, albeit in the context of a system that is ‘leaner and meaner’ (1996: 318). Finally, in connection with Mishra’s seventh proposition, Deacon notes that increasingly national social policies and social development itself are being decided and shaped by international institutions (Deacon et al., 1997; Deacon, 2000). In this ‘globalisation of social policy’ the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organization (WTO), OECD, and ‘supra-state’ entities like the European Union and the North American Free Trade Agreement countries are particularly important organisations.

Therefore, despite the focus on the ‘threat of globalisation’, the welfare state is still central to states. Nevertheless, the current predicament of the welfare state is best described as an endeavour to match equity and efficiency (Hemerijck and
Schludi, 2002: 128). Does equality have to be ‘traded off against efficiency or not?’ (Cantillon, 2004: 82). The conflict between the pursuit of equality and other societal aims, and especially the relationships between equality and economic growth and equality and efficiency, is an area that has produced a significant amount of debate (Cantillon, 2005; Le Grand, 1991). What Wilenski termed a ‘dilemma for social democrats’ is the limit in the pursuit of equality that is possible or even acceptable:

Redistribution through the welfare state can…never totally offset [the] original transfer through profits to the owners of capital, since this would destroy the rationale of the capitalist system and halt investment (Wilenski, 1984: 14).

He expands on this by asserting that ‘business in fact occupies a special position in relation to government’ and its ‘cooperation is vital to the maintenance of the activities of the state’ (Wilenski, 1984: 15). Tawney noted an essential aspect of any strategy for reducing inequality was:

The pooling of [the nation’s] resources by means of taxation, and the use of the funds thus obtained to make accessible to all, irrespective of their income, occupation, or social position, the conditions of civilization which, in the absence of such measures, can be enjoyed only by the rich (Tawney, 1964: 122).

Thus, according to Tawney (1964) social policy should not be directed to the poor alone but should include all citizens. The state’s task is not to simply invest in people in order to prepare them for confrontation with the market. No welfare state, however ambitious, can realistically safeguard against all misfortunes. Esping-Andersen has called for welfare states to rethink their egalitarian principles in radical ways:

Firstly because societies may be becoming too differentiated and heterogeneous; secondly, because it is difficult to see how we can avoid growing inequalities of pay and final incomes (due to family change, for one). The most logical solution that presents itself is that we rethink the idea of redistribution and rights: accepting inequalities for some, here and now, but guaranteeing at the same time that those who fare less well ‘here and now’ will not always do so; that underprivilege will not be a permanent fixture of anyone’s life course (Esping-Andersen, 1996: 264).

Those who are in support of ‘welfarism’ have been troubled by its bureaucratic and hierarchical ethos. Also, the viability of state action has been questioned in an
era in which power appears to be shifting upwards to supra-national entities like the EU and downwards to regions and localities. Whilst the retention of classic welfare states is problematic, not least due to the continuing need to appeal to citizens’ self-interest as well as selflessness, it is one worth pursuing (Le Grand, 1997: 169). This, of course, does not mean that vast improvements are not required. Beck et al. stress the essential value and viability of the European solution to the problem of achieving a measure of social justice within a capitalist market system (Beck et al., 1998). Ferrera and Rhodes also conclude that the welfare state is a largely successful solution to the ‘problem of reconciling growth with social cohesion’ (Ferrera and Rhodes, 2000: 279). The evidence that state provision is maintained or expanded is typically reinforced with evidence of public approval from attitude surveys (see, for example, Pierson, 1996: 162, 165; Rhodes, 1996: 308; van Kersbergen, 2000: 23).

In summary, if welfare states wish to adjust to ongoing changes in foreign and domestic policy environments, ‘they not only need to change their policy structures; perhaps more importantly, they must also raise their general capacity to adapt, that is, their institutional learning capabilities’ (Hemerijck and Schludi, 2002: 227). Clearly then, there is a need to rethink what we want from welfare states, and to explore if what we now want is compatible with current state welfare models. If contradictions are established there is a need to also assess what challenges this raises for policy makers. The globalisation ‘threat’ has preoccupied most of the literature and very little focus has been made on recent internal impacts that are challenging welfare states, such as diversity in family structures, ageing populations, etc. A further gap in the globalisation literature concerns immigration and the integration of race, ethnicity and migration into welfare debates (Timonen & Doyle, 2009; Esping-Andersen, 1999, 2007). The following section looks at the emergence of the literature around the challenges of immigration to welfare states, and in particular the argument that the more ethnically (or, in some versions, racially) diverse a society is, the less able it is to sustain support for collective welfare provision.
1.5 Integrating Race, Ethnicity and Migration into Welfare Debates

The movement of people across state borders is one the oldest forms of global flow. In a speech that former Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, made to the European Parliament, he noted:

In this twenty-first century, migrants need Europe. But Europe also needs migrants. A closed Europe would be meaner, poorer, weaker, older Europe. An open Europe will be a fairer, richer, stronger, younger Europe – provided Europe manages immigration well (Annan, 2004).

In the same year David Goodhart in Britain commenced a series of articles on the claim that the more ethnically diverse a society is, the less able it is to sustain support for collective provision. In an article in The Guardian newspaper, Goodhart outlines the conflict:

Sharing and solidarity can conflict with diversity. This is an especially acute dilemma for progressives who want plenty of both solidarity (high social cohesion and generous welfare paid out of a progressive tax system) and diversity (equal respect for a wide range of peoples, values and ways of life). The tension between the two values is a reminder that serious politics is about trade-offs. It also suggests that the left's recent love affair with diversity may come at the expense of the values and even the people that it once championed...If welfare states demand that we pay into a common fund on which we can all draw at times of need, it is important that we feel that most people have made the same effort to be self-supporting and will not take advantage. We need to be reassured that strangers, especially those from other countries, have the same idea of reciprocity as we do (Goodhart, 24/2/04).

Goodhart’s argument draws on the work of the Alesina et al. (2001) paper ‘Why Doesn't the US Have a European-style Welfare State?’ This argues too many people at the ‘bottom of the pile’ in the US are Black or Hispanic, resulting in a disproportionate amount of tax income spent on welfare going to ethnic minorities². Alesina et al., citing in particular (2001: 30) the fact that in 1999 46.1% of people in poverty were non-Hispanic whites, conclude:

² Hispanics, as defined by the US Census Bureau, refers to people who are of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, South or Central American or other Spanish origin regardless of race. Whilst considered an ethnic minority, the 2006 Census accounted 44.3 million Hispanics, 14.8% of the total US population of 299 million, and this figure is projected to rise by 2040 to 87.6 million (http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/hispanic/files/Internet_Hispanic_in_US_2006.pdf).
This history of American redistribution makes it quite clear that hostility to welfare comes in part from the fact that welfare spending in the US goes disproportionately to minorities. Also Americans dislike redistribution because they feel that people on welfare are lazy. Europeans feel that people on welfare are unfortunate (Alesina et al., 2001: 39).

Alesina and Glaeser (2004) also argue that diversity and state welfare are in conflict and, noting the implications for the future of European welfare, state that:

The recent rise of anti-immigrant politicians in Europe illustrates our claim that US-Europe differences have more to do with racial divisions than with deep cultural differences. As Europe has become more diverse, Europeans have increasingly been susceptible to exactly the same form of racist, anti-welfare demagoguery that worked so well in the United States. We shall see whether the generous European welfare state can really survive in a heterogeneous society (Alesina and Glaeser, 2004: 181).

This argument is of considerable importance in the current context in Europe. As Taylor-Gooby notes (2005: 666), ‘Immigration into European countries is at historically high levels and has provided an opportunity for right-wing attacks on welfare states’. If Alesina et al. (2001) are correct in arguing that greater diversity makes welfare states more difficult to sustain, the current expansion of immigration resulting from population globalisation, as Taylor-Gooby (2005: 7) argues ‘may be a more serious challenge to the European heritage than economic globalization and the growth of the single market’. Still, however, this issue remains under-researched and comparative welfare state research has devoted little attention to the social rights of migrants or the ethnic/racial dimension. Moreover, as societies have become more ethnically diverse as outlined in Figure 1 (Timonen & Doyle, 2009; Bloemraad, Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2008), the racialisation of welfare politics has become more pronounced in many Western European countries in recent years (Theil, 1/3/10; Parsons & Smeeding, 2006; Faist, 1995; Williams 1989). The recent waves of newcomers have propelled the issue of immigration to the top of the political agenda, and the 1990s saw an unprecedented amount of legislation on immigration and migrants’ social rights.

For example, in January 2009 strikes were held across Britain with more than 2,000 workers at 17 different sites walking out in protest against the use of foreign sub-contractors who were for the most part from Italy and Portugal. The British National Party supported the strikes. Refer to: Hines, N. Norfolk, A. Buckley, C. (30/1/09) ‘Wildcat strikes over foreign workers spread across Britain’ Times: http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article5617015.ece
establishing what Geddes (2008) calls a ‘fortress Europe’. The generosity of the welfare system is believed by some to act as a ‘magnet’ to immigrants (Borjas, 1999, 1995; Menz, 2006). The media are filled with stories about welfare fraud and foreigners (Lally, 2006; Gibbons, 2006; Luibhéid, 2004) whilst research by Daniels (2009a, 2009b) charts the rise of cyber-racism through the movement of white supremacist organisations online and the establishment of cloaked websites.

Figure 1: Foreign-born population as a percentage of total OECD countries 2005

Source: OECD (2009) http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/266484230878

In politics radical rightist parties have made gains in elections. Hage (1998), for example, outlines the rise of Pauline Hanson’s One Nation Party in Australia, and policy makers wrestle with problems of integration and social inclusion (refer to Eatwell, 1995, 2000, 2006 and Mudde, 1999). In November 2009 the far-right Danish People’s Party, as part of the 2010 budget negotiations, agreed to increase the amount of money offered to immigrants who return home permanently to 100,000 Kroner (€13,443), focusing on immigrants from outside the EU and Nordic countries. In March 2010 in the Netherlands the far-right and anti-immigrant politician Geert Wilders’ Freedom Party made significant gains in the local elections (Traynor, 5/3/10). Wilders has controversially compared The

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Koran to Hitler’s Mein Kampf and wants Muslim immigrants deported. In June 2010 Wilders made further gains in the Netherlands’ general election, increasing the Party seats from nine to 24 in the 150-seat parliament. In Italy the Interior Minister, a member of the xenophobic Northern League party, has sent armed carabinieri to clear out camps of jobless migrants in Naples and other parts of southern Italy (Theil, 1/3/10). In Austria during the presidential election in April 2010 the far-right Austrian Freedom Party candidate Barbara Rosenkranz’s campaign received a lot of media attention due to her criticism of Austria's strict anti-Nazi legislation. In Britain ‘immigration, diversity, fears of extremism and perceptions of unfair treatment have become key indicators through which government strategies define the current anxious, disaffected mood of the British public’ (Fortier, 2010: 21). The British National Party, a party that ‘opposes mass immigration and surrender to the European Union’ won for the first time two seats in the European Parliament in May 2009 with Mr Nick Griffin, the leader of the BNP, elected for the North West region while Andrew Brons picked up another BNP seat in Yorkshire (see also IPPR, 2010). Campaigning for the 2010 May 6th general election in Britain saw the main opposition parties focusing on immigration, with the leader of the Conservative party, David Cameron, promising that his party would introduce an annual cap on new arrivals, keeping net immigration in the ‘tens of thousands,’ rather than the current rate of ‘hundreds of thousands’ (Prince, 10/1/10). In other countries Theil (1/3/10) notes that it is:

Open season on foreigners...Ahead of key regional elections in France, President Nicolas Sarkozy has launched a noisy debate about ‘French identity’. Switzerland has outlawed minarets, and France, not to be outdone, is considering a ban on burqas.

This surge of intolerance, Theil argues, is a disaster for Europe:

As of 2015 the EU as a whole will experience negative natural population growth demographers say, and the gap will grow to 1 million excess deaths a year by 2035. By 2050 the EU will have 52 million fewer people of working age, the European Commission warns (Theil, 1/3/10).

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6 Refer to ‘Austria spooked by Nazi past in election’: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8634796.stm
7 Refer to: http://bnp.org.uk/

Before reviewing the literature it is important to distinguish the difference between ethnic diversity and multiculturalism, as some of the literature intertwines both. Ethnic diversity refers to a demographic characteristic of most, if not all, nation-states in the world. While some societies are more ethnically diverse than others, all European nation-states are not only pluralistic on the basis of ethnicity, religion and language, but some European states contain within their borders minority nations that seek rights and status distinct from the majority (Kymlicka, 1995: 1). Unfortunately, there is no consensus in the literature on how

⁹ Legrain also has a website with updated articles: http://www.philippelegrain.com/
to define the term ‘multiculturalism’ as the term has quite different connotations in different countries. Multiculturalism usually refers to the set of ideals and policies by which states accommodate diversity, including national and ethnic diversity. Within the philosophical literature, multiculturalism, not ethnic diversity, is often viewed as contributing to the decline of or weakness in redistributive policies. In particular Fraser (1997) in her work argues that the form of politics focused on the ‘recognition’ of different identity groups (such as ethnicity, gender and sexuality) was in tension with a form of politics that focused on ‘redistribution’. Fraser (1997: 28) notes that ‘the affirmative redistribution politics of the liberal welfare state seems at odds with the transformative recognition politics of deconstruction; whereas the first tends to promote group differentiation, the second tends rather to destabilize it’. The concern in this literature is either that multiculturalism distracts political actors and social movements from pursuing policies that redistribute wealth more equally (see Fraser, 1997: 11-40) or that multiculturalism damages the bonds that unite members and that provide a source of group power to facilitate projects such as the implementation of large welfare programmes (Barry, 2001: 325, in particular chapters 7 and 8).

Critics of multiculturalism in Sweden and in the Netherlands have pointed to the blocking or co-option of migrants’ civil agency through state-sponsored multiculturalism from above (Schierup, 1991) or as Bhavnani (1986: 105) calls it, the ‘steel bands, saris and samosas’ approach of cultural pluralism that encompasses only a selection of all that is perceived ‘good’ about immigrants. Critics also point to the danger that an excessive ‘cultural essentialism’ or focus on ‘corporate identity’ (Young, 1989) will threaten the institutional logic of welfare to result in equality (Barry, 2001), and as a result promote a new form of racism that is focused on cultural difference (Barker, 1981). Multiculturalism also refers to a collection of different sorts of policies that range from assimilation programmes to rules for groups’ representation. Broadly construed, multiculturalism includes policies whose goal is to ensure that ethnic membership or background is not a source of social, political, or economic disadvantage. The sort of policies that any state utilises depends on the distinctive circumstances of the groups to which they are supposed to apply. To reflect this fact, Kymlicka
divides multicultural policies into three categories: (1) those directed at immigrant groups or ethnic minorities; (2) those directed at national minorities; and (3) those which address the circumstances of indigenous peoples. Further research by Kymlicka with Banting (2006: 294) selected eight policies as the most common multicultural approach to immigrant integration:

1. Constitutional, legislative, or parliamentary affirmation of multiculturalism
2. The adoption of multiculturalism in school curricula
3. The inclusion of ethnic representation and/or sensitivity in the mandate of public media or media licensing
4. Exemptions from dress codes, Sunday-closing legislation, and so forth (either by statute or by court cases)
5. Allowance of dual citizenship
6. The funding of ethnic group organizations to support cultural activities
7. The funding of bilingual education or mother tongue instruction
8. Affirmative action for disadvantaged immigrant groups.

The first three policies celebrate multiculturalism; the middle two reduce legal constraints on diversity; and the final three represent forms of active support for immigrant communities and individuals. From this Kymlicka and Banting examined 21 established democracies to see which of these eight policies had been adopted. A state that had adopted six or more of these policies was classified as ‘strong’ in its commitment to multiculturalism policies; a country that had adopted two or less of these policies was classified as ‘weak’; countries falling in between were categorised as ‘modest’. The results are classified in Table 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strength</th>
<th>Countries</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Australia, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modest</td>
<td>Belgium, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Table 1 in Kymlicka and Banting (2006: 295)

Kymlicka and Banting further examined how the countries within the categories fared in terms of change in the strength of their welfare state between 1980 and the end of the 1990s (see Table 3). Kymlicka and Banting’s results find no evidence of a systematic tendency for immigrant multiculturalism policies to weaken the welfare state and note that ‘countries with the strongest immigrant
multiculturalism policies did better than the other groups, providing a hint that perhaps multiculturalism policies may actually ease possible tensions between heterogeneity and redistribution’ (Kymlicka and Banting, 2006: 295).

Table 3: Multiculturalism policies and change in social spending and redistribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Multiculturalism Policies</th>
<th>Social Spending Average % Change</th>
<th>Redistribution Average % Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>-9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 1-Change in social spending represents change in ‘public social expenditures’ on health care, income transfers, and social services between 1980 and 2000. Based on data from the OECD Social Expenditure Database. 2-Redistribution is measured as the difference between the Gini coefficient for the distribution of market income and the Gini coefficient for the distribution of final income, which incorporates the effects of taxes and transfers. Change in redistribution therefore represents change in the difference between the distribution of market and final income resulting from taxes and transfers between the early 1980s and 2000 or near years. Based on data from the Luxembourg Income Study.

Source: Adapted from Table 2 in Kymlicka and Banting (2006: 296) and Table 3.2 in Kymlicka (2008: 71).

The findings therefore acknowledge that legitimatising the presence of immigrants and enabling them to participate in society without having to relinquish their ethnic identity poses no general threat to the welfare state.

Debates about migration and welfare are nested within more general debates about the future of welfare provision, with the welfare state facing pressure from economic globalisation, global recession and demographic change (Geddes, 2000: 153). Immigration and multiculturalism have been seen as posing some kind of threat or challenge to the welfare state. Kitschelt (1995: 270) asks whether ‘the multiculturalization of still by and large homogenous or ethnically stable Western Europe will lead to a decline of the welfare state?’ Previous to Kitschelt, Freeman (1986: 61) asserted that immigration ‘has been little short of a disaster’ and ‘has led to the Americanisation of European welfare politics’. Why/how would immigration challenge the welfare state? The essential fear Banting (2000: 15-16) outlines is that cultural diversity splinters the sense of common community and weakens support for social citizenship. This erosion can come from both cultural
minorities and cultural majorities where minorities may feel that ‘social rights are defined by the dominant culture, and are insensitive to the diversity of needs and beliefs that exist today. At the extreme, they might reject universal public services as instruments of assimilation and homogenisation rather than cultural pluralism, and seek communal or private provision for important services’ (Banting, 2000: 15-16). More critical is the possible retreat/backlash of cultural majorities from a commitment to social citizenship as minorities challenge mainstream culture – in the form of demands for affirmative action, group rights or greater autonomy for the expression of cultural difference (Banting, 2000). Alternatively, majorities may simply withdraw support from programmes that channel resources to communities they do not recognise as their own, by denying benefits to newcomers, reducing programmes that disproportionately serve minorities, or restricting social programmes in general.

It is in this context that Banting and Kymlicka (2006: 383) pose two concerns about the way that increasing ethnic diversity as a consequence of immigration might threaten the welfare state:

1. That ethnic diversity as such makes it more difficult sustain expansive social programs and to achieve substantial redistribution toward the poor through taxes and transfers.
2. That the ‘multiculturalism’ policies adopted to recognize or accommodate ethnic groups tend to further undermine national solidarity and trust.

The first hypothesis argues that regardless of what sorts of policies governments adopt to manage that diversity, the presence of a sizable ethnic diversity erodes the welfare state (Banting and Kymlicka, 2006: 3). The second hypothesis argues that a common way in which Western governments today attempt to manage diversity – namely, ‘by attempting to accommodate it through multiculturalism policies, rather than ignoring or suppressing it – aggravates the problem’ (Kymlicka and Banting, 2006: 4). Taking these two concerns on board, what evidence is there for the view that international migration has eroded the commitment of social citizenship in Western democracies? Are welfare states equally or less equally successful in alleviating poverty amongst their immigrant population compared to their native population? The next section examines some of the evidence and types of migration regimes.
1.6 Impact of Immigration on Welfare States

There are a variety of factors that motivate people to change their place of living and working (Geddes, 2005). Migration theories have focused traditionally on macro (push and pull) factors, which shape how people come to decide to move from one place to another for economic gain. Pull factors relate to the country of immigration and explain the characteristics a country possesses that might appear appealing to prospective immigrants, such as ideas about lifestyle and wealth in the host country, as well as the existence of relatives or ethnic communities in the country (Kropiwiec and King-O’Riain, 2006: 24-29; Talani et al., 2003). Kropiwiec and King-O’Riain (2006: 25) outline the pull factors of Polish migrants who came to Ireland who performed a classical ‘chain migration’ where they came having been encouraged by someone who had already been staying in Ireland. In contrast, Borjas (1999) looks at the issue of whether differences in welfare regimes lead to differences in the nature of the immigrant inflow across the states of the U.S. He notes that there are a number of dimensions to the hypothesis that welfare can act as a ‘magnet’. First, it could be that immigrants come to the U.S. in response to the incentives created by the existence of welfare benefits. Second, immigrants who fail to secure employment or who become unemployed may be less likely to out-migrate. Third, differences in the relative generosity of welfare systems across states can lead to a pattern of settlement of immigrants that leads to higher welfare burdens in the more generous states. Interestingly, Borjas (1999: 608) also notes that ‘despite their importance, there has been little systematic study of these magnetic effects’.

Castles and Miller’s (1993) international study systematically investigates the dynamics of the movement, regulation and control of migration. Although the focus of their analysis is the political economy of migration, it is possible to draw out the relevance of some parts of their analysis for a comparative analysis of welfare states. The processes identified as most central are the regulation of international migration (i.e. policies that encourage, restrict or prohibit migrants and the conditions in which they are implemented) and the effects of growing ethnic diversity (through cultural, legal, political and socio-economic structures,
policies and practices). Added to these are the prevailing notions of the nation-state, national identity and citizenship as well as the planning and delivery of social policies and provisions. Looking first at the history of the nation-state it is possible to point to cross-national differences. One comparative historical study of immigration, citizenship and the nation-state in France and Germany suggests that the formations of nationhood and citizenship in these countries is critical to understanding current differences in the development of immigrant status (Brubaker, 1990). Citizenship in France, according to Brubaker, was defined as a territorial community, the expression of nationhood that was state-centred, universalist and assimilationist. In these terms, birth and residence defined citizenship, although in fact cultural assimilation granted it. In contrast Brubaker (1990: 386) argues that the conception of German nationhood was ethnoculturalist and \textit{Volk}-centred (common descent, language and culture). Both countries’ conceptions of nationhood have been challenged by the politics emerging from post-war migrations. Assimilationism in France is challenged by minority groups demanding cultural identity and by the political right claiming the impossibility of assimilation of Muslim cultures (such as Jean-Marie Le Pen’s \textit{Front National} party). Germany had to finally accept the permanent settlement of foreign workers and by 1990, due to political pressure, gave legal rights of abode to foreigners who were settled permanently\(^{10}\). What Brubaker argues is that:

Despite a certain rhetorical convergence...the policies and politics of citizenship for immigrants remain strikingly different in France and Germany. They have resisted pressures for convergence because they have been shaped by distinctive traditions of national self-understanding grounded in differing historical paths to nation-statehood (Brubaker, 1990: 387).

The importance of Brubaker’s point for the study of race, racism and welfare states is that part of the differing treatments of minority ethnic groups and migrants lies in the histories of nation-state formation, national identity and conceptions of citizenship.

Castles and Miller (1993: 36-40) suggest four ideal types of citizenship around ethnicity, race and migration. The first ideal type is the \textit{imperial} model in which

\(^{10}\) However, the same law tightened regulations for other groups such as people with AIDS, and limited the right of residence for divorced and separated women, see Ginsburg, 1992, 1994.
belonging to a nation is granted through being a subject of the same ruler. The best example to illustrate this would be the notion of ‘Commonwealth citizenship’ that existed in Britain until it was amended by the 1981 Nationality Act. The second is the folk or ethnic model based on shared ethnicity (culture, language and descent), with Germany coming under this model. Third is the republican model as in France, where the nation is a political community open to all residents as long as they adhere to the political rules and adopt the national culture. Finally there is a multicultural model that varies from the republican model as it acknowledges cultural diversity. Examples include Canada and Sweden. There are, of course, limitations to these ideal types, as they no not catch all of the complexities and changes in citizenship. For example, Britain shifts somewhere between all models. Secondly, the models do not indicate differences that may exist in settlement and political and social rights, where the right to settle may depend upon an agreement that some groups will have ‘no recourse on public funds’ as is the case for some groups in Britain (see Ginsburg, 1992). Third, such rights of settlement may vary between sexes where women’s rights are sometimes dependent upon marital status and motherhood. Fourth, such models tell us little about citizenship rights of indigenous, minority or racialised groups such as the Aboriginal people in Canada, or Jews or Gypsies in Britain, Germany and France. However, Castles and Miller’s (1993) models do indicate certain aspects of the varying historical relationships between concepts of nation and the basis of inclusion and exclusion.

How do these models link to immigration policies of countries? Castles and Miller relate the four ideal types of citizenship model to immigration policies and argue that:

...the migratory process works in a similar way in all countries with respect to chain migration and settlement and that similar processes of

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11 Ginsburg outlines that the histories of post-war migration and settlement within three European states — Britain, Germany and Sweden — have common features associated with labour market segmentation, inequalities, and residential segregation (1992: 193). In relation to Britain the majority of post-war immigrants came from colonized countries and in formal terms had rights of citizenship. However, in reality they were treated as units of labour rather than individuals and were denied access to some welfare services (such as childcare or social housing). In addition, they entered a country with a racist legacy of imperialism that also permeated the delivery of welfare services in social work, education, health care, etc. (Ginsburg, 1992: 160-161).
labor market segmentation, residential segregation and ethnic group formation take place. Racism and discrimination are also to be found in all countries, although their intensity towards specific groups varies. The main differences are to be found in state policies on immigration, settlement, citizenship and cultural pluralism. These differences, in turn, are linked to different historical experiences of nation-state formation (Castles and Miller, 1993: 196).

From this, the four ideal types of citizenship revolve around state policy in four areas: immigration, settlement, citizenship and the recognition of cultural diversity. Castles and Miller suggest that three main types of immigration policy regime exist: permanent settler, postcolonial and guest worker. A more recent publication also co-authored by Castles (Schierup, Hansen & Castles, 2006: 40-41) outlines European government approaches to immigration as: ‘assimilation’, ‘integration’ or ‘insertion’. Schierup, Hansen & Castles use the term ‘modes of incorporation’ the literature on defining incorporation assumes ‘an integrated and bounded host society to which immigrants can or must adapt’ (Freeman, 2004: 946). Schierup, Hansen & Castles (2006:40) define incorporation as being shorthand for the varying political-administrative frameworks that include:

Norms and processes whereby immigrants gain the rights, capabilities and opportunities through which they participate in the various sub-systems of the societies in which they live (such as the labour market, the legal system, welfare and political activity) (Schierup, Hansen & Castles, 2006: 40).

From this Schierup, Hansen & Castles (2006: 41) distinguish three general types of incorporation across Europe: differential exclusion, assimilation, and multiculturalism.

1-Differential Exclusion (generally referred to the guest-worker approach) means accepting immigrants only within strict functional and temporal limits; they are welcome as workers, but not as settlers; as individuals, but not as families or communities. In this model, immigrants are (in principle) incorporated into certain societal sub-systems such as the labour market and some aspects of the welfare system, but excluded from others such as political participation. Differential exclusion implies legal and administrative arrangements that enforce strict distinctions between temporary residents and citizens, and which make it very hard to move from one status to the other. Schierup, Hansen & Castles (2006: 41)
consider systematic use of *undocumented labour* as an extreme form of differential exclusion. Where states tacitly accept or even create ‘back doors’ and ‘side doors’ for irregular migrants, they are covertly exploiting the lack of rights and the vulnerability of these migrants. Such practices have, for example, long been important with regard to Mexican labour in the USA and can clearly be seen in certain European countries as referred to by Theodoros and King (1999: 226-227) in relation to the Greek case:

> Athens exemplifies the duplicitous view that Albanians and other immigrants can be exploited for their labour and paid the lowest wages possible, yet since they are illegal immigrants and ‘so should not be in Athens anyway’...Meanwhile racism is becoming endemic and directed against virtually all non-Greeks.

2-*Assimilation* is accepting migrants as permanent settlers and inducing them to learn the national language and to take on the social and cultural practices of the receiving community (Schierup, Hansen & Castles, 2006: 42). The basic underlying belief is that the descendents of the original immigrants will be indistinguishable from other members of the population, enjoying the same rights and obligations. This is clearly seen in what traditionally occurred in France and in the UK up until the 1960s. However, by the mid-1960s the model was being widely questioned as it became apparent that immigration countries were not living up to the liberal promise of equal opportunity. Immigrants were experiencing discrimination and racism and found that ‘the mechanisms of labour market segmentation and residential segregation were leading to social isolation and exclusion. In response, migrants built communities in which ethnicity and cultural distinctiveness often formed the basis for solidarity’ (Schierup, Hansen & Castles, 2006: 43). In Sweden and in the Netherlands, in particular, policy makers began to recognise the importance of ethnic communities and cultural maintenance. France has remained, at least officially, holding on to hard core ideas of integration, the so-called ‘Republican model’ (Brubaker, 1990; Castles and Miller, 1993; Schierup, Hansen & Castles, 2006).

3-*Multiculturalism* can be characterised as ‘a political ideology and a model for public policy designed to ensure the full socio-economic and political participation of all members of an increasingly diverse population’ (Schierup, Hansen & Castles, 2006: 44). It includes the public acceptance of immigrant
groups as representing distinct communities who are indistinguishable from the majority population with regard to language, culture, etc. Canada would be an example of such a model. However, as noted in the previous section Schierup, Hansen & Castles (2006: 44) highlight discrepancies between the ideology and practice of multiculturalism, notably with critics pointing out that the model of multiculturalism is state-led rather than led by the community. It should be noted that there has been some argument around the problems of modes of incorporation and the insertion of immigrants into regimes. For example Freeman argues (2004: 960) that the idea of incorporation itself is problematic and suggests a focus on ‘state, market, welfare and culture’ within states. However he does argues ‘as states gain more experience with different approaches, and as immigrant-origin populations become more settled and entrenched, incorporation practices may eventually display more coherence and order than is currently perceptible’ (Freeman, 2004:962).

Table 4 summarises Castles & Miller’s (1993) and Schierup, Hansen & Castles’ (2006) description of their regimes and includes their classification of the types of immigration systems.

**Table 4: Types of migration regimes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizenship Model</th>
<th>Migration System</th>
<th>Immigrants’ Access to Social Rights</th>
<th>Example Countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exclusionary</td>
<td>Guest Worker</td>
<td>Restrictive; accepted into limited subsystems such as the labour market and some aspects of the welfare system.</td>
<td>Germany Switzerland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postcolonial/Assimilation</td>
<td>Postcolonial</td>
<td>Ambiguous: Initially formal rights granted, but rules of nationality and discourses of assimilation contributed to weakening of social rights. Significant contestation.</td>
<td>France Britain Netherlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multicultural</td>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td>Formally grants rights to permanent settlers. State and</td>
<td>Australia Canada Sweden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do the outlined different welfare regime types impact the integration of immigrants? Some (Faist, 1996; Banting, 2000) have argued that there is a link between the type of welfare and the socio-economic integration of immigrants. Faist (1996) notes that it is often easier for immigrants to find a job in liberal regimes but at the same time face a greater poverty risk. In the social democratic and corporatist regimes, access to the labour market may be more difficult but the generosity of the system is likely to prevent poverty amongst the group of unemployed immigrants. Banting (2000) sees better possibilities for immigrant social rights in corporatist and social democratic regimes, whereas immigrants’ access is more limited in the liberal regime (with the exception of Canada). He argues that employment policies based on social insurance schemes are more accommodating to the incorporation of migrants primarily because they entail contributions. Countries with liberal regimes (bar Canada) have encouraged immigration while limiting migrants’ access to social benefits, where perceptions that foreigners rely heavily on social assistance have prompted restrictions of their eligibility to benefits and fragmented support for the welfare state (Banting, 2000: 21-25). Developing further Esping-Andersen’s (1990) two concepts underpinning his typology – stratification and de-commodification, where de-commodification refers to ‘the extent to which individuals and families can maintain a normal and socially acceptable standard of living regardless of their market performance’
Morissens and Sainsbury (2005: 640) pose two questions regarding migrants’ social rights:

First, how decommodifying are social policies for migrants and ethnic minorities in different welfare regimes? Or put differently, what role do social policies play in aiding migrants and ethnic minorities to maintain an acceptable standard of living? Second, what are the stratifying effects of social policies for migrants and ethnic minorities?

Morissens and Sainsbury’s study examines two countries representing each regime type with results being derived from the Luxembourg Income Study (LIS) data. By determining the proportion of households having an acceptable standard of living (this outcome is the combined result of market income and social benefits) and looking at the impact of social policies on household incomes using relative poverty reduction effectiveness scores, they establish the role of these policies in reducing poverty or maintaining a socially acceptable standard of living (Morissens and Sainsbury, 2005: 644). Their results note that in spite of ‘the widespread assumption in the international migration literature that there is little difference in the social rights of citizens and migrants who are legal residents, the analysis found large disparities in how migrant and citizen households fare in welfare states. Furthermore, discrepancies widened with respect to migrants of colour’ (Morissens and Sainsbury; 2005: 654). When compared with citizens, migrants are less likely to enjoy a socially acceptable standard of living even when the market provides the main source of income.

Most striking was the difference between two social democratic regime countries, with the Swedish poverty rate for migrants and ethnic minorities at the lowest whilst the Danish level was the second highest (Morissens and Sainsbury, 2005: 645). Morissens and Sainsbury (2005: 654) also note that migrants are less likely

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12 Esping-Andersen argued that welfare states vary considerably with respect to their principles of rights and stratification. This results in qualitatively different arrangements among state, market and family. These differences notwithstanding, Esping-Andersen argued that welfare state variations are not singular, but clustered around three central regime types: ‘liberal’, ‘social democratic’ and ‘corporatist-statist’ – the so-called ‘three worlds of welfare’ (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 26-28 & 48-52).

13 Liberal regime (United Kingdom and United States); conservative corporatist regime (Germany and France); and social democratic regime (Sweden and Denmark).

14 The LIS is a cross-national data set with detailed information about sources of income in over 20 countries. The main income variables-disposable income, gross income and market income- are harmonised. For more details refer to http://www.lisproject.org/
to be pulled out of poverty by transfers, and when benefits are their main source of income they run a greater risk of being poor than do citizens. This is due to migrants’ benefits tending to be lower for typical social insurance benefits such as pensions and unemployment compensation, reflecting poorer earnings (Morissens and Sainsbury, 2005: 653). Their article concludes with concerns about the adequacy of the regime typology in analysing social rights of migrants and notes the need to consider the ‘dynamics between welfare and immigration regimes’ (Morissens and Sainsbury, 2005: 655).

A further study by Sainsbury (2006) provides a comparative analysis of social security rights of immigrants in three different welfare regimes, in particular looking at how the interplay of welfare and immigration policy regimes (as developed by Faist, 1995) can impact on the social rights of immigrants. Sainsbury argues that access to social security benefits on the basis of citizenship, residence, or employment-or-insurance-based contributions can serve to advantage or disadvantage social security on the basis of citizenship. In the US, for example, legislative changes introduced from the mid-1990s restricted migrants’ access to social security and means-tested benefits. Greater financial obligations conferred on employers sponsoring migrant workers restricted access to the labour market in general. Sainsbury (2006: 233) comments that ‘the rationale behind the reforms reflected the liberal ideological preoccupation of economic incentives, the emphasis on self-reliance, and the fear of free-riders’. The outcomes of these reforms included the withdrawal of benefits from more than one million non-citizens and the introduction of new elements of stratification among immigrants, whereby those employed in higher-skilled occupations received greater levels of social protection (Sainsbury, 2006: 234).

The causes of poverty are explored in further research by Morissens (2006: 180), who finds variations in the poverty outcomes of workers due to the unemployment regime in which the immigrant lives:

In addition to the social insurance schemes, there is a residual category of means-tested benefits that constitutes the ultimate safety net upon which

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15 Liberal represented by the United States; Conservative represented by Germany; and Sweden used for the social democratic regime.
people can rely when they are not eligible for social insurance benefits. The need to rely on means-tested benefits depends amongst other things on the social insurance eligibility conditions and benefits generosity. If these are strongly linked to employment-related contributions, those outside, or at the margins of the labor market will find it hard to qualify and will probably have to rely on means-tested benefits. In countries where social insurance benefits have a universal character, based on citizenship or residence, whether or not with an earning-related part, people outside the labor market may be less excluded from access to unemployment benefits (Morissens, 2006: 180-181).

Gallie and Paugam (2000: 3-13) use indicators related to a country’s effort to deal with unemployment as the basis of their typology. These indicators are the amount and duration of unemployment benefits, level of coverage, and the existence and extent of active labour market policies. Based on these indicators Gallie and Paugam (2000: 3-13) distinguish four unemployment regimes: the sub-protective, the liberal-minimal, the universal, and the employment-centred regime. Gallie and Paugam classify Southern European countries, which display generally high poverty rates, characterised by a sub-protective system with limited coverage of benefits, modest benefits where they exist and an absence of active labour market policies. Ireland and the UK are characterised by a liberal-minimal regime which provides a higher level of protection but which is uneven in its coverage and provides a low level of compensation. Denmark’s low rate of poverty is consistent with the fact that it constitutes an example of a universalistic regime. The regime provides widespread coverage, a high level of benefits and a strong emphasis on active employment policies. Morissens (2006: 182-183) looks at these regimes in relation to immigrants. She notes that (see Table 5) both the liberal-minimal and sub-protective unemployment regimes are ‘characterized by incomplete coverage, meagre benefits and therefore a considerable risk for financial deprivation amongst the unemployed. The liberal-minimal regime should have better outcomes because it is also slightly different from the sub-protective regime in ideological terms. There is political will to intervene to a certain extent in case of market failure, but the intervention remains limited because of the risk of disincentives to work. As a consequence, unemployment benefits are often means-tested in such a regime’ (Morissens, 2006: 182). In contrast the universalistic regime is considered to protect most of the unemployed from poverty through a generous benefits system. However, Morissens (2006:
does highlight that ‘some of the countries that can be classified under the universalistic regime have an unemployment scheme based on voluntary insurance. This requires membership of a fund to which contributions need to be paid. Those who have not joined the fund will have to rely upon means-tested benefits which form the second tier of the unemployment benefits’. The final regime, employment-centred, is similar to the universalistic regime with regard to generosity and duration of benefits but distinguishes itself from it in terms of coverage, where access to generous benefits is reserved for those with an extensive employment history (Morissens, 2006: 183).

**Table 5: Unemployment regimes and expected poverty outcomes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unemployment regime</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Expected poverty outcomes for unemployed immigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub-protective</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal-minimal</td>
<td>UK; Canada</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment-centred</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universalistic</td>
<td>Norway; Sweden</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Morissens (2006: 182)*

Morissens notes (2006: 195-196) that currently policy makers advocate taking away or lowering benefits as a sufficient tool to force immigrants into the labour market. However, if immigrants are unable to find work she notes that they become extremely poor. This is ‘likely to affect their chances of integration in other areas as well and will also deprive their children from life chances in line with those of non-immigrant children’ (Morissens, 2006: 196).

What of solidarity towards immigrants in their host countries? Trust has been a topic of great interest amongst social scientists for years (Taylor-Gooby, 2009: 100). An objection to multiculturalism is that it erodes social solidarity and fragments community in a way that jeopardises the advancement of egalitarian policies (Dorling, 2010: 155-156; Eisenberg, 2007). Recent research by van Oorschot (2008) in selected European countries looked at the position of immigrants in a rank order in comparison with the position of elderly people, disabled and sick people, and the unemployed, measured by people’s expressed
concern with the living conditions of the groups. Van Oorschot’s (2008: 9) hypothesis was that the ‘public would feel most solidarity towards the elderly, closely followed by sick and disabled people, next there would be unemployed people, and the solidarity towards immigrants would be the lowest’. This was found to be true in 12 of the 18 countries selected, with the six other countries (Austria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Greece, Ireland and Italy) all having an equally high level of solidarity towards elderly and sick and disabled people. Interestingly, van Oorschot’s (2008: 11) study notes that countries with a high level of cultural diversity tend to have a higher relative solidarity towards immigrants and refutes the ‘general idea that cultural diversity puts pressure on the recognition of immigrants as a category deserving support’. van Oorschot also reflects on the degree to which a country’s population is actively engaged in political behaviour ‘such as striking, signing petitions, taking part in boycotts and demonstrations, and occupying buildings and factories. These kinds of activities, on the whole, seem to create a context in which people differentiate less between their solidarity towards immigrants compared with other needy groups’ (van Oorschot (2008: 11). He provides a breakdown of European countries:

People in Southern European states show somewhat more solidarity towards migrants, but Portugal is a strong outlier in this group. Showing a bit less solidarity are people in the liberal welfare states of the UK and Ireland, as well as in the residual welfare states of Eastern Europe, but here the Czech Republic is a clear outlier. We did not find a significant relation with welfare spending. This suggests that higher spending welfare states in Europe are not faced with stronger anti-solidaristic sentiments towards migrants among their populations compared with lower spending states, as is indeed the current situation (van Oorschot, 2008: 12)

Whilst more solidarity is shown by people in wealthier countries to immigrant groups, van Oorschot (2008: 12) illustrates that ‘higher poverty rates and higher unemployment rates, which might induce a stronger (perceived) pressure of migration on resources for the needy, do not matter for a country’s level of relative solidarity towards immigrants’. Therefore van Oorschot’s (2008: 12) analysis shows that in ‘Europe, there is little relation between welfare state characteristics and feelings of informal solidarity’.

16 van Oorschot’s data source was the European Values Study (EVS) from 1999/2000. The analysis was confined to 18 countries: France, UK, Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, The Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Ireland, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary.
1.7 Conclusions

As the literature review demonstrated at the outset of this chapter, most welfare state literature has been dominated by a focus on welfare classification, and subsequent expansions to the classifications of welfare regimes as typologised by Esping-Andersen (1999, 2007). Where the literature has debated the impact of globalisation on welfare states, it has tended to focus whether or not globalisation results in a race to the bottom. There is a relative paucity in the literature on the internal impacts of globalisation on welfare states. This research is a response to that absence and of particular interest to this thesis is welfare state response to immigration and outcomes for immigrants. Policy makers/states cannot always expect newly arrived immigrants or refugees to find a job when several factors may complicate their integration into the labour market (language difficulties, discrimination, mental health/psychological problems). For this reason it is important for states to be able to guarantee a decent level of living and support in the meantime. It is here the welfare state plays a pivotal role. European immigration policy and politics is a ‘mixed bag’ encompassing restrictive and expansive tendencies in immigration policies and differential processes of inclusion and exclusion of migrants and their families. What we see from Schierup, Hansen & Castles’ ‘modes of incorporation’ model is that social rights vary considerably according to an immigrant’s access/status. The immigration regime regulates a person’s inclusion/exclusion from society, and impacts on their possibility to become a citizen, acquire residence and work permits, own property, set up a business, and participate in political life. What is absent in the literature is the need to further look at immigration regimes and examine impacts on the potential for immigration integration in accessing welfare services such as health, education, integration, etc. The next chapter will look at Ireland as a case study outlining how the state has responded to immigration and how this reaction impacts on the lives of an immigrant in accessing welfare services. This will be done in particular by applying Schierup, Hansen and Castles’ (2006) three ‘modes of incorporation’ – differential exclusion, assimilation, and multiculturalism – to Ireland.
Chapter 2: Ireland’s Contradictory Welfare Regime, Globalisation and a Diversity of Migration Experiences
2.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 outlined the foundations for the location of immigrants in welfare state literature in Europe. Attention now turns to understanding the empirical realities of immigration though exploring the experiences of it in Ireland. The literature review in chapter 1 established a number of key research questions that will frame the empirical analysis of immigration in Ireland. The focus of this chapter is to reflect on the national level and to explore a number of questions:

- How did the Irish state respond to the influx of immigrants?
- Has the influx of immigrants challenged the construction of Irish identity?
- Does the status of an immigrant have an impact on their rights and entitlements or in accessing state supports and services?

This chapter starts by reviewing the literature around typologising the Irish welfare state. From there the chapter looks at the impact of globalisation on the Irish state as it shifted from being Europe’s ‘basket case’ to an ‘emerald tiger’ (Adshead and Tonge, 2009: 189). As noted in chapter 1, perhaps the biggest impact of globalisation is the movement of people and the subsequent challenges for welfare states. Therefore the chapter moves to deepen the exploration of how the Irish state has responded to immigration. Ireland is an interesting case selection in testing how a state has responded to immigration, due to the difficulties in classifying its welfare system and the impact of globalisation both externally and internally. Despite the impact of globalisation and the economic boom, perhaps the most interesting aspect of the classification of the Irish state is in the definitions of Irishness and how these definitions pose significant challenges to immigrants living, working and accessing services within the Irish state. The chapter will therefore look at classifications of Irish identity and then provide a timeline of immigration into the Irish state and how the government responded to the increase in immigration levels from the 1990s onwards. By exploring the state response to immigration, this chapter is particularly concerned with whether the Irish immigration regimes that have been created can be considered according to Schierup, Hansen & Castles’ (2006: 41) ‘three modes of incorporation’: differential exclusion, assimilation and multiculturalism. By looking at states’ responses to immigration in policy and service provision the chapter will illustrate how the Irish state has constructed different rights and entitlements in accessing services for immigrants depending on their status.
2.2 Ireland – From Fitting in to Developmental Welfare State

Writing as late as 1984 Coughlan noted that, given the sparse attention that the welfare state has received in Ireland, ‘sections of F.S.L. Lyon’s Ireland Since the Famine (1973) are still the best account of the interaction of Irish social policy with general history over that time’ (p.37). Part of the difficulty in classifying Ireland as observed by O’Sullivan lies ‘in the historical trajectory of each area of policy that collectively made up the welfare state in the post-independence period. Different areas had different influences and pathways (O’Sullivan, 2005: 326). Carey’s work on the historical evolution of social security in Ireland argue’s that not one particular theory fits the Irish case but rather than reflecting the unique aspects of the Irish experience it reflects the problem with welfare state theory in general. O’Connell and Rottman (1992) offer more optimism about the usefulness of theories of the welfare state. Assessing three core theories of the development of welfare states – the logic of industrialism, the social-democratic perspective, and state-centred approaches – they argue that, while no one perspective fully explains the Irish case, the state-centred approach offers a useful explanation of the distinctiveness of Irish welfare state development.

Over the course of the last two decades or so, a slightly more substantial body of theory-driven research has emerged. This literature has provided a historical overview (Kaim-Caudle, 1967; Kennedy, 1975; Maguire, 1986; Lee, 1989; O’Connell and Rottman, 1992; Kiely, 1999; Burke, 1999; Conroy, 1999; Peillon, 2001; Cousins, 2003; McCashin, 2004; Cousins, 2003; Curry, 2005; Carey; 2007; Walsh, 2007; Murphy and Adshead Forthcoming) and comparative studies (O’Connell and Rottman, 1992; O’Donnell, 1999). Cousins (1997) identifies Ireland’s colonial and post-colonial status, the importance of agriculture, the impact of being a dependent and peripheral country, the role of the state and the centrality of Catholicism as factors which have had an impact on the development of the Irish welfare state, and which are not well dealt with in welfare state studies. In a survey that underlines Cousins’ conclusion, O’Donnell (1999) outlines the problems with placing Ireland in a number of typologies (namely,

17 Refer to Kirby (2008b) pp1-7 for coverage of the literature of Ireland as a post-colonial state.
Jones, 1985; Esping-Andersen, 1990; Lewis, 1992; Castles and Mitchell, 1993; Liebfried, 1993). As with the previous chapter the literature has focused on the problems of typologies and the location of Ireland in any of the ‘worlds of welfare’. O’Riain and O’Connell (2000: 326) point out that ‘the Irish experience of welfare state expansion stands in stark contrast to the development of the Scandinavian pattern’. Some of the literature agrees with Esping-Andersen’s (1990) determination that Ireland conforms to the liberal/residual Anglo-Saxon model\(^\text{18}\) (Turner and Haynes, 2006: 89; Whelan and Layte 2004: 93; Kennelly and O’Shea, 1998: 201). Others have developed Esping-Andersen’s conclusion that the Irish welfare state as a whole is a ‘Catholic corporatist’ welfare state, and that welfare outcomes generally have been shaped by the nature of Catholic social thought (McLaughlin, 1993, 2001; Cochrane and Clarke, 1993). Recent focus on specific aspects of policy also suggest the corporatist elements of Irish social policy. For example, Adshead and Millar (2004: 18) in an institutionalist analysis of the health care regime conclude that the ‘Catholic corporatist’ paradigm is still a fruitful one in investigations of the Irish welfare state.

In the case of social security Daly and Yeates point to the strong British influence in the emergence and later development of the system, but they also highlight a ‘new corporatism’ as an important factor in the recent development of social security policy (Daly and Yeates, 2003: 94)\(^\text{19}\). Fahey (1998) and Cousins (1997) have pointed to the importance of an agrarian paradigm that has fundamentally influenced distributive outcomes. More recently Fanning (2006: 10) has argued

\(^{18}\) The ‘Liberal’, or the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ model is characterised by means-tested assistance, modest universal transfers, or modest social insurance. This form of welfare state mainly caters for low-income, usually working-class, state dependants. It is a model in which, implicitly or explicitly, the progress of social reform has been severely constrained or circumscribed by traditional, liberal work-ethic norms. Entitlement rules are strict and benefits are typically modest. In turn the state encourages the market, either passively by guaranteeing only a minimum, or actively by subsidising private welfare schemes. Hemerijck notes the Anglo-Saxon model is guided by: (1) a bias towards targeted, needs-based entitlements; (2) low replacement rates in transfer programmes; (3) general revenue financing; (4) underdeveloped public social services beyond health and education; (5) poor family services; (6) low levels of employment protection, largely confined to ensuring fair contracts, and no legacy of active labour market policy, nor vocational training and education; (7) un-coordinated industrial relations with moderately strong unions, decentralized wage bargaining, and low levels of collective bargaining coverage (Hemerijck, 2002: 179).

\(^{19}\) This account looks at the existence of formal, national social pacts in which some aspects of social protection are formed in a consultative collective bargaining process involving social partners and the government.
that Ireland had a mixed economy of welfare that consisted of voluntary, market, state and informal sectors. This defined, as noted in a previous publication by Fanning (2004a: 13), a ‘limited role for the post-Independence Irish state in the area of social security and Catholic doctrine, which defined welfare activities in areas such as education and health’. Adshead and Tonge (2009: 210) have also remarked that ‘it is clear that some elements of contemporary social policy are often far more rooted from the past that we might think’ where the Catholic church ‘copper-fastened its position as an influential social force and subsequently maintained and protected its influence by demonising the “evils of socialism”’ (Adshead and Tonge, 2009: 196). Payne and McCashin (2005) and McCashin and Payne (2006) have referred to the levels of support for welfare in Ireland by drawing on data from the Irish Social and Political Attitudes Survey. Their analysis suggests an ‘institutionalized acceptance of some processes that sustain market inequality’ with the data showing a ‘liberal individualism’ element taking root in Irish public attitudes (McCashin and Payne, 2006: 16).

It is clear from the literature that the Irish case exemplifies many of the problems ascribed to welfare state typologising. The National Economic and Social Council (NESC) was established in 1973 and has a function to analyse and report to the Taoiseach on strategic issues relating to the efficient development of the economy, the achievement of social justice and the development of a strategic framework for the conduct of relations and negotiation of agreements between the government and the social partners. The Council is chaired by the Secretary General of the Department of the Taoiseach and contains representatives of trade unions, employers, farmers' organisations, NGOs, key government departments and independent experts. In 2005 the NESC issued a major report on Ireland’s welfare state, proposing that the state’s economic success requires that it ‘revisit the basic architecture and core objectives of Ireland’s social politics and welfare state, and in several key respects to reform them’ (NESC, 2005: 2). The report

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21 For more details refer to [http://www.nesc.ie/](http://www.nesc.ie/)
22 The origins of the NESC Developmental Welfare State (2005) lie in a social partnership commitment originally advocated by the Community and Voluntary Pillar during the negotiations leading to the Programme for Prosperity and Fairness (2001).
noted Ireland used a ‘moderate to low’ proportion of national resources to provide services and a small proportion to provide cash transfers by EU-15 standards (NESC, 2005: 104). It concluded that ‘cash transfers as a percentage of GNP are low compared to other countries principally because of the lower bill for pensions but also because of the Irish welfare state’s high reliance on means-testing. Ireland is exceptional within the EU for the high proportion of its social spending which is means-tested’ (NESC, 2005: 104). The NESC argues that Ireland is a ‘hybrid system’ (p.34) undergoing multiple changes and proposes an alternative conceptualisation of the welfare state to steer future reforms. The report tentatively admits that ‘it can be argued that several forms of social spending require higher priority if Ireland is to advance its economy and society in the directions it wishes to’ (p.136) citing, for example, that unless the states invests in further education and training it would be difficult to see skill levels rising amongst people in the workforce. In summary the NESC (2005: 5) proposed to address the following questions in the report:

- Whether the number of people turning to privately provided social services (health, education, child care) and with a negative perception of the quality of publicly provided services is now so large that no government in the foreseeable future can expect an electoral mandate to fund more and better public services by raising tax;
- Whether increased income transfers are at the heart of alleviating poverty or can only produce better outcomes if they are linked to improved support services and clear conditionality to reduce people’s duration on welfare-only incomes;
- Whether the state should remain the key provider of essential social services or whether more public money should be channelled (under new arrangements for accountability) to private and not-for-profit bodies’ (NESC, 2005: 5).

As a response to these questions and to achieve ‘greater coordination between social and economic policy’ the NESC proposed the conceptualisation of a ‘Developmental Welfare State’ which the NESC describes as three overlapping domains of welfare state activity: core services, income supports and activist measures (NESC, 2005: 156; see Figure 2). The NESC puts forward a ‘life cycle’ approach to the future development of public services organised around the main stages, namely children, people of working age, older people and people with
disabilities. The NESC argues that for each group there is a need to ensure an effective combination of income supports, services and social innovation\textsuperscript{23}.

**Figure 2: The Developmental Welfare State**

![Diagram of the Developmental Welfare State]

*Source: NESC (2005: xviii)*

Core services, the most strategic of the three domains, range across health care, education, housing, transport, employment services and training, eldercare and childcare, typically not provided universally by the state. The state would be responsible for providing such services to all members of society at high equitable standards but tailored to people’s circumstances. The NESC argues that in contemporary Ireland access to core services has ‘a wholly new resonance; they underpin the social and economic participation of an increasingly diverse population and enhance labour market flexibility and competitiveness’ (2005: 155). The provision of such services would require reform of existing services like education and a rapid development of innovative services, for example eldercare.

\textsuperscript{23} This life cycle approach has been adopted by the recent social partnership agreement \textit{Towards 2016} (2000-2016).
The second domain refers to the range of income support measures, which the NESC argues should be based on the need ‘for participation’ (2005: 156, italics in original) and a minimum pension guarantee that is ‘adequate not just to cover basic subsistence needs but also to buttress satisfactory social participation’ (2005: 157). In childhood ‘parental circumstances should not be the cause of any child being denied access to key developmental opportunities; while all children are supported, some are supported more than others’ (2005: 157). The NESC proposes for people of working age that payment arrangements be delivered in a more conditional framework tailored to support employment or other social activities. This would be facilitated by improvements in core services; as the labour market becomes more inclusive for those of working age this will lead to higher employment rates (2005: 157). The final domain of the Developmental Welfare State is made up of ‘new pro-active measures’ involving a range of bodies that consist of ‘community and voluntary, public or private sector’ (2005: 157) to meet ‘unmet social needs in a particular and once-off manner, the implications of which for mainstream service provision are not yet apparent’ (2005: 157). Whilst the initiative occurs most frequently in the community and voluntary sector, organisations funded by state agencies to provide services to communities and population sub-groups, private sector bodies ‘may also take the initiative and apply its resources to a particular issue, usually in partnership with voluntary and community interests’ (2005: 157). Some projects may terminate following success and the solution of a particular issue, other outcomes might see the embedding of an initiative as a mainstream service (NESC, 2005: 157-8).

Opinion is varied on the merits of the Developmental Welfare State. On one hand it can ‘be construed as an attempt to develop social solidarity and service effort characteristic of higher welfare providers such as Nordic and continental Europeans’ (Murphy and Adshead: Forthcoming). On the other hand, Murphy and Millar (2007: 80) take issue with the NESC classification of Ireland having a ‘hybrid’ welfare state which they see as ‘confusing and unhelpful’ since it ‘obscures the reality of a failed welfare state, hides the role tax and social welfare policy play in growing inequality and treats high levels of relative income poverty as less problematic than they really are’ (Murphy and Millar, 2007: 83). The Developmental Welfare State ‘life cycle’ framework is a key feature of the most
recent Social Partnership Agreement *Towards 2016*\(^{24}\). At first glance Kirby and Murphy (2008b: 24) note that the life cycle approach is useful as differentiating the stages of life ‘brings a conceptual clarity to how much social policy, and particularly social welfare, is presently organised to support groups at different stages of the life cycle’. It also provides visibility to key groups less likely ‘to be prioritised in an economic and productivist order’ highlighting in particular disability organisations and groups working on behalf of older people having a stronger voice and policy relevance. However, Kirby and Murphy (2008b: 24) are critical of the framework in that other groups, particularly ‘women, lone parents and migrants become hidden in the category “working-aged”’. Most troubling for them is that the framework is gender blind and lacking in a care analysis, as the Developmental Welfare State:

> ...fails to recognise and consider systematically the implications of the Irish male breadwinner approach to structural features in our social and economic systems...The category of the ‘working aged’ defines all adults by their employment status so that the life-cycle approach is ultimately centered around attachment to the labour market. It implicitly (and explicitly) promotes participation in paid employment in a predominately ‘adult worker model’ where social exclusion is defined predominately as exclusion from the labour market (NESC, 2005: 219). Within this category of working aged, work is clearly implied to mean waged work and the issue of unpaid work and its interrelationship with the waged economy is not included in the discussion (Kirby and Murphy, 2008b: 24-25).

The NESC argues that the ‘services dividend’ of the Developmental Welfare State will result in services which play ‘a significant role in strengthening social cohesion, constituting public spaces where people are citizens first and only secondly belong to different social classes, ethnic minorities, neighbourhoods, etc’ (NESC, 2005: 171). Kirby and Murphy (2008b: 25) argue that this fails to

‘recognise the complexity of discrimination that individuals experience on the basis of their group identity’. Fanning and MacVeigh (2007: 128-139) argue that the Developmental Welfare State model is recycled from the 1960s that is mixed between ‘the state as regulator of the welfare economy (distinct from the state as provider) and the citizen as user’ (2007: 130). Kirby (2008: 31) notes that in order to fully implement the plan ‘a significant commitment on the part of the state to increase welfare funding’ is required. The Developmental Welfare State report does not offer any idea on how much extra funding is required or how such money could be raised. Concluding, Murphy and Millar (2007: 89) outline that the report has not sparked ‘a lively debate or reshaped the momentum around welfare reform’ nor has there been ‘evidence that the state has internalised the core principles’ (Kirby and Murphy, 2008b: 30). It can be argued that the critiques put forward on the Developmental Welfare State outline the same problems as with the literature placing Ireland in a number of typologies. The literature focuses on the problems by critiquing the ‘hybrid’ model that is only utilised by the NESC as a method to categorise the Irish welfare system. The literature does not offer any empirical alternatives therefore highlighting again the problems of current welfare state literature.

A defining feature of Irish policy making is the considerable gap between policy and implementation (Adshead and Tonge, 2009). A further report by the NESC (2005b: 282) outlines four distinct issues in implementing policy: lack of decision, weak execution by departments and agencies, lack of knowledge about how policy is impacting, and resistance or unresolved conflict. The NESC Developmental Welfare State conceptualises innovative ‘activist measures’ to be carried out by community, voluntary, public or private sectors responding to social needs that are not delivered through mainstream services. The NESC suggests that this could lead to a number of outcomes such as a solution to a specific challenge such as the regeneration of an area, the implementation of the initiative into a mainstream programme, and the recognition of an organisation providing a niche service that could result in long-term funding for the organisation (NESC, 2005: 157-158). This research moves to respond to these issues by testing an ‘activist measure’ (refer to chapter 3). Murphy points to certain difficulties in undertaking such innovative actions by noting that ‘many
community groups are pessimistic about the possibility of meaningful institutional reform and cultural change in local statutory agencies and question whether there is even a basic shared understanding of what is meant by inter-agency co-operation’ (Murphy, 2008: 65). Murphy also notes gaps in the literature of examples of good practice of inter-agency work (2008: 82) and outlines that in order for such partnerships to flourish major reforms are required of both practice and culture. The next section will briefly look at the literature around globalisation and how Ireland responded to any resulting challenges.

2.3 Globalisation and Challenges

In the late 1980s, a survey of Ireland’s economic performance by the London-based Economist magazine described the Irish economy as the European Union’s ‘basket case’, yet by the late 1990s the same magazine was referring to Ireland as a ‘shining light’ (Bradley, 2002: 24). The Financial Times congratulated Ireland on its ‘exceptional growth’ and argued that ‘Ireland fully deserves to be called the Celtic Tiger’ (Wolf, M., The Financial Times, 19th August 1999). The research community also praised Ireland for its astonishing performance. One economist in the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) commented: ‘We’re living in a golden age…Our economic progress in the past decade has been spectacular’ (Whelan, cited in Holmquist, C., The Irish Times, 7th September 1998). A rising tide, it seemed, had lifted all boats. David McWilliams wrote in 2004 ‘we are all middle class now’ (Sunday Business Post, 8/2/04). The statistics seemed remarkable: by the 1990s Ireland’s growth rate in terms of GDP was the highest in the OECD and three times that of the EU average (Smith, 2005: 38). The OECD (2003) reported that Ireland was the fourth richest country in world, with GDP per capita exceeded only by that of Luxembourg, the United States and Norway (OECD, 2003c: 12-13). Despite the economic boom, socio-economic disparities persisted. In particular, the National Economic and Social Council (NESC, 2005b) showed that in 2001, Ireland had the highest ‘at risk of poverty’ rate, the second highest level of child poverty, the lowest life expectancy and the highest infant mortality rate in the then 15 members of the EU. Between 1994 and 2005 the poorest ten per cent’s share of national income decreased by 0.6% and the richest ten per cent’s increased by 1.2%. While in 1994 15.6% lived below the 60%
poverty line, by 2006 17% lived below the same line (Murphy, 2008b: 16). Using
EU comparable data, 19% of Irish people experience a risk of poverty compared
to an EU average of 16% (Murphy, 2008b: 16). Murphy (2006: 91) outlines the
considerable cuts that occurred in this period of surplus budgets such as the 1992
‘Dirty Dozen’ and the 2003 ‘Savage Sixteen’\textsuperscript{25}. From 1985 to 2006 the number of
persons in employment increased from almost 1.1 million to over 2 million (CSO,
2007e). Within that same period the number of persons unemployed decreased by
128,200 to 91,400. Still however, despite employment growth, decreases in
unemployment and inward migration of labour, levels of dependency on social
welfare among those of working age remained high. Benefit dependency rose
from 12.4% of the population in 1980 to hold constant at 20% for claimants in the
period 1985-2005 (Murphy in Jacobson \textit{et al.} (eds), 2006: 95). Evidently, the
increase in employment during the economic boom was made up of migrant
labour, leaving a residual group of the domestic labour force unemployed
(Adshead, Lodge \& Ni Shé, 2007).

Sweeney, examining the connection between globalisation and the Celtic Tiger,
argued that ‘the impact of globalisation on Ireland has been profound and in many
ways has brought great benefits to the majority of people in most, though not all,
areas’ (Sweeney, 2003: 210). Describing Ireland as ‘one of the most open
economies in the world’, he points to the fact that Ireland achieved its success by
pursuing ‘intervention in the global marketplace with its strong “visible hand” of
coherent industrial policy through well-funded industrial development agencies,
grants, tax breaks and broad assistance to investors’ (Sweeney, 2003: 210-211).
Ireland is therefore perhaps ‘the case study for understanding how globalisation
can bring success to a late developing economy’ (Sweeney, 2003: 210-211).
According to nearly all measures, the Irish economy has been a ‘particular
beneficiary’ of globalisation (Sweeney, 1999) and a ‘showpiece of globalisation’,
(Smith, 2005). Still the benefits are disputed (Allen, 2000; Kirby, 2002). Whilst

\textsuperscript{25} Both were cuts to the social welfare budget due to periods of tight fiscal austerity (the 1992 EMU
preparations and the post-9/11 recession in 2002-03). Both sets of cuts happened when
inexperienced first-time (rural) Ministers (Charlie McCreevy in 1992 and Mary Coughlan in 2003)
were unable to resist strong pressure from Department of Finance officials to cut social security
budgets (see Murphy, 2006).
there is agreement that Ireland is a ‘late developer’ with regard to when the process began, there is still confusion over Ireland’s position as a developmental state. As Adshead and Robinson (2009: 5) summarise:

Consensus over whether or not this process is now concluded remains elusive. The absence of a uniform view about what constitutes development is the chief reason for this. Moreover, the lack of agreement about what the state’s developmental goals are, or should be, and whether or not the state has reached them, has further clouded our judgement about whether or not the state may be considered a developmental one.

The literature has focused on different aspects of the Irish state’s development/economic recovery (Sweeney, 1999; Nolan et al., 2000; Kirby, 2002; O’Toole, 2003; Fahey et al., 2007; Adshead et al., 2008b). Commentators such as Allen (2000), Coulter (2003), Fitzgerald (2004) and Kirby (2004, 2002) have pointed to the growing inequalities in Irish society. On the other hand, pointing to a highly globalised economy, returned emigrants, highly educated young people, higher wages, extended female participation, and inwards migration, some have argued that these developments are indicative of Ireland now being modern, prosperous and economically successful state (McWilliams, 2005; Mac Sharry, 2000). McWilliams has also argued that the economic boom brought a ‘social compression’ that benefited a vast majority of Irish people and ‘we are now more equal than ever’ due to increases in incomes that McWilliams (2005: 22) equates to more of the population being defined as middle class. Others have been more cautious, pointing to Ireland’s recent economic boom as evidence of successful late development from relative backwardness, but cautioning against the potential for increasing inequality across different sectors of the economy (O’Riain, 2004).

More recently with the spread of the global recession and banking crisis in 2008 there has been a rapid and steep fall-off in economic growth. The swing has been dramatic from a GDP growth of 6% in 2007 to a contraction of 2½% in 2008, with a further contraction projected of ‘13½% through 2010, the largest among advanced economies’ (IMF, 2009: 3; see Figure 3).
The International Monetary Fund predicted that unemployment would exceed 12% by the end of 2009 and reach 15½% in 2010 (IMF, 2009: 8). With the sole exception of Iceland, the downturn in the Irish economy in 2007 and 2008 was the most severe of any experienced by an OECD member state (OECD, 2009b). The NESC (2009) now warns that Ireland is fighting a five-part crisis: banking, fiscal, economic, social and reputational\(^\text{26}\). The next section looks at recent debates and challenges to Irish identity.

### 2.4 Irish Identity and Immigration

It is only now within the economic crisis that the context of political debate has shifted from increasing concerns about what form of society the Irish state should promote (refer to O’Toole, 6/4/10, 23/3/10; Byrne, 8/9/09; NESC, 2009). One significant impact of globalisation on the Irish state noted by Clinch, Convery and Walsh (2002: 46-7) is the ‘exceptional rate of employment growth [-] facilitated by a very elastic supply of labour’. This unusually elastic labour supply enabled employment to grow so fast and underpin the boom without fuelling inflation. It was not until 1999-2000 that labour shortages finally began to push wage inflation, though this was still moderated by the social partnership process which

\(^{26}\) The NESC (2009: 18) has outlined that the current crisis is due to a combination of: declining competitiveness as a consequence of the prolonged boom; a property bubble which Irish financial institutions and a regulatory system did not prevent; and an international credit crisis and world recession caused by structural weaknesses in the current globalisation process.
helped to maintain a degree of wage moderation. In short, the factors that accounted for the highly elastic labour supply lie ‘at the heart of the Irish economic miracle’ (Clinch et al., 2002: 47). These include: a large initial pool of unemployment; a baby boom in the 1960s and 1970s that facilitated a growth in working age population during the boom; an increase in women’s participation in the labour force; and last but not least, significant inwards migration contributing about one half of the growth in the labour force (Clinch et al., 2002: 47). The role of immigrant participation in the labour market is particularly significant. As the economy boomed and labour shortages became more apparent, the government responded to requests from employers for additional workers by making it relatively easy to recruit and employ workers from outside the country (NESC, 2006). On the face of it then, the highly globalised Irish economy is now sustained by a highly globalised workforce (Adshead, Lodge and Ni Shé, 2007). Therefore on one hand we have seen an explosion of inward migration while on the other there has been an ‘uneven modernity’ (Peillon, 2002: 40). For example, Gibbons (1988) has argued that in the 1960s the state promoted industrial development (economic modernisation) but showed no commitment to social, political or cultural modernisation. Peillon (2002: 40) argues that ‘a traditional culture coexisted with a modern structure’ whereas the cultural critic Terry Eagleton (1987: 14) noted Ireland signified ‘roots, belonging, tradition’ and at the same time ‘exile, diffusion, globality, diaspora’. Therefore the literature suggests that in Ireland there is a tension between a highly globalised economy and workforce and a traditional Irish culture and identity. It is worth therefore noting the relationships between large scale political debate around the economy, immigration and state identity.

Mudde (2000) and Eatwell’s (2000) work make a distinction between holistic and liberal nationalism. Liberal nationalism membership is based on citizenship with the possibility for newcomers to enter the nation and be converted into citizens. In contrast, holistic nationalism views membership of the nation as being based on one’s ethnicity and is therefore not open to everyone. Adshead and Tonge (2009) apply Mudde and Eatwell’s definition of holistic nationalism to Ireland and argue that:
The indirect impact of colonial ties with Britain are perhaps best seen in the state’s various attempts at developing a national consciousness and identity that was distinctly Irish, the ultimate result being the development of holistic as opposed to liberal nationalism in the Republic – an unusual juxtaposition that is not normally found in democratic states (Adshead and Tonge, 2009: 146-147, italics in original text).

There has been significant discussion in the literature on the creation of an Irish identity. Ní Eigearthigh (2007) has focused on the importance of nationalist mythologies in the creation (and recreation) of Irish identity. Fanning (2002: 31) documents that throughout the nineteenth century profound shifts occurred within Irish nationalism whereby one dominant construction of Irishness, which emphasised the Irishness of the minority Protestant elite, was gradually displaced by a new Catholic ‘Irish-Ireland’ nationalist hegemony. Adshead and Tonge (2009: 147) argue that the early development of mass political organisations in Ireland ‘long preceded a belated industrialisation and this fostered a religious-ethnic conceptualisation of nation bound up with kinship ties and peasant tribalisms as opposed to one shaped by class politics and secular modernisation’.

Ireland is not unlike constructions of the atypical American or English identity which took the form of the WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant); Ireland often defines itself in exclusionary ways grounded in cultural, linguistic and historical experiences reflecting what has been called a WHISC (white, heterosexual, Irish, settled, Catholic) discourse (Mac Éinrí, 2007: 215; Tracy, 2000). Tracy quotes well-known Irish journalist John Waters:

I think there was always this official insistence on the idea that, you know, you kind of had to tick off on your list of qualities, you know; Catholicism – yes, nationalism – yes, GAA – yes, Irish language – yes, you know, that the more of these boxes you ticked the more Irish you were (Waters quoted in Tracy, 2000: 16).

Tracy’s point is that when looking at the Irish state it is ‘important to locate this “prototypical Irishness”, the WHISC, since it has become an invisible centre in debates relating to immigration, Europeanization, refugees/asylum-seekers, and Irish Travellers’ (2000: 22). MacGréil (1996), using the Bogardus social distance scale (a psychological testing scale), has studied Irish attitudes towards the ‘other’. He states that the Irish see themselves as white, identifying most closely with the English and ‘white’ Americans and least with ‘Africans’, ‘Asians’ and
‘Black’ Americans (MacGréil, 1996: 64-71). Heterosexuality is also demonstrated as the norm as seen in the ranking of ‘gay people’ 55th out of the 59 categories examined’ (MacGréil, 1996: 64-71). The rankings also demonstrate an amalgamation of ‘Irishness’ with that of Catholic Irishness with Catholics ranking 1st out of 59 while Irish speakers were ranked 4th (MacGréil, 1996: 64-71). The settled component of WHISC identity is best seen in the ranking of Travellers as 54th out of the 59 categories (MacGréil, 1996: 64-71).

The role of the Catholic church is of particular importance when looking at Irish identity. The last 2006 census data show that out of a total of 3,706,683 Irish people who answered the question, 3,409,381 classified their religion as being Catholic27. As O’Toole notes:

The role of the Church is undeniable in Irish society. An Irish person was, and is, likely to be born in a Catholic hospital, educated at Catholic schools, married in a Catholic church, have children named by a priest, be counselled by Catholic marriage advisors if the marriage runs into trouble, be dried out in Catholic clinics for the treatment of alcoholism if he or she develops a drink problem, be operated on in Catholic hospitals, and be buried by Catholic rites. This ‘cradle to grave’ attention of European social welfare systems was created in Ireland by the Church. (O’Toole, 1998: 67)

More recently in 2007 the leader of the majority opposition party Fine Gael, Enda Kenny TD, in setting out the party immigration strategy defined Irish citizens ‘as a Celtic and Christian people’28. The next section profiles recent immigration into Ireland and outlines how the Irish state responded.

2.5 Immigration to Ireland

Currently in Ireland, different paths of entry and entitlements exist for migrants from different groups of countries. The removal of Irish safety nets for certain immigrants presumes to secure temporary labour without increasing dependence, linking some elements of Irish policy towards immigrant workers to the German Gastarbeiter model (Fanning, 2007: 246). The different rights with respect to

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access to the labour market and access to social services exist for immigrants falling into different categories:

- From the European Economic Area (EEA)
- Non-EEA work permits
- Non-EEA work visas or Green Cards
- Students from outside the EU
- Asylum seekers and achievers of refugee status
- Arrivals as a spousal or family dependent

At the bottom of this hierarchy are an unknown number of illegal immigrants, including people who entered Ireland illegally or those who have outstayed the period specified in their visas. From these broad groupings different legal statuses and categories (for example ‘asylum seeker’, ‘migrant worker’) and different circumstances (whether an international student, Irish-born child, spouse of someone working for a multi-national corporation) create varying entitlements, opportunities and experiences.

With the obvious case of British people, immigrants to Ireland in the period before the 1960s were confined to modest numbers, including small Jewish, Chinese and Italian communities. Mac Éinrí notes that not all newcomers were welcome ‘as Jews in Limerick found to their cost in 1904 when they were the target of a sectarian and anti-semitic campaign by a local Redemptorist priest, Fr. Creagh, and a number of families were forced out of the city’ (Mac Éinrí, 2006: 370). Also Fanning (2001b) documented that when Hungarian refugees arrived as guests of the Irish state in 1956 and were placed in Knockalisheen on the Clare/Limerick border, conditions were so trying that they went on hunger strike.

More recently Leach’s book *Fugitive Ireland* (2009) documents the attitudes of the Irish government towards immigrants who were granted political asylum in Ireland during The Emergency and thereafter. Leach concludes that ‘official attitudes towards the admission of exiles, and towards the national struggle of Scots, Bretons, Basques, Croats, Ukrainians, Welsh and Flemings – not to mention Germans and Austrians – were always determined by Irish *raisons d’état*: national security, sovereignty, and Catholic anti-communism’ (Leach, 2009: 221).

Irish attitudes towards immigration subsequently changed with economic reforms of the late 1950s, membership of the EEC (now EU) and then later the dramatic
transformation from 1986 (Lee, 1989; Adshead and Tonge, 2009). From being the ‘human resource warehouse of Europe’, Ireland moved to become a net importer of people (OECD, 2008: 101) with a highly globalised workforce (Barrett, 2009; Adshead, Lodge and Ni Shé, 2007). Figure 4 illustrates the stock of foreign-born populations in selected OECD countries and illustrates that Ireland is now one of the top EU recipients of immigrants as a proportion of its population.

**Figure 4: Foreign-born population in OECD countries**

Percent of total population

![Foreign-born population in OECD countries](image)

1. 1995 or earliest available data and 2005 or latest available data. Data for Ireland are from 1996 and 2006.


The surplus of immigrants over emigrants is supplied principally by labour migrants and their children. The 2002 census identified 6.8% of the population as being foreign-born (CSO, 2002). This rose in the 2006 census to 10% (CSO, 2007) and was estimated to stand at 12% in 2009 (Deegan, 3/4/09). It is not merely the number of immigrants that has caused the country's population to rise to an estimated 4.23 million: emigration has been steadily falling, while the excess of births over deaths has grown rapidly (CSO, 2006). Also, a substantial proportion of the immigrant population comprises ‘returning emigrants’, namely Irish nationals who have returned from living abroad (Hayward and Howard, 2007: 48-58). This group made up more than ‘half of all immigrants in the 1990s,

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29 In the 1996-2002 period, 45.4% of immigrants were ‘returning Irish emigrants’, 17% were non-EU nationals, 16.7% were UK nationals and 13.5% other EU nationals (Garner, 2003: 51).
and in 2004 comprised 34%, while another 36% were either EU nationals or US nationals. Only 30% of the total, as of 2004, were from outside the EU’ (Garner, 2007: 118; see Figure 5).

**Figure 5: Migration over time 1991-2007**

In relation to the number of work permits issued, this reached a peak in 2003 when 47,000 were granted (see Figure 6).

**Figure 6: Number of work permits and asylum applications 1996-2005**

Source: Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment, and Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner

From Figure 6 it is evident that the number of work permits issued has largely exceeded that of asylum applications, except in 1999. Reasons for the sharp
Decline in asylum seekers include increased border security and a change in countries in which asylum is being sought by third-country nationals. Yet much of the focus of government and media has been on these asylum applications (Garner, 2007: 118). Rising rapidly from a very low base of less than 50 per year in the early 1990s, the number of asylum applications peaked at 11,634 in 2002, before falling to less than 4,500. As Garner notes:

Asylum applications are now outnumbered by work permits issued at a ratio of around 6.5:1, although this ratio was much lower in the 1990s. Moreover, EU nationals still constitute as large a proportion of immigrants as those forced to obtain work permits, and the largest 'ethnic minority' in the Republic today, strictly speaking, is UK nationals (Garner, 2007: 118).

However, although the number of permits issued dropped to 27,136 in 2005, a significant proportion of this reduction must be attributed to the accession to the EU of those countries that provided the majority of workers prior to 2004. In 2005 nationals of the Philippines, the United Arab Emirates, Romania, India and South Africa were those receiving the highest number of permits. The latest census figures included a new question on ethnic or cultural background. The census showed that 10% of the population (400,000 people) was made up of foreign nationals (O’Brien: 20/7/06). Table 6 summarises the headline figures.

In a recent consideration of the latest census data, however, Loyal (2007) claimed that the numbers could be far greater than estimated. This is because the numbers in many communities – in particular the Chinese community, which the census estimates puts at around 0.4% of the population – are far greater and under-reported due to people’s work visas having expired (Loyal, 2007). White was the predominant category accounting for nearly 95% of the usually resident

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30 Under the Dublin Convention (1994), now known as the Dublin II Regulation (2003), individuals must make their application for asylum in the first EU country that they enter. Refer to Irish Refugee Council Fact Sheet:
http://www.irishrefugeecouncil.ie/factsheets/dublinconvention4.html

31 Data on all applicants for work permits can be located from the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment, ‘Statistical tables and company listings for the employment permits section’:
http://www.entemp.ie/labour/workpermits/statistics.htm#byyear

32 An in-depth report on ethnic minorities is due on 26th July 2007 – Vol. 5 Ethnic or Cultural Background (including the Irish Traveller Community):
http://www.cso.ie/census/census_2006_publication_dates.htm

33 The following link provides CSO (2007) information on nationality and age breakdown:
http://beyond2020.cso.ie/Census/TableViewer/tableView.aspx
population. Persons of Asian or Asian Irish background accounted for a further 1.3%, while those who ticked the African box in the Black or Black Irish section made up 1% of usual residents. Nearly 85% of all migrant workers are from the EU (including UK). EU nationals are free to seek work in Ireland without any restrictions.

Table 6: Usual residents by ethnic or cultural background, 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Thousands</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Irish</td>
<td>3,645.2</td>
<td>87.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Traveller</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any other White background</td>
<td>269.0</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black or Black Irish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any other Black background</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian or Asian Irish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any other Asian background</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other including mixed background</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4,172.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CSO (2007: 27)

It is also important to note the age structure of non-Irish nationals compared to the existing population. Using data from the 2006 census, Table 2.2 shows that when compared to the total population the non-Irish national population is highly skewed towards the working age (25-44 years). Of the approximately 420,000 non-Irish in 2006, 12.6% or 53,000 are aged between 0 and 14 years, compared to 20.6% of the total population; 4.5% of non-Irish nationals are between 15 and 19 years of age, compared to just under 7% of the total population. Over half of all non-Irish nationals are between 25 and 44 years, compared to only 31.7% of the total population (Table 7).

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34 Information taken from a leaflet published by the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) and the Migrant Rights Centre Ireland (MRCI) (2007) What do you know about migrant workers and their families living in Ireland? Are you sure you have all the facts? (Dublin: NCCRI & MRCI).
Table 7: Age structures of non-Irish nationals, 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0-14</th>
<th>15-19</th>
<th>20-24</th>
<th>25-44</th>
<th>45-64</th>
<th>65+</th>
<th>ALL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Irish Nationals</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census 2006, Vol. 4: Table 36

Central Statistics Office (CSO) population projections suggest that by 2030, foreign-born persons could comprise about 18% of the Irish population, higher than the present rate in many high immigration countries (NESC, 2006). Unprecedented economic growth during the 1990s resulted in a significant increase in employment and the emergence of widespread labour and skill shortages (Barett, 2009: 2-3). The government responded to the request from employers for additional workers by making it relatively easy to recruit and employ workers from outside the country. As a result, since 1996, Ireland has been a net importer of people (see Figure 7). There are almost 170 nationalities now represented in the state reflecting the diverse nature of this immigration.35

Figure 7: Immigration and emigration trends 1994-2004

Source: NESC (2006: 13)

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35 Census 2006 breakdown of nationalities: UK 27%, EU-15 (excluding UK) 10%, EU New Member States (EU-10) 29%, Rest of Europe 6%, Asia 11%, Africa 8%, America 5%, Australia 1%, Other 3%.
The substantial increase in net inward migration since the mid-1990s generates a number of opportunities and challenges for the Irish economy and society. Migration has alleviated various labour shortages in the private and public sectors. Some migration has played a particular role in facilitating the growth of key knowledge-based industries (such as IBM in Leixlip and Google in Dublin) and the diverse population created by migration has also enriched the country’s social and cultural life (NESC, 2006). However, migration also poses a number of challenges. As the NESC notes, migration increases pressure on services and infrastructure, and raises issues in relation to social integration and society’s acceptance of cultural diversity. This is particularly relevant in a time of economic downturn:

Migrants with few or no skills may be particularly vulnerable to becoming unemployed and dependent on welfare benefits during an economic downturn. To this must be added the fear that migrants may undercut wages and take jobs away from the local workforce, and that their concentration in particular areas will undermine neighbourhood ties and change local culture. Irregular migrants can be exploited by unscrupulous employers, landlords and recruitment agents. New challenges arise in relation to disease surveillance. There are also fears that antisocial elements may take advantage of migrant communities in Ireland, such as traffickers of human beings, and other organized criminal activities (NESC, 2006: 1).

This is a very important point to note in the current economic climate. A report commissioned by the BBC World Service and undertaken by the Migration Policy Institute titled ‘Migration and the Global Recession’ (Fix et al., 2009) found that the global recession has had a profound effect on international migration. Fewer people are moving abroad for work but those who are already abroad are, for the most part, staying put and in general money being sent by migrants to their home country has declined (Fix et al., 2009: 12). Whilst the report notes that a large influx of immigrants, in particular from Eastern European countries, have left the UK and Ireland they highlight that those that stayed are vulnerable for a number of reasons:

Their low local-language skills and limited educational credentials; their concentrations in boom-bust sectors such as construction; their contingent work contracts and arrangements; and the discrimination they face that can be exacerbated in times of recession. The newest hired workers, as well as workers from nationalities that entered the labour market most recently, also may lack social and job networks that can help cushion the impact of recession (Fix et al., 2009: 6).
Significant challenges have arisen for immigrants in Ireland. Peter Sutherland, the UN Secretary General’s special representative on international migration and development, stated that ‘perceptions are becoming sharply more negative as foreigners are seen to take jobs, lower wages, and consume scarce resources, primarily in the form of social housing and other welfare benefits. However, when the great recession ends and policy makers focus again on attracting immigrants, we must bear in mind that no immigration policy can work if our societies are fundamentally unappealing to migrants’ (Sutherland, 30/7/09).36

Figures issued by the Central Statistics Office (CSO) highlight that the number of emigrants from the state in the year to April 2009 was estimated to have increased by over 40% from 45,300 to 65,100, while the number of immigrants continued to decline over the same period, from 83,800 to 57,300. These combined changes resulted in a return to net outward migration for Ireland (-7,800) for the first time since 1995 (CSO, 2009b: 1). Of the 65,100 people who emigrated in the year to April 2009, EU-12 nationals were by far the largest group accounting for 30,100, with Irish nationals being the second largest at 18,400. Immigration of all non-Irish national groups showed a decline, with those from the EU-12 countries again showing the greatest fall from 33,700 in April 2008 to 13,500 in April 2009, a decline of 20,200 (CSO, 2009b: 1). Some politicians such as Leo Varadkar TD (Fine Gael), as a response to the economic downturn, have suggested that the government should consider paying immigrant workers a lump sum payment of up to six months’ worth of unemployment benefit if they agree to return home (Edwards, 5/9/08). Recently, research by Crowley for the Migrants’ Rights Centre Ireland (MRCI, 2010) highlighted that it would appear that unemployment is now being managed by encouraging migrant workers to leave Ireland:

Migrant workers have a significant presence in the Irish economy, and they are experiencing high levels of unemployment. The possibility is offered to government to manage the unemployment figures by encouraging migrant workers to leave. The publication of the government’s Pre-Budget Outlook in November 2009 provided a telling indicator in this regard. The Pre-Budget Outlook included positive signals in relation to unemployment: it predicted a rise to 13.75% in 2010, rather than a fall, as some politicians had suggested. However, the reality is that unemployment is now being managed by encouraging migrant workers to leave Ireland.

36 Comments taken from Immigrant Council of Ireland Lunch attended by Peter Sutherland (30/7/09). http://www.immigrantcouncil.ie/press_detail.php?id=101
than the previously predicted 15.5%. Media coverage of the Pre-Budget Outlook attributed comment to a Department of Finance official that this more positive perspective was predicated on significant numbers of non-Irish national workers returning to their home countries in 2010 (Crowley, 2010: 9).

Again there is contradictory evidence on whether all migrants will leave, with research by the Irish Rural Link (IRL) finding more than 50% of economic migrants living in rural Ireland intend to remain in the state despite the downturn (Pope: 4/3/09). But how did the state respond to immigration? The next section examines the responses.

### 2.6 Irish Government Responses to Immigration

The response of the Irish government to immigrant has from the outset been *ad hoc* and short term. For the most part, the prevalence of employer-led short-term economic migration has contributed to Irish governmental understanding of immigration policy as a set of administrative/economic problems: the human and social dimensions to immigration have been largely left to NGOs, such as the Irish Refugee Council, Amnesty International and a variety local support groups (such as Ennis CDP and the Clare Immigrant Support Centre). Moreover, the legislative sluggishness, combined with a focus on asylum-seeking as ‘a drain on the country’s resources’ have been major influences on the public view of *all kinds* of immigration and associated policy. As a result, it is argued that since the mid-1990s racism is flourishing in Ireland (Garner, 2003; Lentin and McVeigh, 2002).

Until recently, the government’s public discourse on immigration tended to focus on asylum issues rather than the broader spectrum of immigration and the well-documented labour shortage that would require ongoing immigration to the country. In consequence, immigration has been treated as a temporary phenomenon. It is assumed that asylum seekers will eventually leave – either following the failure of their application or when it is deemed ‘safe’ to return home (Feldman, 2006: 95). This approach has ‘led to a focus predominately on the processing and reception of asylum seekers, and *ad hoc* and reactive development of policy and provision rather than more mainstreamed responses to increasing ethnic diversity and integration’ (Feldman, 2006: 95). Moreover, it is argued that such divisive and discriminatory practices – such as those limiting the
right to work or the repeal of the right of asylum seekers to apply automatically for leave to remain on the basis of their Irish-born child\textsuperscript{37} – have contributed to the marginalisation and disadvantage of all immigrants and to the growth of racism (Comhlámh, 2001; Fanning, 2002: 87-109).

Immigration policy is produced by three separate spheres of influence (see Figure 8): state policies and laws, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and supranational/regional agreements and laws.

**Figure 8: A topology of immigration policy**

Government policies include areas of state control in relation to immigration. These are: immigration laws and constitutional changes, acts of a parliament or other law-making body, naturalisation law, visa programmes including holiday/student, etc., border controls and the ability to control undocumented immigration. Immigration laws include all laws that pertain directly to

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\textsuperscript{37} 'Irish-born child' (IBC) usually refers to a child born in Ireland whose parents are not Irish or EEA citizens. Following the Citizenship Referendum in 2004, legislation was passed so that it is no longer possible for persons born in Ireland to obtain automatic citizenship.
immigration, separate from naturalisation law, which may be codified in the
constitution and/or a separate law. Tourist, work and specialty visas are a separate
category as they relate to other areas of state influence. Supra-national and
regional agreements or laws affect state policy. These are agreements which are
made with a regional power such as the EU, or on a global scale the UN, possibly
on a bi- or multilateral basis. For example, although it is not mandatory, all
signatories to the 1951 UN convention are expected to grant refuge or asylum to
anyone who meets the criteria (Goodwin-Gill, Jenny et al., 1985). As a result
many countries have developed internal policies which deal directly with refuge
and asylum. Regional agreements, such as freedom of movement in the EU, affect
government policies on many levels, mainly residence and work. Multilateral or
bilateral agreements would include, for example, the common travel area between
the UK and the Republic of Ireland. Finally, NGOs also form part of immigration
policy as their presence or absence can affect state policy. If a well-organised
NGO structure is in place in a state, it may have enough influence to intervene in
specific immigration cases. For example the Migrant Rights Centre, the Irish
Refugee Council and the Irish Council of Civil Liberties all act as lobbying bodies
to secure reforms in immigration law and also in the provision of services.

Ireland’s policy system for migration has been shaped by two main factors: the
increase in the number of refugees and asylum seekers in the late 1990s and the
perceived need to meet labour shortages by issuing work permits. Since the
enlargement of the EU in mid-2004, the emphasis has shifted significantly as most
inward migration is now from the EU, particularly the new member states.
Despite the large annual inflows of migrants to Ireland, necessary legislation and
policy concerning immigration have been constructed in a piecemeal fashion only.
The government itself has acknowledged that ‘in recent years, Ireland has had the
most open economic migration system in Europe’ (DJELR, 2005: 60). Much of
the focus during the 1990s was on how to respond to the increasing number of
asylum seekers arriving in Ireland, and immigration policy was left relatively
underdeveloped. Also it is becoming clear that, as labour migrants have flowed
into Ireland, new policy challenges have occurred outside of the work permit
system. The number of foreign students in Ireland has doubled since 2002, though
until recently there was little regulation of educational institutions or of the
student population, despite evidence that students are working in the informal labour market (NESC, 2006: 3). Over the past decade, a series of statutes\(^{38}\) have been passed in response to the rapid changes in immigration flows and emerging problems. The overall policy framework for managing labour immigration has been designed in a piecemeal rather than in a coordinated and consistent manner. For example, although a number of different departments are involved in regulating the admission and employment of migrant labour, there is currently no permanent interdepartmental committee or working group on migration. The following are the main departmental responsibilities for migration policy and migration-related issues:

- The Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform (DJELR) is the lead department for immigration and citizenship policy and, in that context, has the major responsibility for dealing with asylum matters, and operational responsibility for visa policy and processing, leave to remain and security issues.
- The Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) has responsibility for processing and issuing visas, although this is now shared significantly with DJELR.
- The Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment (DTE) has responsibility for labour migration policy and for monitoring and enforcement of employment law.
- The Garda National Immigration Bureau (GNIB, established in 2001\(^{39}\)) has responsibility for the enforcement of employment permits legislation, border controls, registration of non-nationals, deportation, anti-trafficking measures and investigations.
- The Department of Social and Family Affairs (DSFA) has responsibility for social assistance for migrants.
- The Office of the Minister for Integration\(^{40}\) takes the lead on integration initiatives.


\(^{40}\) Office serves the Department of Community, Rural, and Gaeltacht Affairs, the Department of Education and Science and the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform.
In addition, a number of other public bodies have some role in the overall policy response to migration, such as the Equality Authority and related bodies which promote non-discrimination, the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI), and the Central Statistics Office (CSO). Together, these contribute to what Lentin and McVeigh (2006: 2) refer to as ‘several categories of a “race relations industry” now in place in Ireland’. First, state agencies such as the Reception and Integration Agency (RIA) and the Office for Social Inclusion\(^{41}\). Second, state-funded equality and anti-racism bodies such as the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI)\(^{42}\), the Equality Authority\(^{43}\), and the Human Rights Commission\(^{44}\). Third, broadly based migrant-support NGOs, funded by the state, the EU and private sources, such as the Irish Refugee Council (IRC)\(^{45}\), the Immigration Council of Ireland (ICI)\(^{46}\) and the Migrants’ Rights Centre of Ireland (MRCI)\(^{47}\). Fourth, church-funded refugee organisations such as SPIRASI Asylum Services Initiative\(^{48}\), the Vincentian Refugee Centre\(^{49}\), the Refugee Service of the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace, and the Jesuit Refugee Service\(^{50}\). Fifth, migrant and minority-led groups, privately or EU-funded, such as Integrating Ireland\(^{51}\), ARASI\(^{52}\), the Africa Centre\(^{53}\), and the African Women’s Network (AKiDwA)\(^{54}\).

### 2.7 Paths of Entry and Entitlements

There are a variety of alternative routes of entry for immigrants to Ireland, which arise as a consequence of various international treaties and agreements that the Irish state has entered into. The Irish state, as a result of significant migration, has also established a variety of access routes for immigrants that are contingent on

\(^{41}\) Office for Social Inclusion: [http://www.socialinclusion.ie/](http://www.socialinclusion.ie/)
\(^{42}\) National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism: [http://www.nccri.ie/](http://www.nccri.ie/)
Since October 2008 this organisation no longer exists.
\(^{43}\) The Equality Authority: [http://www.equality.ie/](http://www.equality.ie/)
\(^{44}\) The Human Rights Commission: [http://www.ihrc.ie/](http://www.ihrc.ie/)
\(^{45}\) Irish Refugee Council: [http://www.irishrefugeecouncil.ie/](http://www.irishrefugeecouncil.ie/)
\(^{46}\) Immigration Council of Ireland: [http://www.immigrantcouncil.ie/](http://www.immigrantcouncil.ie/)
\(^{47}\) Migrants’ Rights Centre of Ireland: [http://www.mrci.ie/](http://www.mrci.ie/)
\(^{48}\) SPIRASI: [http://www.spirasi.ie/](http://www.spirasi.ie/)
\(^{49}\) Vincentian Refugee Centre: [http://www.vincentians.ie/VRC.htm](http://www.vincentians.ie/VRC.htm)
\(^{51}\) Integrating Ireland: [http://www.integratingireland.ie/](http://www.integratingireland.ie/)
\(^{52}\) ARASI: Association of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Ireland
\(^{53}\) The Africa Centre: [www.africacentre.ie](http://www.africacentre.ie)
\(^{54}\) African Women’s Network (AKiDwA): [http://www.akidwa.ie/](http://www.akidwa.ie/)
state constructions of citizenship and associated rights. Table 8 summarises the main migration channels into Ireland whilst chapter 6 provides a more detailed analysis of the employment entitlements of immigrants.

Table 8: Summary of the main migration channels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Main Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European Economic Area (EAA)</td>
<td>• EAA comprises the EU-25 member states plus Norway, Iceland, and Liechtenstein. EEA nationals enjoy the unrestricted right to migrate and take up employment in Ireland. Ireland has imposed restrictions on migrants from Bulgaria and Romania until 2011.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Work Permits                                  | • Available for certain occupations with a salary of €30,000 or more. Many occupations are not eligible (including clerical, retail, production and hospitality staff and most trades-people). Was granted for a very restricted number of occupations paying less than €30,000 per annum; this has now been removed (except in exceptional cases) since June 2009.  
• A labour market needs test must be met (which in practice means the vacancy must have been advertised with the Irish employment agency and local media and that no suitable EEA candidate was found) for 8 weeks with FÁS/EURES plus 6 days’ advertising in the national media.  
• Granted for 2 years initially, and then for a further 3 years. A new permit is usually required if the migrant wishes to change employer.  
• Spouses and dependants of principal work permit holders receiving permits from 1st June 2009 onwards, are required to apply for work permits in their own right.  
• From June 1st 2009 if a work permit holder becomes redundant they must notify the Department’s Employment Permits Section. They then have up to three months from the date of redundancy to seek alternative employment. If a person cannot get another job within three months of being made redundant they are expected to leave the country.  
• The renewal of any work permit granted after 1st June 2009 will be subject to a renewal fee of €1,500 for up to a 24-month permit (€2,250 for up to 36 months). |
| Green Cards                                   | • The applicant must have a valid job offer usually with a salary of at least €60,000 per annum. Also available for some jobs paying between €30,000 and €59,999. |

55 For a Complete list refer to the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment Appendix A Guide to Green Card Permits (March 2009):
| **Asylum Seekers** | • An asylum seeker has a legal right to seek refuge in Ireland under the terms of the Geneva Convention. While their application is being processed they are not permitted to work (except those who applied for asylum before 27th July 1999). Asylum seekers who arrived after April 2000 are placed in the direct provision scheme. |
| **Intra-Company Transfers** | • Allows for the transfer of senior management, key personnel and trainees from an overseas branch of a foreign multinational. The scheme was suspended in 2002 but resurrected in 2007.  
• Issued for two years, it can be renewed for a maximum of five.  
• People on the scheme will not build up rights to permanent residency. |
| **Spouses and Dependents** | • Spouses and dependents of those with Green Cards, work permits and intra-company transfer permits can apply for a work permit. A labour market needs test is not required. |
| **Business Permits** | • Available to someone who wishes to set up a business provided they transfer at least €30,000 to Ireland and employ two EEA nationals.  
• Available for one year, and may be renewed for a further year. |
| **Students** | • Can work 20 hours per week while studying ‘a recognised qualification’, or full time during the vacation, without a work permit. |
| **Graduates** | • From 10th April 2007, tertiary students may stay and work in Ireland for 6 months after graduation. This is to allow graduates time to find employment and apply for a work permit or Green Card. |
| **Working Holiday Visas** | • For people aged 18-30 from Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, Japan and New Zealand. Permits last for one year. Must not work for any one employer for more than three months. The number of permits is capped. |

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http://www.entemp.ie/publications/labour/2009/Guidelines-GreenCards-March09.pdf In April 2009 the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment Limited this list:  
http://www.entemp.ie/labour/workpermits/revisedgreencard.htm
Source: Information gathered from information provided by the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment and the Irish Refugee Council.

### 2.7.1 European Economic Area (EEA)

The European Economic Area (EEA) comprises the EU-25 member states plus Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein. EEA nationals enjoy the unrestricted right to migrate and take up employment in Ireland. During 2000-2004, EEA nationals constituted almost half of all non-Irish inflows (CSO, Population and Migration Estimates) and almost two-thirds of all non-nationals living in Ireland (CSO, 2002). Personal Public Service Numbers (PPSNs)\(^{56}\) provide detailed information on short-term immigration. Between May 2004 and November 2005, 160,853 PPS numbers were issued to EU-10 nationals in Ireland (Hughes, McGinnity, \textit{et al.}, 2007: 220). As a result of EU enlargement and the subsequent sharp increase in migrants arriving in Ireland from the EU-10 accession countries, the bulk of immigrants in Ireland today originate from the European Union. On 1\(^{\text{st}}\) May 2004, ten new countries acceded to the European Union\(^{57}\). Together with the United Kingdom and Sweden, Ireland granted accession state nationals unrestricted access to its labour market immediately upon EU enlargement (Ruhs, 2009). In May 2004, at the time of the accession of the 10 new member states, Ireland took the decision to impose a Habitual Residence Condition (HRC)\(^{58}\) in respect of social assistance payments from the Department of Social and Family Affairs (Pillinger, 2008). This decision was taken because of fears, widely expressed at the time, that Ireland’s welfare system might become the object of ‘welfare tourism’ and as Cousins (2006: 184) explains that ‘the greatly increased numbers of both asylum seekers and migrant workers had raised concerns among certain policy makers about the issue’. The residence condition requires a person claiming a social assistance payment to be habitually resident in the state or the

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\(^{56}\) PPSNs are individual identifiers required to take up a job or access state benefits in Ireland.

\(^{57}\) The ten accession countries are Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Estonia, Malta, Slovenia and Cyprus.

\(^{58}\) In order to be habitually resident the applicant has to have been living in Ireland with 'permission to remain' for two or more years. There are a number of factors taken into consideration when considering whether someone is habitually resident: the applicant's main centre of interest, length and continuity of residence in a particular country, length and purpose of absence from a country, nature and pattern of employment in a country, and future intention. For more information refer to: http://www.welfare.ie/publications/hrc.html
rest of the Common Travel Area for a continuous period of two years. An explanatory note in the Social Welfare (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 2004 specified that the HRC would apply to the following payments:

- Unemployment assistance
- Old Age (Non-Contributory) and Blind Pensions
- Widow(er)’s and Orphan’s (Non-Contributory) Pensions
- One-Parent Family Payment
- Carer’s Allowance
- Disability Allowance;
- Supplementary Welfare Allowance (other than once-off exceptional needs and urgent payments)
- Child Benefit.

A definition of the HRC was later outlined in section 30 of the Social Welfare and Pensions Act 2007 which inserted an additional subsection into section 246 of the Social Welfare Consolidation Act 2005:

(4) Notwithstanding the presumption in subsection (1), a deciding officer or the Executive, when determining whether a person is habitually resident in the State, shall take into consideration all the circumstances of the case including, in particular, the following:

(a) the length and continuity of residence in the State or in any other particular country;
(b) the length and purpose of any absence from the State;
(c) the nature and pattern of the person’s employment;
(d) the person’s main centre of interest; and
(e) the future intentions of the person concerned as they appear from all the circumstances.

This remains the relevant law whilst all decisions relating to habitual residence are based on the five criteria set down in European Court of Justice case law.

59 The Common Travel Area consists of The Republic of Ireland, Great Britain, Northern Ireland, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man.
62 The following factors, as set down by ECJ case law, are considered in the determination of a person’s habitual residence: length and continuity of residence; employment prospects; reasons for coming to Ireland; future intentions, and centre of interest. The following payments are subject to the habitual residency condition:
2.7.2 Access for Non-EEA Nationals

The regular channels of immigration and employment for non-EEA nationals, which Ireland can and does regulate, may be classified into employment-based and non-employment based channels:

- Work permits/Green Cards
- Working visas/authorisations and working holiday visas
- Asylum applications and refugee status
- Student visas
- Arrival as a dependant via family reunification or spousal dependent
- Business permissions
- Illegal residents.

Besides these paths of entry, individuals entering via the above routes may later acquire different forms of residency such as refugee status (in the case of some asylum seekers) or other forms of leave to remain including Irish-born child leave to remain. Currently it is estimated that 5% of the non-Irish resident population are refugees or are seeking asylum. Until recently the basic legislation governing entry and residence of non-Irish nationals was the Aliens Act 1935, and the Aliens Order Act 1946, as amended. With the rapid increase of immigration the 1996 Refugee Act was introduced to codify the provisions for dealing with asylum applications. The most significant change is the Immigration and Residence Bill (2008). Of particular relevance in the bill are the following points:

- Ministerial discretion in visa and immigration related matters
- Detention for those refused entry to the state
- Development of permanent migration system
- Reliance on enlarged EU to cater for Irish labour market needs
- Power to define family reunification systems to be located with the Minister
- Proposals to increase enforcement measures for immigration law
- Proposed extension to current removals process
- A commitment to an Independent Appeals Tribunal for asylum seekers.

Unemployment Assistance; Old Age Non-Contributory Pension; Blind Pension; Widow(er)'s and Orphan's Non-Contributory Pensions; Carer's Allowance; Disability Allowance; Child Benefit; One Parent Family Payment; Supplementary Welfare Allowance (other than once-off exceptional and urgent needs payments).


64 Mac Éinri (2006: 371) outlines that the Aliens Act 1935 and the Aliens Order Act 1946 are a draconian provision reflecting the origin of the acts from the First World War British legislation where all foreigners were regarded with suspicion.
While the Bill was welcomed by NGOs such as the IRC and ICI for being more transparent, the Ombudsman Emily O'Reilly has been critical of the government's refusal to allow her officials the right to inquire into the handling of asylum and immigration cases by the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, the Immigration and Naturalisation Service and other state bodies (Hennessy, 10/7/08). Other criticisms of the proposed Bill are that it does not provide an independent appeal mechanism for immigration decisions, the lack of family reunification opportunities for non-married couples and same-sex couples, and the requirement of foreign nationals to notify the Minister of an intended marriage. The next section will highlight details of the channels of immigration and the entitlements that the channels provide.

2.7.3 Work Permits/Green Cards

The great majority of non-EEA nationals who have taken up full-time employment in Ireland since the late 1990s were admitted under the work permit system, administered by the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment (DETE). In addition, in late 2003 the government began encouraging employers to give preference to workers from the EU accession countries. In November 2003, the DETE started to return applications for new work permits from workers outside the enlarged European Union, whenever workers from the EU accession countries were available to fill the vacancy. By August 2004, the DETE announced that it would no longer consider applications for new work permits for the employment of non-EEA nationals in low-skilled and/or low-wage occupations. The NESC notes that:

Together with EU enlargement, this shift towards a more restrictive and skills-based permit system contributed to a drop in the number of work permits issued from 47,707 in 2003 to 34,067 in 2004. Regarding new permits, at 606, the average monthly number of work permits issued from May 2004 to April 2005 was the lowest since 1999 (NESC, 2006: 20).

Between May 2004 and February 2006, 186,000 PPSNs were allocated to nationals of the accession states, out of which more than half went to Polish

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65 The New Civil Partnership Bill 2009 allows same-sex and unmarried opposite-sex couples to register their civil partnership for the first time. However, non-Irish nationals who wish to register in a civil partnership must also notify the Minister of an intended partnership.
citizens. At the same time less than 1,000 accession state nationals were signing on the unemployment register in March 2006, contradicting the ‘welfare tourism’ argument (Doyle, Hughes, et al., 2006: 13). The fact that almost 186,000 PPSNs have been issued since May 2004 does not mean that all of these migrants found a job, as the PPSN is also required for other purposes such as access to state services. However, cross matching of PPSNs with income tax records indicates that around 70% of those with a PPSN subsequently took up employment (Doyle, Hughes, et al., 2006: 62). In 2004 there were 21,270 registered non-EEA students in Ireland (about half from China, with most attending English language schools in Ireland)\(^66\). Until recently, all non-EEA nationals who came to Ireland for the purpose of studying, including those who came for short-term English language classes, were entitled to take up casual employment (20 hours part-time work per week, or full-time during vacation periods). Under revised arrangements in force since April 2005, access to casual employment is restricted to students attending a full-time course of at least one year’s duration, leading to a qualification recognised by the Minister for Education and Science. After completing their studies in Ireland, non-EEA students may apply for a work visa/authorisation, but only if their intended employment in Ireland falls within the designated occupations eligible under this scheme.

As of January 2007 the Employment Permits Acts 2003 and 2006 allow for the establishment, for the first time in Ireland, of a Green Card Scheme for occupations where high-level strategic skills shortages exist. This new Green Card Scheme replaces the Work Visa/Work Authorisation Scheme that has been discontinued. Applications may be made in respect of two categories of occupation, based on salary level:

(i) Firstly, where the annual salary (excluding bonuses) on offer is €60,000 or more, the Green Card Permit is available for all occupations, other than those which are contrary to the public interest.

(ii) Secondly, Green Card Permits are available in the annual salary range €30,000–€59,999 (excluding bonuses) for a restricted number of strategically important occupations\(^67\).

\(^66\) Data provided by the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform.

\(^67\) The occupations are as follows: Information Technology, Healthcare, Industry, Science Researchers, Financial, Industry/Services. For more information please refer to ‘Employment Permits Arrangements: Guide to Green Card Permits’.
Mary Coughlan, the former Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Employment, stated in April 2009 that ‘our immigrant population have and continue to make a significant contribution to our economy and to society as a whole here in Ireland. We need to ensure, however, that our flexible migration policies remain as a successful tool of Irish economic policy, that they are adapted on an ongoing basis to reflect the changing realities of the Irish labour market’. This statement was to announce new rules from June 2009 making it more difficult for non-EU workers to obtain Irish work permits. The changes require employers to double the length of time for which a vacancy is advertised before hiring a non-EEA candidate. Tougher conditions on renewals will mean that before a non-EU permit can be reissued, the job will have to be re-advertised to ensure there is still no suitable EEA candidate for the post. Permits will also no longer be issued for low-paid jobs (salary of less than €30,000) or for domestic workers and truck drivers. Also, mid-level occupations (pay of €30,000 to €60,000) are removed from the Green Card skills list, particularly in health care and financial services. It should be noted that if a person on a work permit or Green Card scheme becomes redundant they have up to three months from the date of redundancy to seek alternative employment. If they are unsuccessful in getting another job within three months of being made redundant they are expected to leave the country.

2.7.4 Refugee Status

Any person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of her/his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail her/himself of the protection of that country; or (any person) who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of her/his former habitual residence, is unable, or owing to such fear is unwilling to return to it. *UN (Geneva) Convention on Refugees, 1951.*

Ireland acceded to the 1951 Geneva Convention in 1956 and to the Protocol in


1969. Ireland does not have a long history of asylum legislation and the jurisprudence on asylum and refugee law is in its emerging stages. Refugees are either asylum seekers whose claim for asylum has been granted by the government in question, or people who have come directly to the country as refugees through humanitarian programmes. Refugees are likely to experience many of the same issues as asylum seekers in terms of background; however, the main difference is that they have for the most part the same entitlements as citizens, such as the right to work.

The Refugee Act 1996, as amended by the Immigration Act 1999 and the Illegal Immigrants (Trafficking) Act 2000, entered into force on 20th November 2000 and incorporates both the Convention and the Protocol into Irish law. The Refugee Act (1996) established the appointment of the independent Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner (RAC)\(^{70}\). RAC is responsible for the investigation of asylum claims and makes recommendations at first instance. The Refugee Appeals Tribunal (RAT)\(^{71}\) allows for the appeal of negative findings at first instance. The appointment of independent authorities to determine asylum applications represents a welcome advancement to the asylum process in Ireland. Provisions were made under the 1996 Act to establish the Refugee Advisory Board to advise the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform on all aspects of policy in this area. The Board with social partner representation has still not been established, fifteen years after the commitment was first made in the Refugee Act of 1996. Figure 9 outlines the cases processed by the Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner (ORAC). In 2008 4,584 applications were processed with 295 applications getting refugee status.

\(^{70}\) Refugee Applications Commissioner (RAC) [http://www.orac.ie/](http://www.orac.ie/)

\(^{71}\) Refugee Appeals Tribunal [http://www.refappeal.ie/](http://www.refappeal.ie/)
2.7.5 Asylum Seekers

Asylum Seekers are persons who seek to be recognised as refugees in accordance with the terms of the UN 1951 Convention\(^\text{72}\). An asylum seeker has a legal right to seek refuge in Ireland under the terms of the Geneva Convention. Asylum seekers generally have very few rights and entitlements. The rights of an asylum seeker are dependent on when she/he made his/her application. In Ireland, asylum seekers are not permitted, before the final determination of their cases, to leave the state or to seek or enter into employment nor to carry on any business or trade\(^\text{73}\). Those asylum seekers who entered Ireland before April 2000 are usually in receipt of full Supplementary Welfare Assistance payments and rent allowance if they secure private rented accommodation. However, by contrast, asylum seekers who arrived after April 2000 are provided for through a system of dispersal and direct provision. Under this system, asylum seekers are involuntarily housed around the country in hostels, prefabricated buildings and mobile homes. In contrast to earlier asylum seekers, they receive an allowance of €19.10 per

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\(^{73}\) The exception here is a select number of asylum seekers who were given the right to work. Asylum seekers who had made their applications in Ireland at least twelve months before July 27th, 1999, as well as those who applied for asylum in Ireland on or before July 27th, 1999 and had been in the state for twelve months, were all given the right to work.
week (€9.60 per child) that has not increased since it was introduced in November 1999. It is important to note that children of asylum seekers are the only children in the state not entitled to the children’s allowance, paid even to migrant workers whose children do not live in the state (Lentin, R., 5/7/07). There are a number of exceptions to the dispersal/direct provision regulations, such as 'reunification' with an immediate family member (i.e. a newly arrived asylum-seeker may be reunited with a spouse or partner already in rented accommodation) and those with an extreme medical condition.

In 1992, Ireland received only 39 applications for asylum; by 1996 the number had risen to 1,179. By 2001 the applications had risen to 10,325 and by 2002 it had reached its peak of 11,364. A sharp decline occurred in 2003 to 7,939 (see Figure 10) and applications fell again in 2004 to 4,265 (Irish Refugee Council, 2004). Loyal and Allen note (2006: 266) that these figures were presented as dramatic ‘but in absolute terms, Ireland received one of the lowest number of asylum seekers within the European Union (EU), with only 2.4% of the total number of applications in 2000, for example’. In 2008 the total number of applications received was 3,866, a 3% reduction on 2007 applications. The main countries of origin for asylum seeker applicants in Ireland from data available in 2008 were Nigeria (26.1%), Pakistan (6.1%), Iraq (5.3%), Georgia (4.7%), China (4.7%), and the Democratic Republic of Congo (4.4%)74. Although an asylum seeker may not be granted refugee status, he/she may be granted leave to remain in the state. This permission is granted at the discretion of the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform. It may be granted, for example, to a person who does not fully meet the requirements of the definition of a refugee under the 1951 Convention but who, the Minister decides, should be allowed to remain in the state for humanitarian reasons. Persons with Humanitarian Leave to Remain receive a residence permit which is renewable every year, pending an improvement in the situation in their country of origin. After five years, they can apply for citizenship.

74 Data from ORAC:
http://www.orac.ie/pdf/PDFStats/Annual%20Statistics/Final_Annual%20Report_Full%20version_31_03_Sec.pdf
Figure 10: Asylum applications to Ireland 1992-2005

Source: Refugee Applications Commissioner\(^75\)

In the 10-year period from 1994-2003 5,700 people were recognised as refugees in Ireland\(^76\). Figure 11 outlines the duration of stay of asylum seekers in direct provision and shows that 2,211 were in direct provision for more than three years.

Figure 11: Duration of stay of asylum seekers in direct provision

Source: Reception and Integration Agency (2009)\(^77\)

\(^{75}\) Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner; http://www.orac.ie/index.htm
\(^{76}\) Integrating Ireland, Sanctuary, January 2004, available at: www.integratingireland.ie
The government originally envisaged that a person would remain within the direct provision system ‘on a short-term basis (no more than six months)’ (O’Donoghue, 28/3/00). However, Figure 11 illustrates that due to delays in the system some people have been in direct provision for years. In 2005 the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform’s annual report identified a ‘need to ensure a proper mix of accommodation (e.g family, single male, single female)’ (DJELP, 2006: 41). Despite such statements, RIA statistics show that there are currently 54 centres both state-owned and commercial consisting of ‘hotels, guesthouses (B&B), hostels, former convents/nursing homes, mobile home sites and system built facilities’ (RIA, 2009: 14). Out of these, five centres currently house single individuals of both genders, three are for the use of families only (RIA describe ‘families’ as ‘including single parents and childless couples’), twelve for single males and thirty for a combination of single individuals of either or both sexes as well as families. The four self-catering accommodation centres are all mixed families and single people (RIA, 2009: 15). FLAC’s recent analysis on direct provision (2010) clearly stresses that direct provision is an industry as the state has entered into ‘contractual arrangements with private companies to provide accommodation and meals to asylum seekers, people seeking other forms of protection and people seeking to remain on humanitarian grounds. These companies are profit-making enterprises and have to tender for a direct provision contract’ (2010: 26). In 2001 the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform’s annual report noted the setting up of ‘a series of inspections by the RIA and Excellence in Tourism, the inspectors of Bord Fáilte approved premises’ (2003: 60). However, in 2002 the RIA established their own independent inspection process ‘to ensure that the highest standards in the provision of facilities are upheld’ with RIA inspections also carried out by RIA staff (FLAC, 2010: 31). The Secretary General of the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform set out the function of inspections in a letter to the Dáil Public Accounts Committee on 15th May 2008:

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77 Figure sourced from RIA data: http://www.ria.gov.ie/filestore/publications/RIADec%28A4%292009.pdf
The purpose of an inspection is to assess the physical condition of the centre and to ensure that the services contracted by the Reception and Integration Agency (RIA) on behalf of the Department are being delivered by the contractor...Inspectors are not given instructions to seek the views of residents or staff members during the inspection; however, if a resident or staff member seeks to talk to the inspector his/her views are recorded (Aylward, 15/5/08).

The RIA states that clinics are held in centres where residents can raise issues of concern about the running of the centre. FLAC research highlights that a total of 115 information clinics were held in 2008, an improvement from 2007 when only 88 were held (FLAC, 2010: 33). No data are gathered by the RIA on the number of complaints made by asylum seekers. The Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform, Dermot Ahern TD, stated in a written answer to a Dáil question:

The RIA does not compile statistics on the number of complaints or appeals received or actions taken following on from such complaints or appeals. If such statistics were to be compiled, they could not properly reflect the number and nature of such complaints and appeals or the resolutions reached because of the high level of informal activity enacted locally between centre staff, residents and others. However, the RIA does monitor all centres and follows up where spikes in volumes or types of complaints or incidents are noticeable. In such cases, the RIA will meet with management, residents and their representatives as appropriate in order to get an understanding of the issues and to assist in resolving such issues through consultation and appropriate action (Ahern, 9/7/09)\textsuperscript{81}.

Research undertaken by Ní Shé et al. (2009) described the accommodation for asylum seekers in one direct provision centre in County Clare called Knockalisheen:

Generally residents live in partitioned rooms, sharing a toilet and shower cabinet with one other family with a partition between them. If full families are accommodated, that is families with a father present, then they occupy a full (double) room but the family must include four people to qualify… The kind of shelter supplied by Knockalisheen might constitute a reasonable temporary provision but it represents a considerable deprivation for families who have to live at the centre for several years (2009: 49-50).

In response to this observation Mr Noel Dowling, Principal Officer with the Reception and Integration Agency, stated this was an ‘arguable point’ and went on to say:

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\textsuperscript{81} Answer in full is available on: http://www.kildarestreet.com/wrans/?id=2009-07-09.2250.0
The circumstances in which RIA was established are well known. Direct provision, run by the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, was the only system that could have fulfilled Ireland’s humanitarian and international obligations and, at the same time, not have created an economic pull factor for economic migrants using the asylum system to enter the state (Dowling, in Ní Shé et al. 2007: 100).

Despite these comments, Minister Dermot Ahern has stated:

> I am assured by the RIA that centres are not overcrowded. Indeed, all bedrooms are measured to ensure they conform to appropriate legislative requirements. Instances of temporary overcrowding may arise where, for example, there has been a birth in a family unit and arrangements need to be put in place to allocate additional space to the family (Ahern, 9/7/09).

Following his visit to Ireland in November 2007, Human Rights Commissioner Thomas Hammarberg’s report highlighted accounts of ‘overcrowding’ in direct provision centres and called on the Irish government to provide adequate family accommodation for families (Commissioner for Human Rights, 30/4/08).

It is worth noting Loyal’s claim that asylum seekers ‘have the least entitlement to social and material resources…they are the most disempowered group, since they lack the right to work and their access to education and training is severely limited…they are marginalised, excluded, poor and in many respects, they lack freedom’ (Loyal, 2003: 79). Despite this some members of the Irish public are under the impression that asylum seekers are ‘90% bogus’ and that they ‘take Irish jobs’. In relation to the habitual residence condition it is worth noting the Dáil response of former Minister for Social and Family Affairs, Martin Cullen TD, in relation to the position of the Department on assessing each habitual residence condition (HRC):

> Each case received for a determination on the Habitual Residence Condition is dealt with in its own right and a decision is based on application of the guidelines to the particular individual circumstances of each case (Dáil Debates, Vol 645 No. 1).

However, this is not the case in a document issued by the Department of Social and Family Affairs on 9th June 2008 entitled *Guidelines for Deciding Officers*.

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82 Answer in full is available on: [http://www.kildarestreet.com/wrans/?id=2009-07-09.2250.0](http://www.kildarestreet.com/wrans/?id=2009-07-09.2250.0)

83 As proposed by Brian Lenihan TD in answer to a Dáil question, cited by Myers (2003).

The Determination of Habitual Residence. The document outlined several categories of people who were ‘unequivocally excluded as incapable of satisfying the HRC, including asylum seekers or persons living in direct provision’ (FLAC, 2010: 58). Following on from this the Social Welfare and Pensions (No.2) Bill 2009 had the following effect: ‘At the last moment and guillotined in the Dáil without debate the law was changed to seek to ensure that no direct provision resident, ever, would be able to meet the test of habitual residence’ (FLAC, 2010: 9). This was introduced, FLAC claims, as a response to nine cases of people in direct provision brought by them to the chief welfare appeals officer where ‘clients of FLAC were found to have been eligible for limited social welfare because they satisfied the habitual residence condition, though they had been refused their benefits until those decisions were made’ (FLAC, 2010: 9).

2.7.6 Leave to Remain

Leave to Remain refers to permission granted to a person to remain in the state. This is granted at the discretion of the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform and may be granted, for example, to a person who does not fully meet the requirements of the definition of a refugee under the 1951 Convention, but who, the Minister decides, should be allowed to remain in the state for humanitarian reasons.

2.7.7 Family Reunification

There are no data publicly available on the annual inflows of non-EEA nationals admitted as family dependants. For some time, all non-EEA nationals aged 16 or over have been obliged to register with the Garda National Immigration Bureau.

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85 Publication available here: http://www.welfare.ie/EN/OperationalGuidelines/Pages/habres.aspx
86 The guidelines state: An asylum seeker is a person who has applied to the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform for recognition as a refugee and whose application has not yet been determined. S/he is allowed to stay in Ireland subject to certain conditions being met while his/her application is being examined. Such persons, while awaiting decisions on their applications or who have appealed a refusal of refugee status, cannot satisfy either the habitual residence condition or the normal residence condition for any DSFA payments (http://www.welfare.ie/EN/OperationalGuidelines/Pages/habres.aspx).
(GNIB)\textsuperscript{88} within 90 days of entering the state. Since the end of April 2006 those who are family members of EU nationals resident in Ireland, including children, must apply for a Residence Card to confirm their family relationship with an EU citizen. The Immigrant Council of Ireland records that queries on the family reunification application process constitute the largest single cause of people seeking their services (Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2006)\textsuperscript{89}.

Terms around family reunion remain poor both for refugees and migrants, particularly migrants working through the work permit scheme. Irish nationals are also not guaranteed family reunification. There is no right to family reunification in Irish law; people may apply for reunification to be considered after fulfilling specified criteria. However, family reunification is granted at the discretion of the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform. Non-EU parents of Irish children who were placed in a limbo situation following a Supreme Court ruling that meant they were not entitled to residency were required to sign away any right to family reunification in their application for residency\textsuperscript{90}. The Irish Human Rights Commission (IHRC) describes the lack of any legal right to family reunion for Irish citizens as a ‘lacuna’ and of concern given the increasing diversity of Irish citizens. It notes that the system seems to be \textit{ad hoc} and the system by which decisions are made lacks transparency\textsuperscript{91}.

\textbf{2.7.8 Parents of Irish-Born Children}

There is no two-tier system of Irish citizenship. It is not disputed that every person born on the island is entitled to be an Irish citizen; however, while an Irish citizen child has certain rights to remain in Ireland, these are not absolute. In cases where the non-national parents of an Irish-born child are found not to have an entitlement to remain in the State, the law recognises their responsibility in certain cases to bring their child out of the State with them (Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform,

\textsuperscript{88} The Garda National Immigration Bureau: \url{www.garda.ie/angarda/gnib.html}
\textsuperscript{89} One-third (4,185) of the queries to which the Immigrant Council of Ireland has responded since opening in 2002 (12,500 in all) came from people seeking information on the family reunification process or assistance in complying with it.
\textsuperscript{90} NCCRI, ‘E-Bulletin September 2005’: \url{www.nccri.ie/newssept2005.html}
Up to January 2003, foreign nationals who were parents of children born in Ireland could apply for permission to remain in Ireland on this basis. Between 1996 and February 2003, 10,500 parents were granted the right to remain in Ireland under this provision. In January 2003, the Supreme Court ruled that there was no absolute right to remain in Ireland on the basis of being the parent of an Irish-born child (the L. and O. cases). The facility allowing parents of Irish-born children to automatically remain was withdrawn from February 2003. At the time of the Supreme Court judgement ‘more than 11,500 applications for residence from parents with Irish citizen children were pending. The judgement provoked widespread confusion and fear amongst migrant families’ (Mullally in Fanning (Ed), 2007: 28). The media debates following the Supreme Court decision exposed a host of contradictions. According to Mullally (2003), reporting migrant numbers as ‘spiralling out of control’ fed into the irrational fear of the ‘other’ creating a climate of insecurity within which racism and xenophobia flourish.

In 2004, the Irish government decided to take action and a referendum was held to amend the Irish Constitution so as to remove the automatic right to citizenship to all those born in Ireland (jus soli – place of birth). By a majority of almost four to one, the electorate voted to amend the Constitution. Legislation based on this amendment came into force in January 2005 known as the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act, 2004. With this Act there has been a move from ‘unconditional to conditional jus soli’ and it is part of a wider move ‘not toward abandoning jus soli in total but making it contingent on legal residence requirements of a parent’ which is occurring in immigrant-receiving states (Joppke, 2008: 8). From January

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92 Written answer to Dáil question No. 1235 by Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform Michael McDowell to Sinn Féin deputy Aengus Ó Snodaigh, September 30th 2003.
93 This was enshrined in the Fajjounu case where in 1989 the Supreme Court ruled that Irish citizen children had the right to the ‘company, care and parentage’ of their parents within a family unit - Fajjounu v. Minister for Justice [1990] 2 IR 151; [1990] ILRM 234.
96 Some media portrayed immigrants as exploiting maternity health services (ignoring the contribution made by thousands of immigrant health workers).
2005 in order to be entitled to Irish citizenship a person must have a parent who is one of the following:

- An Irish citizen or entitled to be an Irish citizen
- A British citizen
- A person entitled to reside in the State without any restriction on his or her period of residence
- A person entitled to reside in Northern Ireland without any restriction on his or her period of residence (Section 6 Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act, 2004).

In the same month that the legislation was introduced the government also announced a once-off scheme allowing non-Irish parents who already had Irish-born children to apply for the right to remain. By September 2005, 10,600 parents of the 18,000 parents who applied for residency were granted permission to remain for two years. However, the system comes with stringent conditions. Applicants were/are required to make every effort to become financially independent and accept there is no entitlement to family reunification. Now as the law stands only children born in Ireland before 2005, or children born after that date with an Irish parent, have a constitutional entitlement to Irish citizenship.

### 2.7.9 Students

Students are not usually regarded as ‘immigrants’ in the classic sense. But recent years have seen a dramatic growth in the numbers of international students in the Irish education system. A survey by Education Ireland records a total of 22,947 non-Irish students registered in participating Higher Education Institutions in Ireland during the 2004-2005 academic year, 14,106 of whom are from non-EU countries. This figure does not include the much larger number of students enrolled in private language schools. In the case of the Chinese community alone, estimates of the number of Chinese students in Ireland vary from 13,000 to 60,000 or even more. Until April 2005 all non-EEA students could access the Irish labour market. Now only students pursuing courses which are of at least one

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year’s duration and which lead to a ‘recognised qualification’ may enter the Irish labour market. These non-EEA students are allowed to work up to 20 hours a week during term and up to 40 hours during holidays without the need for a permit. Students must be able to show a class attendance rate of more than 85%, and Gardaí can seek pay slips and bank statements to ensure they are not exceeding their work limits. The Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform is currently reviewing legislation pertaining to students as in the first three months of 2009; 29 foreign students were considered for deportation for breaching work permit conditions (Frawley, 12/4/09).

### 2.7.10 Illegal Residents

The number of illegal residents is not known. Almost no statistics exist on the number of illegally resident immigrants beyond the number of outstanding deportation orders (8,902). It is not known how many persons evading a deportation order remain in the state\(^\text{101}\). The number of people who were refused leave to land in 2004 was 4,477 (Irish Refugee Council, 2005). There are two categories of illegal immigrants: persons who enter the state illegally and continue to reside illegally, and persons who enter legally and whose residence status later becomes irregular (Quinn and Hughes, 2005). Research with health workers refers to a small but significant number of immigrants in Co. Clare whom they have met, with no legal status at all. For these people, ill health can be extremely stressful, with no medical card and no entitlement to any health care. Health workers gave the example of one illegal immigrant:

> She is HIV positive, but because of the fact that she was an illegal immigrant and does not want to go through the reception and information leaflets, we haven’t been able to get her a medical card, we haven’t been able to get any sort of social or community welfare or support and she’s been literally going from pillar to post. [-] the last I heard, she was going from friend to friend, but she is certainly extremely vulnerable economically, financially, emotionally and socially’ (Ní Shé, Lodge and Adshead, 2009: 55).

With no official entitlement to medical care or prescription drugs, illegal immigrants are forced to seek access to these necessities in whatever ways that

they can. They may, for example, turn up to deliver a baby then disappear again, with no way of following up with basic medical care (Ní Shé, Lodge and Adshead, 2009: 56). The Immigrant Council of Ireland has observed that illegally resident immigrants tend to take up ‘the 3-D (dirty, dangerous and difficult) jobs and the 3-B jobs (boring, below standard and badly paid)’ (Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2005). In one of the few research studies in which illegal immigration into Ireland is directly addressed, Conroy (2003a) comments on the tendency of illegal/irregular immigrants to be employed in the sex industry. She observes that compared to other European capitals the sex industry in Ireland is relatively new. More recent research commissioned by the Immigrant Council Of Ireland (O’Connor and Pillinger, 2009: 20-22) found that 102 women (11 of whom were children) were identified as having been trafficked into Ireland for the sex industry between January 2007 and September 2008. The report is critical of statutory services and finds services to be insufficient to protect women who have been trafficked and end up in prison or deported. They find ‘the State response is complicit with the interests of the trafficker and strengthens the position of the trafficker in relation to the woman who is trafficked’ (O’Connor and Pillinger, 2009: 22).

2.7.11 Access to Naturalisation/Irish Citizenship

Recently there has been a focus by organisations such as the MRCI on the difficulties immigrants are having in applying for naturalisation or Irish citizenship. Anybody legally resident or working in Ireland for more than five years is entitled to apply for long-term residency. The Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform has absolute discretion as to whether or not to grant naturalisation to an applicant. Figures provided by the Department of Justice,

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103 If you are applying for naturalisation based on your own residence in the State, the conditions for naturalisation are as follows: You must be of full age (i.e. eighteen years or older, or married if younger than eighteen). You must be of good character. You must have had a period of one (1) year’s continuous reckonable residence in the State immediately before the date of the application and, during the eight (8) years preceding that, have had a total reckonable residence in the State amounting to four (4) years (to find out what “reckonable residence” is, see the section below on Calculation of periods of residence). You must intend in good faith to continue to reside in the State after naturalisation. You must make a declaration of fidelity to the nation and loyalty to the State (see below for the point in the process at which this is required). The Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform has power (in his or her absolute discretion) to waive one or more of the above
Equality and Law Reform revealed that in 2008 there were 10,885 citizenship applications and 3,117 certificates of naturalisation were granted whilst 2,795 were refused, a rejection rate of 47%. Crowley outlines that anecdotal evidence suggests that applicants were being rejected for ‘petty reasons such as motor tax offences’ (2010: 17). In 2008 the average waiting time for citizenship to be decided was 23 months whilst in August 2009 a report published by the refugee information service found an average waiting time of 24 months for decisions on applications for family reunification for refugees and beneficiaries of subsidiary protection. Also in September 2009 the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform announced that a charge of €500 would have to be paid by a successful applicant for long-term residency where previous to this there had been no charge (Crowley, 2010: 17).

2.8 Policy and Service Provision

As outlined above, migration policy in Ireland has been of an ad hoc nature and has assumed that migration would be temporary. Policy has been driven mainly by economic necessity, with the work permits system primarily oriented towards the needs of employers to meet short-term labour shortages but on a time-limited basis and linked to one employer. The revised National Anti-Poverty Strategy (2002) entitled Building an Inclusive Society identified migrants and ethnic minorities for the first time as a distinct target for anti-poverty policies (2002: 17). However, the revised strategy, beyond a general statement of principle, did not set out distinct targets. The reason given was that very little information was available at the time about the socio-economic situation of foreign-born residents in Ireland. It was ‘not possible therefore, to define specific targets for this group as a whole or for a particular ethnic group at this stage’ (2002: 8). Yet any aspirations to ensure migrants and ethnic minorities did not experience risks of

conditions for naturalisation in certain circumstances as follows: Where the person is of Irish descent or of Irish associations, or is a parent or guardian applying on behalf of a minor child of Irish descent or Irish associations. Where the person has an entitlement to Irish citizenship if he or she was born on the island of Ireland. Where the person is a naturalised parent applying on behalf of a minor child. Where the person is the spouse of an Irish citizen or a naturalised person. Where the person has been resident abroad in the public service. Where the person is recognised as a refugee (under the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees) or a stateless person (under the 1954 UN Convention regarding Stateless Persons).

http://www.inis.gov.ie/en/INIS/Pages/Information_leaflet_No3
poverty clashed with subsequent government policies of removing welfare entitlement (Fanning, 2007: 251; refer further to chapter 6).

Migrants and ethnic minorities received just a one-paragraph mention in the 2007 report on the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion 2007-2016. However, the report did note that ‘integration is one of the most important challenges faced by Irish society over the coming years’ (2007: 66). Again specifics are not outlined but reference is made to the implementation of the National Action Plan Against Racism 2005-2008 (NPAR) where by 2008 ‘an opportunity will arise to review and to consider new strategies in the design and implementation of diversity policy (2007: 66)\textsuperscript{104}. The challenge of service provision by the public authorities for minority ethnic groups did not arise substantially until recently with one significant exception: the case of the Travelling community, widely recognised as an indigenous ethnic group. The Irish experience here has not been the happiest one and efforts until the relatively recent past were directed more at assimilation than towards recognition of the specificity of their needs as a separate community with ethnic and cultural norms of their own. As Fanning notes, ‘services configured towards the cultures, expectations and needs of a majority which wittingly or unwittingly neglect those of minority ethnic groups are likely to produce unequal outcomes for minority ethnic groups’ (Fanning, 2007: 13).

As discussed in this chapter the NESC report ‘The Developmental Welfare State’ (2005) argues that a radical redevelopment of services is the single most important route to improving social protection. Following on from the NESC report the National Economic and Social Forum (NESF) work ‘Improving the delivery of quality public services’ (2007) notes that one of the major issues facing the public service is how to move away from a system which has a one-size-fits-all approach to delivering services around an individual’s needs. The report identifies ‘the varying needs and experiences of people from different cultural backgrounds is presenting a range of challenges for service delivery’ (2007: 147). The report noted that the government would have to invest significantly:

\textsuperscript{104} A further plan has not occurred as the government scrapped the NCRRI who were responsible to the implementation of the plan.
For service providers to explore the specific needs of minority ethnic groups and then tailoring services to meet these needs. For capacity-building among minority ethnic groups to support engagement with service providers and negotiation of changes in service delivery (NESF, 2007: 147).

There is a critical need for new ethnic communities to be supported in order to address poverty and social exclusion within their communities and their contribution to long-term integration. The methodology chapter (3) profiles Co. Clare as the case study used for this research and looks specifically at how ethnic communities are supported in policy design.

2.9 Conclusion

It is clear that the Irish case exemplifies many of the problems ascribed to welfare state typologising, and more recently these same issues have been particularly recognised by the state strategic policy instrument, the NESC, also in the literature around the NESC Developmental Welfare State model. The chapter also highlighted both the external and internal impact of globalisation and as a result has argued that Ireland is an interesting case selection to test how the state has responded to immigration. By outlining the debates around defining Irishness the chapter argued that for immigrants these definitions pose a number of significant challenges living, working and accessing services within the Irish state. It is clear that official Irish policy responses to immigration are characterised by a contradictory dualism – between the economic reality that migrant workers were underpinning economic growth and the political reality that ‘foreigners’ are still not completely accepted as part of Irish society. Whilst the Irish state has clearly responded proactively to immigration, it has also created a layered citizenship for immigrants giving different rights and entitlements depending on the status of the immigrant. How do these varied paths of entry fit into Schierup, Hansen & Castles’ (2006: 41) three general types of incorporation: differential exclusion, assimilation, and multiculturalism? It is clear from the previous section that differential exclusion best fits those migrants on work permits and on Green Cards. Following Schierup, Hansen & Castles (2006) these migrants have been recruited and welcomed to Ireland as workers but not as settlers, as individuals but not as families or communities. With the changes in legislation since June 2009
the state has made it even more difficult to obtain work permits and Green Cards. Even those migrants currently in the country who become redundant have a limited time frame to find new work or they must leave the country. Fitting into this model also is an immigrant that either entered the state undocumented or with a work permit/Green Card that was not renewed. It can be argued that those in the asylum process fit into the ‘assimilation’ model as outlined by Schierup, Hansen & Castles due to the particular extremity of direct provision and the length it takes for asylum cases to be processed. Finally Schierup, Hansen & Castles’ multiculturalism model, with the caution about the discrepancies between the ideology and practice of multiculturalism, fits for those from the European Economic Area (EEA) and immigrants who have gained refugee status. Therefore, much like the NESC Developmental Welfare State that classifies Ireland as a ‘hybrid’ model, all three modes of incorporation can be applied to Irish state responses to immigration. The classifications will be developed further in the ‘case studies’ sections of this thesis.
Chapter 3: Methodology and Research Questions
3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined why Ireland is an interesting case in relation to state responses to immigration. This chapter provides an operational understanding of the methods which frame the empirical research presented in chapters 4, 5 and 6 and outlines the epistemological approach of the researcher. Epistemology is the study of knowledge and of how ‘true’ knowledge is notable from ‘false’ or inadequate knowledge. Empirical analysis is undertaken at three levels in this thesis: international, national and local. The purpose of the international (chapter 1) and national level sections is to establish both the historical context and whether policies introduced at these levels have filtered down to the local level. Therefore, the principal focus of the empirical analysis is on the local level experience. This chapter describes why County Clare was selected as a case study to explore the experience of immigrants and service providers in Ireland. The method used in this thesis is both qualitative and quantitative. The chapter profiles the immigrant population of County Clare and key service providers working in the county. The chapter then proceeds to outline the nature of case selection, data collection and analysis processes. The focus of the methodology was to test an emancipatory methodological practice with the aim of including the researched in generating, analysing and representing the data. The projects undertaken to test this approach will be outlined and the subsequent results presented, with a particular focus on the benefit for universities in supporting such a method. The first section looks at what’s involved in testing an emancipatory approach.

3.2 Testing an Emancipatory Approach

Some have argued that traditionally academic research has been seen as an impersonal activity with researchers expected to approach their studies objectively and to adopt a stance of distance and non-involvement whilst undertaking their research. This dilemma has been addressed in particular by several feminist scholars and researchers (Bowles and Klein, 1983; Harding, 1991; Lather, 1991; Hay (2002: 63) usefully summarises that ‘ontology relates to the nature of the social and political world, epistemology to what we can know about it and methodology to how we might go about acquiring that knowledge’.
Lentin, 1993; Lynch and O’Neill, 1994; O’Neill, 1992, 2000; Byrne and Lentin, 2000) and more generally in the social sciences (Barnes, 2003; Bernstein, 1983; de Koning and Martin, 1996; Oliver, 1992; Reason, 1988; Reason and Rowan, 1981). Colonisation by experts is especially acute for low-income working class communities and for ethnic minorities and other groups such as Travellers, whose cultural traditions are strongly oral (Lynch and O’Neill, 1994). A lack of recognition of participants is oppressive in that as Young (1990: 39) notes it inhibits a person/group from developing their capacities and expressing their needs, thoughts and feelings. Some researchers such as Lynch have argued that this form of research ‘can and does operate as a form of colonization. It creates public images about groups and contexts of inequality (in both academic and the policy world) over which most people participating in the pain and marginalization of injustice and inequality have little or no control’ (Lynch in McNiff et al. (eds.), 2000: 63).

This was an important challenge in the undertaking the research for this thesis, particularly as the participants included immigrants. The researcher was mindful of the work of Cotter (2004) that catalogued the proliferation of research done in the areas relating to immigration and asylum from 1998 to 2004 in Ireland. In that five year period the report identified 275 research reports and papers conducted across 30 thematic areas by contract researchers, academics, NGOs and government agencies (Cotter, 2004). Added to this, local authorities and groups have had to carry out smaller projects to assess the needs of the communities in their catchment areas. Many larger NGOs have contributed to policy advocacy at a national level whilst university-based researchers have responded both internally and externally. Whilst as Feldman notes this has generated a rich knowledge base, it has ‘led to duplication, inconsistent quality and findings that are too incommensurate to be usefully applied in a more comprehensive way’ (2006: 97).

In light of this extensive amount of research it is not surprising that immigrants are becoming increasingly critical of the process and its consequences (Feldman et al., 2002: 4). Research by Feldman (2003) and Cotter (2004) identifies problems occurring in three key areas relating to the research process:

1. Poor research skills and implementation of the research process, including deficiencies in researcher’s familiarity with the topic and the
target communities, a lack of coordination among institutions undertaking research, and a failure to consult with target groups.

2. Insufficient capacity of researchers and those commissioning research, related to the lack of contacts, relationships and coordination between researchers and relevant stakeholders as well as inadequate training in research methods and practice.

3. Poor or ineffective application of research output. Research tends to be predictable where more specialisation is needed, particularly with regard to the diversity of communities and groups within communities.

Cotter (2004) particularly recommends a need for a coordination of research that is community led and policy driven. He proposes that:

Community groups or other representatives of marginalized groups would be involved on an ongoing basis in planning, monitoring and commenting on research. They would play a very different and more powerful role than when their opportunity to participate in or engage in dialogue depends on the will of the researcher (Baker et al., 2004: 184).

Following on from these issues and summarising the work of Cotter (2004) and Feldman (2003) the following best practices are to be considered when undertaking the research process. These were of particular influence to the researcher:

- The research is controlled by service users from the outset, with service users identifying and prioritising the research question.
- The project is funded adequately, to ensure that all those involved can be paid for their time and expertise.
- The timescale is realistic to allow enough time for the research to be completed in an inclusive way.
- Those involved in the project work hard to ensure that power relationships between researchers and participants are more equal.
- Any tensions or conflicts of interest are acknowledged and explored.
- The project seeks to support the empowerment of those involved in it and, where possible, the empowerment of the broader community.
- The project is accessible. Establish a language that everyone can use to talk about processes and structures. Academic language can put people off. Results should also be reported in a variety of ways.
- Support and training are available to researchers involved in the project in undertaking the research and analysing the data.

Therefore the agenda for research and theory must be set in dialogue with communities themselves and not in reference to the professional interest of the researcher alone. Action research, evidence-based research, community-based participatory research and emancipatory research have become increasingly important and accepted as innovative research practices (Joseph Rowntree
Foundation, 2005; Flicker et al., 2008). More recently much has been written on how to bind community-university relationships (Baker et al., 2007, 2006, 2004; Hart and Wolff, 2006; Hart, Maddison and Wolff (eds), 2007).

For many, undertaking a PhD can be an isolating process. Having in particular reviewed the work of Cotter (2004) and Feldman (2003) this researcher wished to undertake an emancipatory approach whilst undertaking the fieldwork that would include the research participants from the start. Specifically, this researcher had undertaken a MSc. in Equality Studies and wished in particular to test the theoretical emancipatory methodology framework as outlined by Baker et al. (2004) in Equality: From Theory to Action. The book questions if it is possible to create knowledge and understanding through partnership between the researcher and the research subjects. Baker et al. (2004: 169) argue that questions chosen for research, and the ways that research is conducted and used, can have significant effects on inequality. As Baker et al. note:

Poor people, Travellers, asylum seekers, disabled people, children and, increasingly, women become the subjects of books and papers in which their lives are recorded by professional experts who are frequently removed from their culture and lifestyle. This creates a context in which professional researchers, and the policy institutions and state departments that pay them, know and own a part of some people’s world about which those people themselves know very little. By owning data about oppressed peoples, the ‘experts’ own part of them (Baker et al., 2004: 173).

Critical theory (as developed by Habermas (1971) in particular)\textsuperscript{106}, Marxism, feminist theory and other interdisciplinary fields of investigation focused on transformative action, including women’s studies and disability studies, have played a central role in generating a critique of positivist discourse and have been an important part of the development of emancipatory research and theory. The

\textsuperscript{106} Habermas (1971) describes three basic human interests, each of which leads people to acquire a different kind of knowledge. These areas determine categories relevant to what we interpret as knowledge. Technical knowledge is the first domain and centres on information about the cause and effect in relationships, e.g. physics, chemistry and biology. The second is practical knowledge that identifies human social interaction and is acquired through language and communication with each other. Disciplines such as descriptive social science, history, legal, and so forth are classified by Habermas as belonging to the domain of the practical. The third domain, emancipatory knowledge, is gained through critical self-reflection. According to Habermas, examples include feminist theory and the critique of ideology.
aim of emancipatory research is to increase ‘awareness of the contradictions hidden or distorted by everyday understandings’ and in so doing to direct ‘attention to the possibilities for social transformation inherent in the present configuration of social processes’ (Lather, 1986: 259). In relation to the research process, Oliver claims:

The issue then for the emancipatory research paradigm is not how to empower people but, once people have decided to empower themselves, precisely what research can then do to facilitate this process. This does then mean that the social relations of research production do have to be fundamentally changed; researchers have to learn how to put their knowledge and skills at the disposal of their research subjects, for them to use in whatever ways they choose (Oliver, 1992: 111).

Baker et al. (2004: 179-183) set four core principles of an emancipatory approach based on:

- Ethical Issues: Unless the research is shared with those who are directly affected by it research data can be used for control, abuse and manipulation. The importance of democratising research therefore arises. Emancipatory research recognises the right of research subjects to exercise ownership and control over the knowledge produced about them.

- Reciprocity in the research relationship: Reciprocity implies give and take where there is a mutual negotiation of meaning and power. Everhart has presented reciprocity as ‘an excellent data gathering technique’ (1977: 10) because the researcher moves from the status of stranger to friend and thus builds a trust that allows data to be gathered more easily. Reciprocity demands that the research enables people to know and control their world by engaging participants from the start of the research planning and design (Baker et al., 2004: 182). Baker et al. (2004: 182) recognise that for reciprocity to work requires ‘time, trust and negotiation’ and requires the integration of a mutual education process which imposes a time and resource constraint on research.

- Dialogical theory building: A feature of emancipatory research is building theory through dialogue rather than expert imposition (Lather, 1991). Research respondents are therefore not only involved in the design but also in the construction and validation of meaning.

- Reflexivity: Consistent reflexivity is an essential outcome of emancipatory research and it requires to be guided by a commitment to change and democratic engagement. By reflecting upon and the acknowledgement of one’s own objectives and biases

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107 Everhart’s article outlines his evolution from detachment to involvement in a study of student life in a US junior high school.
one can ‘retain an awareness of the importance of other people’s definitions and understanding of theirs’ (Baker et al., 2004: 183). This can also become part of the research findings.

Within current emancipatory discourses the option of whether or not to utilise emancipatory methods is left to the researcher. In *Equality: From Theory to Action* Baker et al. (2004: 183-184) advocate that Research Coalitions be set up whereby participants can be involved in the research from the planning stage, through to monitoring and commenting on the results. The participants have the opportunity to define the research agendas that impact on their lives. Researchers also have to justify and explain the research format and the theory used.

Baker et al. (2004: 184-185) admit that some difficulties arise from Research Coalitions, in particular the danger that when doing research with a community group, this group may only partially represent those whom they advocate for. Therefore constant monitoring of the representativeness of the community and related groups is required. Regular contact is also required to identify needs and interests and to resolve any barriers that may arise. Barriers include language usage, attitudes and life experiences, and difference in research expertise. Learning Partnerships need to be established when undertaking Research Coalitions:

- Mutual education forums for academics, researchers and community members, so that each could share their definitions and interpretations of issues and events. In this way research agendas could be assessed and prioritized. The Research Coalitions and Learning Partnerships would inevitably facilitate action for change, as the communities where action is required would be directly involved in defining and interpreting their own situations. The research understandings available to them would be a powerful tool in negotiations with politicians and policy makers (Baker et al., 2004: 185-86).

Both Learning Partnerships and Research Coalitions can be used as a method to gather data, to influence and implement policy, and as a means of ‘realizing change’ (Baker et al., 2004: 186). Baker et al. (2004) urge through learning partnerships that the data be disseminated in accessible form to those about whom

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108 This is not just a problem within community organisations. Research by Popadopoulos (2003) noted a deficit in the formal representative systems of governments in relation to problem-solving and also in terms of responsiveness and accountability.
it is written or whose lives are affected by it (Baker et al., 2004: 186). Added to this, equality action plans need to be developed once the data have been collected to link the results into a political forum so that ‘the knowledge does not become redundant and divorced from action’ (Baker et al., 2004: 186). Baker et al. (2004: 183) admit that undertaking an emancipatory approach is intense, time consuming and that it does increase the cost of the research. With this framework outlined, the rest of this thesis describes the researcher’s own experiences in implementing this emancipatory framework. The next section discusses questionnaire design and the theoretical framework.

### 3.2.1 Questionnaire Design and the Theoretical Framework

Chapter 1 outlined Schierup, Hansen & Castles’ (2006: 41) three ‘modes of incorporation’: differential exclusion, assimilation and multiculturalism. Chapter 2 looked at how these three modes were visible from state responses at a national level. Through the lens of three case studies the proceeding chapters investigate if these modes are visible at a local level. The principal research questions ask:

- How have policy initiatives at national level impacted on a local level?
- What are the experiences and challenges for service providers in working for and with immigrants?
- What are the experiences of immigrants in accessing services in County Clare?
- Does the status of an immigrant have an impact on their experiences?
- Have immigrants integrated in County Clare? What have their experiences been?
- How important is English language acquisition?
- What are the experiences of immigrants in accessing education?
- What are the experiences of immigrants in accessing employment?

The detailed analysis of local experiences of immigrants and service providers in this thesis is provided by data derived from two research projects undertaken in County Clare.

Two draft questionnaires were put together based on the audit by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) Assessment Framework
(Beetham et al., 2001)\textsuperscript{109}. This audit in 2007 was used by TASC (independent think-tank in Ireland)\textsuperscript{110} in assessing democracy in Ireland (Hughes et al., 2007).

From the perspective of a country’s citizens the IDEA audit can:

- Serve to raise public awareness about what democracy entails, and public debate about what standards of performance people should expect from their government
- Provide systematic evidence to substantiate popular concerns about how they are governed, and set these in perspective by identifying both strengths and weaknesses
- Contribute to public debate about ongoing reform, and help to identify priorities for a reform programme
- Provide an instrument for assessing how effectively reforms are working out in practice.

The audit’s overall structure of the assessment framework is derived from democratic principles and mediating values to include four main pillars, each of which has further divisions used to organise 90 search questions (15 overarching questions and 75 specific questions) that form the core of democracy assessment. These main pillars are as follows (as outlined by IDEA):

- **1. Citizenship, law and rights.** Democracy starts with the citizen, and the subject of the first pillar of the framework is the rights of the citizen and the ability of the state to guarantee equal rights of citizenship to all through its constitutional and legal processes. The assessment includes civil, political, economic and social rights.
- **2. Representative and accountable government.** The second pillar comprises the institutions of representative and accountable government, including the electoral process, the political party system, the role of parliament or the legislature and other institutions in securing the integrity and accountability of government officials, and civilian control over the military and police forces.
- **3. Civil society and popular participation.** The third pillar is devoted to what is conventionally called ‘civil society’. Democratic institutions depend for their effective functioning both on guaranteed rights upheld by the legal process and on an alert and active citizen body.
- **4. Democracy beyond the state.** The fourth pillar concerns the international dimensions of democracy. Its rationale is that countries do not form isolated units, but are mutually interdependent, especially in their degree of democratic progress. The assessment takes into account the external influences on a country’s democracy and the country’s democratic impact abroad (Landman, 2008: 12).

\textsuperscript{109} Idea Framework. Refer to: http://www.idea.int/

\textsuperscript{110} Refer to the TASC website: http://www.tascnet.ie/
The two draft questionnaires used in this thesis were based on questions from pillar 1 (Citizenship, law and rights), and from pillar 3 (Civil society and popular participation) as they focused upon service delivery, rights and entitlement, and citizenship and integration. The themes for the questionnaires were also used as guidance for focus groups discussions. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 therefore consider the experience of immigrants and service providers and explore whether the three ‘modes of incorporation’ can be applied in their experiences of integration, education and employment (Schierup, Hansen & Castles, 2006: 41). More specifically, chapter 4 will explore whether the three ‘modes of incorporation’ can be applied to the experiences of immigrants and service providers in integrating in County Clare. Chapter 5 will highlight how education and, more narrowly, learning the local language, are especially important in helping immigrants to begin communicating with people around them and to begin understanding local conventions and values. Chapter 6 will illustrate how the world of work can help to create solidarities between immigrants and more established communities. It is important to outline that in chapter 6, whilst a focus group was arranged and confirmed (21/5/07) with employers, no employer attended. The chapter is therefore more dependent on immigrant experiences of employment in contrast to chapters 4 and 5 that include service provider testimonies. The next section starts by profiling County Clare used in the fieldwork.

3.3 Case Selection

This section profiles the immigrant population in County Clare. Figure 12 provides a map of the county highlighting its main towns and villages. County Clare is a largely rural county with relatively small towns and does not represent a typical cross-section of the Irish experience. However, Co. Clare was identified and used as a case study for this research due to the profile of immigrants in the county and as a result of the invitation of community groups and service providers to undertake research in gathering the evidence used. In this section an overview of the way in which the immigrant population of Clare is constituted is provided.
The CSO statistics on ‘Usual Residence, Migration, Birthplaces and Nationalities’ (2007c: 36) stated that the overall population of Co. Clare was 108,760 from Census 2006 data. From that 12,015 or 13% can be categorised as non-Irish born, 3% higher than the state’s average of 10%. From Table 9, UK nationals comprise the largest percentage of non-Irish born at 3.19% of the Co. Clare population, followed by people from EU-15 to EU-25 accession states at 2.22%. It’s also worth noting the number of respondents to the census who did not specify a nationality at 1,143. Despite the diversity of immigration, it is possible to begin to think of immigrants in Clare in terms of six typical or generalised clusters.

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111 Map provided by Clare County Council: http://www.county-Clare.com/Clare_map.htm
112 Piaras Mac Éinrí’s ‘Mapping Migration: What Can We Learn from the 2006 Census?’ provides a county breakdown using CSO data. County Clare is available, however British Citizens are not included. Refer to: http://migration.ucc.ie/pdfmaps/Clare.pdf
### Table 9: Persons usually resident in Co. Clare, Male and Female, 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County of Residence</th>
<th>Co. Clare</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>108,760</td>
<td>54,950</td>
<td>53,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Irish</td>
<td>96,745</td>
<td>48,567</td>
<td>48,178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>95,269</td>
<td>47,857</td>
<td>47,412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Other</td>
<td>1,476</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>3,742</td>
<td>1,880</td>
<td>1,862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU15 excluding Ireland and UK</td>
<td>1,204</td>
<td>573</td>
<td>631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU-15 to EU-25 accession states</td>
<td>2,421</td>
<td>1,530</td>
<td>891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other European Nationality</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America (United States)</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>984</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Nationalities</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi Nationality</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Nationality</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Nationality Stated</td>
<td>1,143</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>568</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** CSOc 12 July 2007: Table 35A, 35B and 35C

#### 3.3.1 Young EU Accession Migrants

Members of this group typically holding work visas; this cohort is usually highly qualified, highly mobile, with loose networks of friends/acquaintances. This cohort tends to be under the age of 35 and gender mixed, and it shares accommodation in groups of single workers. Its members tend to share houses in the private rental market. They often have good English language skills and their educational attainment make this group relatively problem free.
3.3.2 Older EU Accession Migrants

Usually trade or craft workers, often employed in the construction industry, members of this group typically enter the state with work permits. This cohort tends to be primarily male and although it may comprise a spectrum of ages, the majority of older immigrants (aged 40+) will be in this category. They tend to share houses in the private rental market, again typically as groups of single workers. Their poor English language skills and their lesser educational attainments may lead to difficulties if they need to access local services.

3.3.3 Africans

Often, though not always, refugees, members of this group usually comprise family groupings, engaged primarily in childcare, with difficulties entering the labour market. In our survey of refugees and migrants, 29 out of our 52 respondents were African, though this high proportion may have reflected African predominance within fieldworkers. Fifteen of the 29 respondents were Nigerian. Africans tend to live in single familial occupancy in the rental market, assisted by rent allowance. Of the 29 African refugees/asylum seekers more than half were living in private rented accommodation, only two in council houses and four Nigerians owned their own homes. Amongst our Nigerian group of survey respondents, for example, five of the 15 held university degrees, five held post-secondary diplomas, and one had a civil engineering qualification. We did not ask questions about present employment situation in our questionnaire directed at asylum seekers and refugees. Of the five Africans who completed questionnaires amongst the migrants attending language classes, two were unemployed, a Sudanese and a Moroccan. A Tanzanian worked in a hotel and of the two Nigerians, one was a student and one was employed as a personal assistant.

3.3.4 Roma (primarily Czech and Slovak)

Ireland, like other European countries, has experienced the arrival of Roma people since the nineties. Because there are no data regarding ethnic origin it is difficult to estimate the number of Roma residing in Ireland. According to a 2005 report (Lesovitch, 2005), there were between 2,500 and 3,000 Roma in the country. The enlargement of the EU to Romania and Bulgaria in January 2007 led to an
increase of migration to the country (Roma Cultural Meditation Project, 2007). Roma families are well-established in Ennis, with an estimated population of around 300-400. Members of this community have been settling in Ennis for at least six years, first through the asylum process and later as members of EU accession states. Typically, members of this community live in family groups, with no access to the labour market, poor language skills and low educational attainments. They often experience difficulties with work, health and accommodation. As the Roma are nomadic, it is not unusual for them to arrive in Ennis to travel around, picking up seasonal work and later moving on to England and Europe.

3.3.5 UK Nationals

These are by far the largest immigrant group with the most diverse educational, familial and occupational characteristics. Whilst the historical ties between Ireland and the UK perhaps warrant idiosyncratic relations between nationals of the two states, the experience of many UK immigrants still provides us with an important indication of Irish responses to immigration. Although UK immigrants share many socio-cultural attitudes and values with their Irish counterparts, instances where they are made to feel separate and/or different are commonplace. UK immigrants (often with Irish family connections, by birth or marriage) nearly all made some reference to the fact that ‘racism against the English doesn’t count’ (Clarecare Focus Group, 29th May 2007). Reference was made to UK nationals feeling uncomfortable due to inappropriate or offensive jokes (Clarecare Focus Group, 29th May 2007), whilst others more comfortably used the Irish colloquialism ‘blow-in’ to refer to their status in the community (Scariff Ethnic Minorities Focus Group, 1st June 2007). Some expressed the view that UK immigrants had a quite separate identity to more recent immigrants who had integrated better: ‘I'm English and I've been here for 18 years and I think there's big changes recently, particularly with the Polish people coming in; the Polish people are very accepted in my opinion. I have had quite a lot of racism, I mean technically I had two Irish parents so am I English or am I Irish? I've lived here 18 years’ (Scariff Ethnic Minorites Focus Group, 1st June 2007). Notwithstanding the complex ‘Irish/English history’, the persistence of perceptions of difference from
long-term immigrants is significant since in some ways they provide a litmus test for future integration. Anecdotal evidence from ‘successful’ or ‘well-established’ UK and Polish immigrants, for example, suggests that the Irish model of immigration is better understood as one where separate identities co-exist, rather than one where immigrants are easily assimilated into an all-encompassing Irish identity.

3.3.6 Refugees and Asylum Seekers
Currently there is no breakdown of the number of refugees residing in Co. Clare. However, Ennis Community Development Project (CDP) estimate that there are 1,300 refugees and asylum seekers living in Ennis (Ennis CDP, 2007: 5). In comparison to the decrease in national figures, the number of asylum seekers in Clare has remained largely constant. During the period May 2005 to May 2006, numbers dropped from 364 to 304 (Finn, 2006: 11). The asylum seeker population in Clare is made up of those in direct provision in Clare Lodge, Ennis (capacity 65) and those in Knockalisheen, Meelick (capacity 300). Clare Lodge is a dedicated facility for housing single males while Knockalisheen accommodates families, single females and single men.

3.3.7 New Immigrant Patterning Across the County
As stated above, around 13% of County Clare’s population is non-Irish born: this proportion includes more than 3,000 United Kingdom nationals, the largest group of immigrants into the county. The European Union contributes another 3-4000 immigrants including about 400 Roma. Nearly 1,000 African immigrants live in Clare and they probably make up a significant proportion of the current asylum-seeker refugee population of around 1,300. A further breakdown of available census data for towns (Table 10) highlights significant non-Irish born communities developing: in Ennis at 3,743 or 16%; Shannon 1,578 or 17.6%; and Kilrush having 276 or 10.6%.
Key service providers in the county are outlined below. Agencies that target ethnic minorities have a specific aim or objective in their strategic plan addressing the needs of the beneficiary population. Agencies that service the beneficiary only deliver services that are accessed by the beneficiary population. For example, schools such as Educate Together in Ennis do not target ethnic minorities. That said, the school has a significant percentage (48%) of children from non-Irish national backgrounds.

**Agencies targeting and servicing ethnic minorities in Co. Clare**

- Clare Care is a voluntary social service organisation providing a range of personal social services throughout the county.
- Citizens Information Service is a country-wide voluntary organisation providing free, confidential and impartial information, advice and advocacy services to members of the public on their rights and entitlements.
- Clare Immigrant Support Centre is a support and advocacy centre for immigrants in County Clare.
- Clare Youth Service serves the county's young people aged 12-25 by providing information on rights and entitlements; by representing youth interests; by providing education and training; and by organisation or supporting youth clubs, projects and other activities run in local communities.
- Clare Women’s Network is a support and advocacy service for women in

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**Table 10: Persons usually resident and present in their usual residence on census night in towns of 1,500 or more inhabitants in Co. Clare, classified by nationality**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Ennis</th>
<th>Shannon</th>
<th>Kilrush</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23,101</td>
<td>8,942</td>
<td>2,569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Irish</td>
<td>19,358</td>
<td>7,364</td>
<td>2,293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>2,047</td>
<td>847</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of Europe</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>634</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: CSO, 12th July 2007: Table 39*
County Clare.

- Ennis Community Development Project (CDP) provides support and advocacy for citizens in Ennis town.
- Ennistymon Family Resource Centre provides information, support, and networking and training opportunities for people in Ennistymon.
- Ennis West Partnership is a local development group committed to working under enterprise creation and development, education and training, services to the unemployed, community development, environment and infrastructure works.
- Garda Ethnic Liaison Officer is a member of the police force appointed to liaise with the immigrant communities.\(^{113}\)
- Health Service Executive (HSE) West.
- Kilrush Family Resource Centre provides information, support, and networking and training opportunities for people in Kilrush.
- Scarriff Family Resource Centre provides information, support, and networking and training opportunities for people in Scarriff.
- Schools.
- Vocational Educational Centres (VEC) across the county.

The Irish Refugee Council (IRC) is an independent non-governmental organisation (NGO) which was set up in 1992\(^ {114} \). The former Ennis sub-office of the IRC was actively involved in the area of service delivery to the local community of several hundred migrants, asylum-seekers and refugees. A key part of the work was ongoing liaison with the full range of statutory and voluntary service providers in the area. This took various forms such as one-to-one consultation, anti-racism training, and the facilitation of a network whose aim is to put in place service provision that meets best policy and practice. Information, resources and speakers were available to interested school groups and organisations. In the period from October 2006 to April 2007 the Ennis office of the IRC dealt with 1,632 officially recorded queries. Three hundred and fifty-nine of those queries were regarding accommodation issues, while 201 were based on family reunification with 195 queries on issues regarding Irish child queries\(^ {115} \). The Ennis CDP Drop-in Centre report for 2006 notes that accommodation, health

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\(^{113}\) Garda Albert Hardiman has been the Ethnic Liaison Officer in Ennis since April 2006.

\(^{114}\) The Irish Refugee Council website: [http://www.irishrefugeecouncil.ie/](http://www.irishrefugeecouncil.ie/)

\(^{115}\) Data supplied by IRC Ennis office. IRC provided a drop-in service that offered advice, support, referral and advocacy such as legal, schooling, and any social complications. Other services were a variety of English-based programmes – classes with the VEC, homework club, schools orientation programme, etc.
and employment were the key issues arising in the ‘drop-in’. Other issues included literacy, diet, mental health, stress, discrimination, education, life skills, social and cultural awareness, children (health, development, and negative exposure to authority)\textsuperscript{116}. In June 2007, after 13 years of advising and supporting refugees and asylum seekers in the region, the Irish Refugee Council (IRC) announced that its office in Ennis would close. As a result a local response to the decision saw a multi-agency grouping, with staff in the Ennis IRC office, coming together with service providers to look at how best to continue and expand the much-needed service in Clare. They established the ‘Clare Immigrant Support Centre’ providing key services including language training (in partnership with the VEC) as well as advice, referral and support on legal, welfare, accommodation and employment issues. County Clare was therefore selected as the site for fieldwork due to the diverse services that were targeting immigrants throughout the county, as well as the fact that the county hosts 3% above the 10% national average number of people that could be categorised as non-Irish born. It is in this context and as a result of the invitation of community groups and service providers to undertake research on immigrant experiences that faculty in the Department of Politics and Public Administration became involved. The next sections outline the resulting projects.

### 3.4 Community Research Partnership (CRP)

The first project involved Ennis Community Development Project (CDP), Clare County Council, Clarecare, Ennis Traveller, asylum seeker and refugees’ communities, and the Department of Politics and Public Administration (PPA) from the University of Limerick (UL). The groups joined together in order to develop a pilot research and teaching partnership project titled ‘Community Research Partnership (CRP)’ concerning perceptions of rights, discrimination and the experience of living in Ennis Co. Clare of members of the Travelling community and those with experience of the asylum process. Ennis CDP invited PPA to Ennis to be involved from the start of the project with the aim of piloting an emancipatory partnership approach to public policy research that actively sought out the participation and involvement of community groups and...
individuals in policy analysis and research. It is important to acknowledge that this research would be nothing without the contribution of individual stories, experiences and insights from members of the Traveller community and those with direct experience of the asylum process in Ireland.

The steering committee included members from Ennis CDP, Clare County Council, University of Limerick, a development worker, a research co-ordinator, and two liaison workers, one from the Travelling community and one with experience of the asylum process. Steering committee meetings were held regularly and it should be noted that a lot of pre-planning was thrashed out in these steering committee meetings with everyone having an equal voice. The project aims included:

- To develop a model of best practice for collaborative research into public service provision that incorporates all relevant stakeholders interested in using research for evidence-based policy analysis and review.
- To provide a qualitative database of interview testimonials of individual and familial experiences of public service provision in Ennis, for use by county planners, community groups, and associated service providers.
- To facilitate and support meaningful participation in the collection and interpretation of these data by members of Ennis Traveller and asylum communities.
- To provide relevant training and support to members of Ennis Traveller and asylum communities to carry out basic research and equip them with transferable skills that they may use in other research settings.
- To provide University of Limerick accreditation for this training, which may be used to help create access pathways to admission to UL courses and further training.

A small amount of funding was received from the University of Limerick to undertake this project (€10,000). This funding was used to advertise for and employ a development worker, two community liaison workers (one from the Traveller community and one with experience of the asylum process) and to give expenses for travel and social care to the community researchers. These were recruited locally via the assistance of Ennis CDP. The positions were advertised and interviews were held locally. The development worker provided the link between the steering committee and the community groups. After advertising and holding interviews, Anne Loftus (a community development worker with
Clarecare) was employed as a development worker. The development worker’s job description included:

- Identify, interview and recruit liaison workers and community research workers with Ennis CDP and UL.
- Oversee the implementation of the interviews.
- Support feedback to Ennis CDP management (with a view to building capacity of communities).
- Promote the research and possible research outcomes through leaders in the communities.
- Promote and explain the research where necessary and with other agencies.
- Co-ordinate the training from the Ennis end.
- Work with liaison workers, Ennis CDP, Clarecare, UL, Ennis IRC and other relevant agencies to identify interviewees.
- Link with Ennis CDP on the administration of expenses for liaison and field workers.
- Oversee and support the work of the liaison workers.
- Participate on and report to the steering committee.
- Link with the UL research co-ordinator and liaison workers in overseeing implementation of the project and feeding back to the relevant communities on completion.

This researcher held the position of research co-ordinator that involved overseeing the implementation of the project. Once students had been identified the research co-ordinator matched students with community researchers. This involved providing practical guidance on the history and make-up of the community and directing students to existing community resources. The needs of all groups had to be considered; for example, one student was visually impaired so it was important that the student had access to questionnaires that were in Braille and that the student was matched with a community researcher who was proficient enough in written English to fill in the questionnaires. I was also responsible for ensuring that the community specifications were adhered to and that issues of research consent were complied with and recorded\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{17}. There was also an onus on the research coordinator to ensure that work within the community was carried out on time and to high standards. In practice I was required to take a very hands-on approach to the work, supporting the work of the liaison workers and the development worker to ensure the success of the project. Student researchers were identified and recruited within PPA who were undertaking final year projects for degree programmes (n=5) and Masters theses (n=3). Students were able to use the

\textsuperscript{1} As set out by the University’s Research Ethics Committee: \url{http://www.ul.ie/researchethics}
project and the resulting data for their own projects. In addition to the student researchers, community researchers were recruited from within the Travelling community and people who have direct experience of the asylum process (refer to Figure 13). In order to target the communities, advertisements were placed in the local press and flyers were given out in the locality at social events. Advertisements were also placed in a local Traveller training centre (St Joseph’s: http://www.stjotc.ie/) and on the Activelink Community Exchange (http://www.activelink.ie/ce/) site 118. Interviews were held in Ennis to select the community researchers. Training was provided in Ennis to members of the Travellers (nine participants), those with experience of the asylum process (11 participants) and UL students (10 participants). This consisted of basic community research skills covering key issues concerning rights and entitlements with respect to public services for Traveller and immigrant communities, interviewing techniques, questionnaire design, data collection and interpretation. At all stages of the research process regular meetings were held to explain the progress of the research. During these meetings lively discussions and debates were held about different aspects of the research. At the meetings great care was taken to ensure that fieldworkers were encouraged to ask any questions about the research process and research publications. It was agreed that the data would be jointly owned by the community and the University of Limerick. Data would be available in an accessible format in Ennis for the use of the community. With these review sessions the draft questionnaires were significantly strengthened; for example, some questions were rephrased, or specific cultural information was provided that changed a question.

118 Activelink is an Irish resource for the non-profit sector.
Community researchers were paired up with students and were given time to practice the questionnaires and provide further feedback. Perhaps the most significant advantage of providing the training, as many participants noted, was that it demystified the process of research for them. Feedback from the training included that all participants enjoyed the process, in particular having an opportunity to shape the questionnaires. Community researchers from the Travelling community and people who have direct experience of the asylum process highlighted in particular the importance of the relationship and the trust that developed. One university student who had lived in Zimbabwe and was paired with an asylum seeker from Zimbabwe noted the benefit of the training:

In our case, my partner being from Zimbabwe where I have lived most of my life and where I hold citizenship, the training and the interviews worked out well. The asylum seekers we interviewed, although understandably cagey about supplying information about their origins and the circumstances of their departure from their homelands, they were remarkably forthcoming on their institutionalised life in Ireland (Freyne, UL Student 10/12/2007).

One of the concerns expressed at the start of the process was the fear some community researchers had of being partnered with a university student. However, Kathleen, a member of the Travelling community, found the process beneficial and enjoyable:
It helped us [the Travellers] get to know the students. We got to help with changing the questionnaire. Overall it was great that we were respected and that we were allowed have opinions on the questions (Kathleen, 5/3/2008).

Emma, a Masters student, was partnered with Kathleen:

I found the training informative and comprehensive. It was invaluable to interact with everyone involved before conducting the fieldwork. It gave a chance for all involved to have an input of their personal knowledge and experience into the content of the questionnaires. I built up a fantastic working relationship with Kathleen. She always ensured that the interviewee’s were informed of the work that we were doing, she scheduled all of the interviews for us with great precision and was a very competent person to work with (Emma, 5/3/2008).

Inga, another Masters student, also noted that working with a person directly from the community was the most enjoyable aspect of the project:

Organising and delivering interviews with a colleague from the community gave me a chance to be closer with them. A community member carrying out the interviews with me let the interviewees trust us and feel safe. I think that undertaking interviews without a community member would have been very frustrating (Inga, 11/2/2008).

The development worker and liaison workers identified and provided names of members from within their respective communities who wished to be interviewed. The identities of these people were only known to them. Once the data gathering was completed the community researchers were invited to the University of Limerick and were provided with training in how to input and analyse the data using the SPSS programme. The research provided university certification training for all participants. A graduation was held in January 2008 in the university where certificates were presented to those who had completed the process. Outcomes of the research are still ongoing; however the following have occurred as a result:

- Increased learning at community, voluntary and statutory levels with regard to research issues
- Informed local policy, e.g. local interagency structures and implementation plans
- Informed other policy forums – support submissions at local, regional, national and international levels
- Informed public debate – meetings with Councillors, TDs, media, press
- Supported advocacy work – meetings and work with public service bodies.
From a university perspective the project and the research findings have been used to develop teaching material for courses in PPA on topics such as social inclusion/exclusion, multiculturalism, and research methods. The partnership has created new links for the Department for seminars and workshops. The research collected thus far has contributed to this PhD thesis, three MA dissertations, nine undergraduate dissertations, and two faculty conference papers. In April 2010, as part of a commitment made to ensure feedback locally, five pamphlets called ‘Count Me In’ (Attachment 1) were produced on the following themes:

- Doing Community Research
- Minorities and Citizenship in Ennis
- Children
- Discrimination in Ennis
- Making a Living.

These pamphlets have been distributed throughout the community and this researcher set up a website containing all the publication stemming from the research (www.ul.ie/doingcommunityresearch). The next section profiles the second research project that developed from the community research partnership project.

### 3.5 A Local Study of the Needs of Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers in County Clare

At the same time as the initial planning meetings were occurring with the community research partnership steering committee in December 2006, a multi-agency steering group was also established in County Clare with a view to developing a co-ordinated approach to the delivery of services to ethnic minority communities in County Clare. The Department of Politics and Public Administration (this researcher included) was invited by the multi-agency steering committee from the following service providers based in County Clare: HSE West (J. Deevy, A. Mellett, J. Godffrey, M. Hoare, S. Collopy, S. Kelleher); Ennis CDP (C. Bradley); Ennis West Partners (D. Nevin); Ennis Schools Completion Programme (A. Meehan); Ennis West Partners (Dolores Nevin); Clarecare (A. Loftus); IRC Ennis (O. Ni Ealai); Clare Vocational Education Committee (K. Quinn); Clare County Council (N. Cullinan, E. Mc Cooey); Citizen’s Information Service (P. Wolfe); Clare Immigrant Support Centre (O. Ni Eill); Clare Youth Service (E. Mc Donough and T. Knowles); Department of Education and Science (P. Sheehan); FÁS (N. Howley).

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119 The pamphlets can be viewed on: www.ul.ie/doingcommunityresearch
120 Members of the steering committee came from the following service providers based in County Clare: HSE West (J. Deevy, A. Mellett, J. Godffrey, M. Hoare, S. Collopy, S. Kelleher); Ennis CDP (C. Bradley); Ennis West Partners (D. Nevin); Ennis Schools Completion Programme (A. Meehan); Ennis West Partners (Dolores Nevin); Clarecare (A. Loftus); IRC Ennis (O. Ni Ealai); Clare Vocational Education Committee (K. Quinn); Clare County Council (N. Cullinan, E. Mc Cooey); Citizen’s Information Service (P. Wolfe); Clare Immigrant Support Centre (O. Ni Eill); Clare Youth Service (E. Mc Donough and T. Knowles); Department of Education and Science (P. Sheehan); FÁS (N. Howley).
group to undertake research into the needs of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in County Clare. The objective was to undertake research into the needs of ethnic minority children/families and adults in County Clare through direct consultation with children/adults/families from the ethnic minority community and with service providers and key professionals working in the area. The research was to be used by the steering committee to develop a clear strategy and action plan for the co-ordination of services to ethnic minority communities in County Clare, titled ‘The Integrated Strategy for the Coordination of Services to the Immigrant Communities in Co. Clare 2009-2012’ (Published in 2009\(^\text{121}\)). The steering committee identified the following requirements for the research:

- Planning and advising the multi-agency steering group on the scope of the research. Supporting the steering group in identifying, planning and using appropriate methods to gather information from the ethnic minority communities, i.e. via direct interviews, focus groups, questionnaires, etc.
- Carrying out interviews/focus groups with key professionals (internal and external stakeholders).
- Analysing data to determine levels of need and reviewing findings against profile of services.

From this researcher’s perspective, this research allowed the scope of the PhD to further reflect on the experiences of service providers locally in responding to the needs of immigrants when accessing services. As a result, this allowed a deepening analysis of how state policy/guidance on immigration was impacting on service providers locally and it provided an opportunity to investigate if services providers were able to share their experiences with policy makers.

Quantitative and qualitative fieldwork was conducted for this research. This occurred through semi-structured one-to-one interviews and 13 structured focus groups, with service providers in Co. Clare and with migrant workers, asylum seekers and refugees residing in Co. Clare. This researcher undertook a literature review of existing local, regional and national policy. Key relevant data sources were researched to assist in profiling the community and their needs, including data documenting levels of service uptake: Health Service Executive (HSE) (Community Welfare, Public Health, Child and Family Support Services, Mental Health Services, Acute Services, etc.); Department of Education and Science

\(^{121}\) The strategy can be accessed here: http://www.hse.ie/eng/services/Publications/services/SocialInclusion/IntegratedStrategy0912.html
(school enrolment, attendance, numbers of nationalities attending various schools, support resources available); Clare Vocational Education Centre (VEC) (numbers attending adult education centres, nationalities); Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform (number and type of status of residents, key accommodation centres, etc.); Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment (number of work permits issued); Clare County Council/Ennis Town Council (numbers currently awaiting housing, numbers housed in Local Authority housing); FÁS (numbers involved in training); voluntary groups (number of clients presenting feasible relevant data); identifying number of social networks/support groups that have been established (number of members and nationalities represented). The focus groups were designed, monitored and facilitated by the Department of Politics and Public Administration at the University of Limerick. All focus groups bar one (Housing and Accommodation)\textsuperscript{122} were recorded and transcribed, and notes were taken during each session. The following focus groups were held:

- Clare VEC Tutors Focus Group, 15/5/07, VEC Ennis
- Clare VEC Students Focus Group, 15/5/07, VEC Ennis
- Social Integration Focus Group, 17/5/07, Temple Gate Hotel Ennis
- Housing and Accommodation Focus Group, 17/5/07, Ennis Town Council Civic Office
- Health and Welfare Focus Group, 21/5/07, HSE Tobertaoiscain Physiotherapy Department Ennis
- Ennistymon Ethnic Minority Focus Group, 28/5/07, Falls Hotel Ennistymon
- Ennis Ethnic Minorities Focus Group, 28/05/07, Temple Gate Hotel Ennis;
- Clarecare Focus Group, 29/5/07, Clarecare, Ennis
- Scarriff Ethnic Minorities Group, 1/6/07, Derg House Scarriff
- Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07, Clare Education Centre Ennis
- Kilrush Ethnic Minorities Focus Group, 7/6/2007, Kilrush Family Resource Centre Kilrush
- Knockalisheen Residents Focus Group, 13/6/07, University of Limerick

\textsuperscript{122} Participants in this focus group were reluctant to be recorded as having taken part in the focus group due to the sensitive nature of some of the issues discussed. Therefore notes were taken instead.
Knockalisheen Service Providers (HSE) Focus Group, 19/6/07, River House Ennis.

The focus groups were set up and organised by the multi-agency steering group. This resulted in excellent attendance by both service users and providers (see Annex 1 for a breakdown of immigrants participating in the focus groups and Annex 2 for the breakdown of service providers). In addition to the 13 focus groups already detailed, the VEC in Clare (which was a member of the steering committee) offered their English language classes as a forum where a self-administered questionnaire (Annex 3) could be undertaken. This resulted in 82 language learners filling out a questionnaire in VEC English classes throughout the county. With the agreement of the steering committee from the community research partnership members, the second questionnaires used for this report (Annex 4) came from the community research partnership that were administered by university students and community researchers. This resulted in 56 responses from people with experience of the asylum process from the Ennis community.

Within this commissioned research some significant gaps need to be noted. It was the steering committee that organised and contacted participants to attend the focus groups. A focus group was arranged for secondary school educators but did not take place as it was arranged at the commencement of summer holidays (21/5/07). A second focus group was arranged and confirmed (21/5/07) with employers; however, no employer attended. Also, two requests were made for a meeting with the Reception and Integration Agency to discuss the running of the direct provision centres, sent separately by PPA and by the multi-agency steering group. Both requests to meet were refused. Certain key groups were not represented in the focus groups, nor were they among the respondents who supplied information about their experiences through questionnaires: members of the Roma community represent an especially important omission and the researchers had to depend on perceptions about the needs of this community from service providers. However, it is important to note that service providers

123 County Clare Vocational Education Committee: http://www.Clarevec.ie/
themselves (bar primary school educators) had very few links or interactions with the Roma community.

Resulting from this research the Department of Politics and Public Administration published Ni Shé, Adshead and Lodge (2009) ‘Getting to Know You – A Local Study of the Needs of Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Co. Clare’ (Attachment 2). Resulting from this research the multi-agency steering group fed back the research findings to immigrants and service providers and undertook a county-wide consultation to set out a strategy for the county. A total of eight focus group consultations were held across the county with over 70 people from various immigrant communities attending. They were given the opportunity to comment on and review the research that had been submitted, and to focus on proposed actions to establish an immigrant strategy. This resulted in the launch in April 2009 of a three year multi-agency county strategy titled ‘Integrated Strategy for the Coordination of Services to the Immigrant Communities in Co. Clare 2009-2012’ (Attachment 2). Five thematic areas are included in the strategy (refer to Figure 14):

- Health
- Education
- Work and Training
- Language/Communication
- Community Participation and Social Supports.

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124 The University of Limerick Centre for Peace and Development Studies was commissioned to undertake research and published Ni Shé, Adshead and Lodge (2009) ‘Getting to Know You – A Local Study of the Needs of Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Co. Clare’. Both reports can be accessed on the HSE website: http://www.hse.ie/eng/services/Publications/services/SocialInclusion/IntegratedStrategy0912.html

125 The strategy can be accessed here: http://www.hse.ie/eng/services/Publications/services/SocialInclusion/IntegratedStrategy0912.html
Figure 14: Integrated Strategy for the Co-Ordination of Services to Immigrants in County Clare 2009-2012

Source: Strategy Statement for the Coordination of Services to the Immigrant Communities in County Clare 2009-2012 (2009: 19).

The strategy developed strategic actions for each of the five themes and appointed leads agencies to monitor and implement the actions. A sample of the actions are summarised in Table 11.

Table 11: Selection of strategic actions 2009-2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Result</th>
<th>Progress Indicators</th>
<th>Agency Responsible</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1.2.6  | Basic language training and support provided for service providers | Number of interagency training programmes for frontline staff developed. Number of public sector staff participating in training | Lead  
HSE  
Clare County Council (Training Unit)  
Partner  
Clare Immigrant Support Centre |
### Work with identified schools interested in devising equality statements and policy for their school

Support provided to schools to assist in the development of a school equality/integration policy | Number of training sessions offered to schools in County Clare | **Lead**
---|---|---
Clare Education Centre supported by Department of Education and Science funded specialist support services | **Partner**
Home School Community Liaison Coordinators

### Develop and pilot usage of multi-lingual web-based appointment cards by HSE staff and medical professionals

Improved attendance at appointments by people from immigrant communities. Improved access for people from immigrant communities to health services | Appointment cards piloted in a number of HSE sites in County Clare. Pilot evaluated by services over a 12 month period | **Lead**
HSE (Community Development Service) 
HSE (Social Inclusion Unit) | **Partner**
Agreed pilot sites in County Clare

### To provide targeted information sessions to migrant workers in relation to employment rights and entitlements

Greater access to information on employment rights and entitlements | Number of sessions delivered | **Lead**
Citizens Information Service | **Partners**
HSE (Community Welfare Service) 
Clare Immigrant Support Centre

### Support community integration through organised social, cultural and sporting activities

Number of social, cultural and sporting activities organised | Number of activities organised. Levels of participation recorded | **Lead**
Clare Immigrant Support Centre 
Solas 
Clare Intercultural Network 
Ennis CDP

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The monitoring of the strategy is undertaken by all members/groups that have signed up to the strategy and who are implementing actions. This is done through the submission of quarterly reports submitted via a monitoring website (www.clareis.ie). Updated reports are collated and presented to the implementation strategy group. It is important to note that implementation and coordination of the strategy has been left to each organisation. No funding was available to employ one single person to oversee the strategy. However, one

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member of the implementation strategy group stated that because agencies were involved in the research from that start that there was a ‘buy-in’ and interest from them in implementing the action, with the website allowing agencies to ‘monitor each other’ (in conversation with Sinead Collopy (HSE), a member of the implementation strategy group, 14/4/10).

Data from both projects outlined (bar the data set with the Travelling Community) have been used as evidence in this thesis. The data were analysed using SPSS and NVivo. As part of the PhD process this researcher undertook courses on qualitative and quantitative research methods. Focus groups were transcribed and coded in NVivo. All interviews were recorded on a miniature digital dictaphone, enabling all recordings to be stored in a secure password-protected non-networked home computer. The researcher also attended a summer school on evidence-based research to assist in the writing of this thesis. The testimonies by both service providers and service users are used in the proceeding case study chapters on integration, education and language immersion, and employment and training. As outlined earlier in this chapter the key research question for this thesis, specifically at a local level, is if/how has policy direction at a national level impacted on a local level. Secondly, the case studies explore the experiences and challenges for service providers and immigrant users in County Clare. The final section of this chapter discusses this researcher’s own experience of implementing an emancipatory approach for this thesis.

3.6 An Emancipatory Approach – Postscript

Working within an emancipatory framework resulted in an engagement with a broader range of expertise, perspectives and interpretations than would otherwise have been available for this researcher. It is the author’s belief that the inclusion of members of the Travelling community and those with experience of the asylum process resulted in providing access to a rich data set that would have been difficult to access without their involvement from the start. The relationships formed resulted in the researcher becoming much ‘closer’ to the lived experience of immigrants and service providers in County Clare. The impact of the

127 The summer school was held in the University Of Essex: http://www.essex.ac.uk/summerschool/
involvement of both groups allowed them to be included in where to focus the research and to set the agenda. However, the process of relationship building was time consuming and energy sapping – many research approaches do not require the formation of ‘relationship building’ with the researched. Building these sort of relationships between academics and diverse service users and service providers old and young, from different backgrounds and diverse life experiences, requires a sustained and shared commitment from all. From an academic perspective it also requires universities to become more flexible in supporting students undertaking PhD research. From this author’s own perspective as a PhD student it would have been impossible to have undertaken this research project without the support of the Department of Politics and Public Administration. An emancipatory method, as stated above, increases time and costs significantly. This researcher was therefore fortunate to have not only access to academic supports but also a small research grant that was used for expenses for fieldworkers and for the publication of the ‘Count Me In’ leaflets.

This chapter commenced by outlining the four core principles as noted by Baker et al. (2004: 179-183). How effective was it in implementing these principles?

1. Ethical issues

The issue of ownership and control of the data was discussed from the start at steering committee meetings. Discussions were held on the ownership of research outcomes that included the rights to publish, etc. and how accessible it would be for partners. Both research projects agreed that that the data were owned by all participants and could be used by all groups involved. Access to the SPSS data sets is being provided through the university’s online repository (http://ulir.ul.ie/) whilst all reports and pamphlets are accessible online on the website established by this research for the projects (www.ul.ie/doingcommunityresearch).

2. Reciprocity in the research relationship

Perhaps the most successful aspect of the research projects was the inclusion and consultation with all research participants from the start of the projects. As stated in the previous section the university was invited to Clare initially to be part of the community research partnership. From there a considerable amount of time was
spent in building trust that involved negotiation on the expectations of all groups. The training sessions, in particular, broke down any concerns community researchers had working in partnership with students and gave all participants a space to contribute to the research design.

3. Dialogical theory building
Baker *et al.* (2004) are somewhat unclear in their discussion of how to involve participants in the validation and meaning of research. The two projects outlined made every effort for participants, with the steering committee’s assistance, to facilitate discussion. In particular, members of the Travelling community and those with experience of the asylum process were given the opportunity to shape the questions in the training session, resulting in certain question that were deemed sensitive being removed. Further to that, actions resulting from the research (as seen in the pamphlets design and the county-wide consultation that occurred resulting in the county strategy) were designed with the external community partners. However, to fully include all participants in building theory through dialogue does require long-term strategic investment by universities and research partners but would result in sustainable egalitarian research relationships.

4. Reflexivity
This occurred naturally in both research projects. The time and space was given to all participants to engage with each other. As the feedback from the community research partnership outlined that, was a very positive process.

Adding to Baker *et al.* (2004)’s four core principles there are a few ‘sticky’ issues related to undertaking research that need to be considered and negotiated before commencing:

5. Unrealistic participant/stakeholder expectations
This point needs to be clearly considered and articulated by all partners with regard to what is and what is not possible at the outset of the research process. It is also important to discuss clearly what can be achieved with the results/data that arise from the research, and also to consider the future role each stakeholder will have after the research project has been completed.
6. **Time and cost involved in undertaking the research**

Undertaking research with all the relevant stakeholders does increase the cost and the time involved in the research process. The pace of the project can be difficult to control as it can be time-consuming getting stakeholders together and achieving consensus. Additionally in long-term projects, key stakeholders may also come and go, potentially changing the project pace, dynamic and direction.

7. **Practical arrangements**

For example, when undertaking research with minority ethnic communities it is important that venues are culturally appropriate and easily reachable. Interpretation and translation services may also be essential if people who do not speak English are to be meaningfully involved. Such needs can increase costs of a research project.

8. **Flexibility**

Undertaking a project such as this requires greater flexibility from a university. For example, community researchers were paid a small amount for expenses; however, the university system can take up to a month for payment to be processed. This resulted in some frustration by participants at the delay. Working around this requires some flexibility from universities in processing small one-off payments and could be resolved.

9. **Power and data analysis**

It is frequently argued that the principal beneficiaries of social research are the researchers themselves (Barnes, 2003; Oliver, 1999). Data analysis and interpretation is frequently written up as a complex and difficult academic process. However, very little elaboration is done on the researcher’s power in relation to selecting which data to use, and how these data sets are interpreted (Reay, 1996: 62; Barnes, 2003: 10-11). Whilst the research projects in Clare resulted in service providers and community participants shaping the focus of the outcomes of the research, the report that shaped the outcomes came from the university. To change this also requires long-term partnership between
universities and groups; however, the creation of the website and distribution of the pamphlets were formats to make the data more accessible.

What kind of structural conditions are necessary to ensure that emancipatory methods are implemented on an ongoing basis? There are a number of practical problems posed by the emancipatory methodology, in particular for PhD students. This method does increase the cost of the research, which is not necessarily something that is supported by research funders. Secondly, the process as outlined in Clare involves support from all involved: the university, service providers and immigrants. Without this support it would have been impossible for this researcher to undertake the projects on her own. Finally, there is also very little research training available in most educational institutions on emancipatory methodology although there are exceptions to this (Baker et al., 2004; Reason and Rowan, 1988), especially in feminist-led courses in recent years. To institutionalise an emancipatory approach to research would require the development of new structures at both university and departmental level (and ultimately at central university and research planning level)\textsuperscript{128}. In particular, procedures would have to be put in place whereby those who are the subjects of the research can enter into dialogue about all research undertaken in their name. They would not simply be dependent on the good will of individual researchers allowing them to enter into dialogue on their own terms. Rather, community groups or other representatives of marginalised groups would be involved on an ongoing basis in planning, monitoring and commenting on research. They would play a very different and more powerful role than if they are simply research subjects being given the opportunity to participate in or dialogue about research at the will of the researcher.

Such a practice would require change in the structuring of departments in the university and the management of research operations. It would involve the establishment of research coalitions with those marginalised groups and communities who are so often the objects of research. Such groups would move from being objects to subjects, from being respondents to being partners; they

\textsuperscript{128} Such structures are currently underway within the University of Limerick (July 2010)
would have the opportunity to define research agendas relating to their own lives. Universities would also have to establish learning partnerships where building theory through dialogue could occur and all participants could control, analyse and produce the data. From a university perspective there are a number of benefits to establishing such coalitions. The research in County Clare developed a new pedagogy for learning for the Department of Politics and Public Administration. The research findings were used by this researcher in developing teaching materials for courses on social exclusion/inclusion, Irish politics, multiculturalism and research methods. The partnership was also very beneficial for both undergraduate and postgraduate students in being involved in an innovative research project for final year projects and theses. The linking of universities and their surrounding environs can result in communities involved accessing universities for courses and the university linking with the community to partake in workshops and seminars. Any such partnerships must be seen as strategic long-term visions for universities.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the researcher’s own experience of adopting a more inclusive framework in undertaking the fieldwork. The fieldwork tested an emancipatory methodological practice with the aim of including the researched in generating, analysing and representing the data about their lives. The experience of the process was broadly positive. The chapter provided an overview of County Clare outlining why it was selected, and provided a breakdown of the types of immigrants living and working in the county. From there the chapter outlined questionnaire design and the two research projects undertaken in gathering data. The first community research project resulted in 56 questionnaire responses from people with experience of the asylum process within the Ennis community. The second project looked at the needs of all immigrants throughout County Clare and resulted in 82 language learners filling out a self-administered questionnaire and 13 focus groups being carried out throughout the county with both service providers and immigrants. Therefore the fieldwork has resulted in a rich and varied data set. The proceeding chapters outline the resulting evidence, the first of which looks at integration.
Chapter 4: Implementing Integration?
4.1 Introduction

As outlined in chapter 1, Castles and Millar (2003) identified three different approaches to immigration adopted internationally by countries: differential exclusionary, assimilationist and multicultural. Countries such as Canada and Australia have favoured a more ‘multicultural’ approach, with recognition of cultural diversity (Mac Éinrí, 2006: 372). Multiculturalism is usually a two-way process with some expectations of conformity on the part of the immigrant to the values of the host country. This model implies that diversity of various groups should be respected and that immigrants should be granted equal rights in all spheres of society. One might argue that the differential exclusionary model has been pursued in Gastarbeiter (guest-worker) countries such as Germany. Immigrants have been encouraged to join the labour market but are excluded from other areas of society. Family reunion is discouraged and citizenship is difficult to obtain. Initially in new immigration societies such as Ireland the focus has been on who gets in and on the conditions of entry. However, over time the focus has turned to integration. Mac Éinrí’s work has highlighted (2007: 232) that new immigrant countries such as Ireland should/can learn from the experience of other countries in relation to integration. He argues that in Ireland there is a ‘precious window’ to implement integration actions, writing at a time of a vibrant economy with ‘ongoing need for migrants’. He warns that inaction will result in ‘forced, resented and almost failed de facto assimilation over time’ (Mac Éinrí, 2007: 232). This was also stressed in April 2009 by the Minister for Integration at the time, Conor Lenihan TD, who in a speech stressed that immigration ‘is relatively new to us in Ireland; we must be innovative in our approach to the provision of services and learn from the experiences of other countries’.  

The International Organization for Migration (IOM)’s World Migration 2005 report defines integration as ‘the process by which immigrants become accepted into society, both as individuals and groups’ (2005: 459). Rather than getting

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129 Refer to: “Minister Conor Lenihan launches Integrated Strategy for the Coordination of Services to the Immigrant Communities in County Clare” (2/4/09) http://www.integration.ie/website/omi/omiwebv6.nsf/page/CDKR-7QQL7A1629572-en
embroiled in further theoretical debates about what exactly integration is (see Fortier, 2010 and Berry, 2001)\textsuperscript{130} this thesis agrees with the working definition as outlined by Sarah Spencer in 2004, the then Deputy Chair for the Commission for Racial Equality in Great Britain. In 2004, as part of holding the EU presidency, the Irish government hosted a conference titled ‘Reconciling Mobility and Social Inclusion – The Role of Employment and Social Policy’\textsuperscript{131}. Spencer was one of the speakers who argued that ‘integration is not simply about access to the labour market and services, or about changing attitudes of civic engagement; it is a two-way process of adaptation by migrant and host society at all of those levels’ (italics in original, Spencer, 2004: 24). Spencer argued that if integration is to succeed as a reciprocal process a balance is required where integration impacts positively on immigrants through ‘the process of learning a new culture, acquiring rights and obligations, gaining access to positions and social status, building personal relationships with members of the host society and forming a feeling of belonging to, and identification with, that society’ (Spencer, 2004: 24). Spencer’s definition is what the Irish government accepted when defining integration and this chapter will look at how they acted upon the implementation of it. Throughout this chapter the term ‘integration’ is referred to in relation to the interaction, or lack of, between immigrants and mainstream Irish society. It will explore the Irish state’s construction of integration, how it has developed and how it has impacted on policy development and the experience of immigrants\textsuperscript{132}. Whilst the focus of this chapter is on new immigrant communities, literature has also highlighted the treatment of indigenous minorities such as the Travelling

\textsuperscript{130}Fortier’s (2010) article looks at debates and policies in Britain around integration and ‘community cohesion’ whilst Berry’s (2001) work outlines four major strategies which migrants can use in how they relate their heritage culture to that of the larger society in which they find themselves: 1. Integration: Individuals have an interest in both maintaining their original culture and engaging in daily interaction with other groups; 2. Assimilation: Individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural heritage and seek daily interaction with other groups; 3. Separation: Individuals wish to hold on to their cultural heritage while avoiding interaction with other groups; 4. Marginalisation: Individuals have little possibility of or interest in cultural maintenance and have little interest in having relations with other groups.

\textsuperscript{131}Papers presented at the conference are accessible here: http://tiny.cc/2zmfw

\textsuperscript{132}At a European level in particular there has been research to identify indicators to measure integration such as Anger and Strang, 2003, 2004; Spencer and Cooper, 2006; and the British Council, 2007.
community as a lesson for integrating immigrants (Fanning, 2009; Mac Éinrí, 2007; Lentin and McVeigh, 2006).133

The chapter charts Irish approaches to integration, utilising a number of indicators to outline how integration has evolved. The first of these looks at government action. The chapter then moves to policy innovation focusing on agency supports, legal acts and the impact of both the National Action Plan against Racism and the National Anti-Poverty Strategy. From there the chapter looks at discussions of immigrants and of integration by political elites, political parties and websites (such as www.stormfront.org and http://saveireland.blogspot.com/) and proceeds then to looking at more recent debates surrounding active citizenship and current debates around diaspora. Finally this chapter sets out how integration is best understood and measured by individual experience. As Castles et al.’s (2002: 112-113) work argues ‘a discussion on integration can start with the very general question: how do newcomers to a country become part of society?’ What happens to people once they are here? Are they expected to become ‘more Irish than the Irish themselves’? Will Ireland shift towards a multicultural model and if so what core values might members of society be expected to accept? These challenges are compounded by the fact, as outlined in chapter 2, that Ireland often defines itself in exclusionary ways grounded in cultural, linguistic and historical experiences, reflecting what has been called a WHISC (white, heterosexual, Irish, settled, Catholic) discourse. The experiences of immigrants in integrating in Co. Clare

133 This chapter will not look at the experience of the Travelling community. However, some of the discourse around the ‘integration’ of the Travelling community should be noted. For example, Charles Haughey, former Taoiseach, stated in 1960 that ‘there can be no final solution of the problem created by itinerants until they are absorbed into the general community’ (cited in Helleiner, 2003: 78). In 1996 Mary Ellen Synon wrote in the Sunday Independent that ‘Traveller life is without the ennobling intellect of man or the steadying instincts of animals. This tinkler “culture” is without achievement, discipline, reason or intellectual ambition’ (Synon quoted in Lentin and McVeigh, 2002: 3). TD Austin Deasy created considerable controversy in 1996 when he commented that the Traveller ‘problem’ could be solved by containing their numbers through birth control and assimilation into existing housing estates (McKay, 1996). In April 2002, Mary McAleese, the Irish President, signed into law the Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act (No 2), where section 24 of the Act made trespass on land a criminal offence for the first time. The Irish government argued that the section was intended to deal with ‘large-scale unauthorised Traveller encampments by traders, Travellers from abroad and others not indigenous to an area and Travellers who have other homes’ (Logue, 10/4/02). Traveller organisations criticised the new law on the basis that it allows local authorities to evict Travellers indiscriminately without having to legally fulfil their obligation to provide alternative accommodation. Much academic literature has catalogued the Travelling community; for further details refer to Fanning, 2008; Hayes, 2006; Lentin & McVeigh, 2006, 2002; Helleiner, 2003; Ní Laodhóg, 1992; Ó Riain, 1992.
will be outlined as well as the activities of local services and organisations in implementing integration.

4.2 Mapping Integration- Government Action

Chapter 2 outlined that, for the most part, Irish policy discourse about immigration has focused on serving the shortfall in employment skills and in protecting the nation through border control, rule of law and internal legislation (NESC, 2006: 109-110, 119-121). The NESC reports on migration (2006, 2006b) offer a useful insight into the collective agreement of Irish policy makers in terms of Ireland’s integration policies. The reports have to be approved not only by governmental and state representatives but also by social partners and other interest groups represented on the Council\textsuperscript{134}. The first report, *Managing Migration in Ireland: A Social and Economic Analysis* (2006), written in partnership with the International Organization for Migration\textsuperscript{135} notes that as late as 2006 ‘Ireland’s few integration programmes are largely confined to refugees’ (2006: 153) and ‘until recently, Ireland’s immigration strategies were quite rudimentary…they were essentially reactive and accommodative’ (2006: xvii). The NESC (2006: 149) outlined that migration and integration span different levels of government (national, state and local) and within government across the mandates of individual departments. However, they argue that the actual ability of governments to execute integration strategies is constrained as ‘it is not governments that integrate migrants, but the general public’ (NESC, 2006: 149). The NESC’s (2006: 149) vision that the role of government ‘concentrates on providing essential core services, ensuring that these services are accessible, and creating the necessary frameworks to help share a welcoming environment’ has been supported in further research by Integrating Ireland (2008)\textsuperscript{136}.

However, the NESC report is critical of the process of institutional changes made by the state:

\begin{quote}
Given that migration impacts on the work of many government departments and stakeholders, it will be necessary to develop a
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{134} Full list of NESC membership available here: http://www.nesc.ie/inside.asp?catid=22&zoneld=5

\textsuperscript{135} International Organization for Migration: http://www.iom.int/jahia/jsp/index.jsp

\textsuperscript{136} The Integrating Ireland research (2008) highlighted the experience of Chinese, Indian, Lithuanian and Nigerian migrants’ experiences of integrating in Ireland.
comprehensive and coordinated approach...there is currently no clearly defined lead agency to develop migration policy and coordinate efforts to manage migration within government. For example, migration and integration policies are still conceived and delivered in silos. Few policy coordination mechanisms exist, and those that do are rudimentary...there is currently no permanent inter-departmental committee or working group on migration. Nor are there mechanisms in place to enable regular coordination with relevant stakeholders outside the government (NESC, 2006: 199-200).

It is therefore more accurate to conclude that the state issued a series of short-term responses on matters as they arose, such as refugees, racism and the need for immigrant labour.

The second NESC report, *Migration Policy* (2006b), reports fears that Ireland’s long-term integration outcomes in the second and third generations could be similar to the experiences of other European countries. In particular there is a long-term fear of social exclusion of immigrants and their descendants:

Indeed, the sorry story of much migration to European countries in the second half of the twentieth century involved precisely the attraction, and confinement, of migrants to low-skilled sectors which subsequently suffered severe contraction in the face of international competition and technological change. This left migrants economically and socially marginalised, giving rise to severe problems in the second and even third generations (NESC, 2006b: 124).

The authors of the report outline some of the social conflicts that arise from immigration:

Social change invariably creates discomfort. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the profound changes introduced by immigration and growing racial, cultural and religious diversity can generate conflict and reduce overall levels of trust within society (NESC, 2006b: 184).

In historical and comparative terms the report notes that ‘international experience shows that where migrants are denied access to work, or where they are segmented to particular (often vulnerable) sectors, they can fail to integrate, with negative consequences for both themselves and the host society in the long term’ (NESC, 2006b: 111). Yet asylum seekers in Ireland are unable to work and the work permit system ties certain immigrants to their employers. Further, Loyal notes that immigrants on work permits are highly segmented to often vulnerable
sectors of the economy with ‘about 75% of all those work permits ... allocated to relatively low skilled occupations’ (Loyal, 2007b: 41).

Policy innovation in Ireland in the field of integration had been limited, but since 2007 became more focused. A speech by Michael McDowell TD, former Attorney General, Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform, leader of the Progressive Democrats and Tánaiste, illustrates a vision for Ireland resulting from immigration and integration\(^\text{137}\). In his speech he argues that we ‘have the opportunity to evolve through dialogue to a new definition of ourselves which, while reflecting a new and diverse society, still incorporates the republic and liberal democratic concepts underpinning the Irish nation’ (McDowell, 1/2/07).

Prior to this, in his capacity as the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform, McDowell introduced a Citizenship Referendum in 2004 and subsequent legislation that removed the birth right (\textit{jus soli}) to Irish citizenship and replaced it with one largely based on Irish parentage (Lentin and McVeigh, 2006).

McDowell’s speech touches on integration stating that ‘it is everyone’s business because everyone is involved directly at the level of their community – which is where integration succeeds or fails’ (McDowell, 1/2/07). McDowell’s view of government’s role was as a regulator, facilitator and policy developer. ‘As a regulator’ he argues that ‘it must set the rules whereby people are admitted and their status and entitlements defined’ which sometimes ‘involves difficult decisions in finding a balance between security and control issues and downstream immigration impacts’ (McDowell, 1/2/07). It is important to note that the primary role emphasises border control, the categorisation of immigrants and the internal law and order functions of government. In its second and third roles as facilitator and policy developer McDowell draws on more social partnership discourse claiming that the government ‘must bring together a very wide variety of both public and private stakeholders’ and that it ‘must lead, coordinate stimulate and listen’ to this ‘vast array of interests’ (McDowell, 1/2/07). This social partnership type model is intended to become part of government policy development in which ‘it must consult and develop frameworks which allow

\(^{137}\) The full speech is available online at the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform website: McDowell, M. (1/2/07) ‘Address by an Tánaiste at the conference on Integration Policy - Strategies for a cohesive society. \url{http://www.justice.ie/en/JELR/Pages/SP07000410}
constructive debates and discussions around key strategies for moving towards a cohesive society’ (McDowell, 1/2/07). Whilst the government may include all interested parties in a discussion of their opinions and experiences, there is no obligation to incorporate anything. McDowell recognises in his speech that the policy directions and implications taken today will impact on the future of Irish society. ‘Standing at the integration crossroads’, McDowell argued, ‘we need to carefully examine those choices because if we journey down the wrong road, it may not be easy to find our way back. Neither may we have the time for the return journey’ (McDowell, 1/2/07).

In 2007 Conor Lenihan TD was appointed the first ever Minister of State with special responsibility for Integration Policy between three departments. Prior to his appointment Conor Lenihan was forced to make a public apology after calling Turkish construction workers with GAMA ‘kebabs’ (O’Farrell, 19/5/05). However, the newly appointed Minister was keen to stress his own experience of racial abuse whilst living in London in the 1980s, making him aware of how ‘unpleasant it was to suffer racist abuse’ (quoted in Brennan, 16/7/07). Lenihan promised much in re-founding Ireland’s integration policy focusing on the creation of a Task Force on Integration, a Ministerial Council and an Immigrant Commission (Downes, 25/01/2008). The proposed Task Force on Integration was intended to ‘help draw up a blueprint for dealing with issues arising from large-scale immigration into Ireland’ and ‘to draw up recommendations for the government’, aiming to ‘create cohesive communities and ensure migrants meet their potential’ (O’Brien, 13/8/07). A cross-departmental group, chaired by the Department of the Taoiseach, was established by government in February 2007 to carry out a review of existing integration policy and to provide an initial assessment of future policy options. The Ministerial Council on Integration has

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138 The Departments were: the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, the Department of Education and Science and the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform. It is worth noting the Irish language version of the Office is Oifig an Áire Lánpháirtíochta, translated directly as ‘Office of the Minister of the Fully Participant’. Directly translated, ‘integration’ is ‘imeascadh’. The word ‘imeascadh’ has been used for the direct translation for the Office’s own publication Migration Nation: Statement on Integration Strategy and Diversity Management (2008) - Náisiún imirce: ráiteas ar straitéis imeasctha agus bainistiú éagsúlachta.

139 The following Departments are represented on the cross-departmental group on integration: the Department of the Taoiseach, the Department of Finance, the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, the Department of Education and Science, the Department of the Environment,
yet to be established and in correspondence with the Office of Integration they stated that they were currently reviewing the structure of the proposed council with no specific start date\textsuperscript{140}.

Since the establishment of the Office of the Minister for Integration the literature and discourse have become more focused on integration, where the challenge for policy makers and service providers is to balance ‘the recognition of a diversity of cultures and backgrounds and an increasingly multicultural society with common values, social cohesion and identity of the host country’ (Pillinger, 2007: 266). Making services more accessible for immigrants has clearly become a focus for many policy makers. As Pillinger notes:

Many of the new migrants to Ireland are not temporary migrants, but are here to stay for the long term, with many aspiring to Irish citizenship and long-term residency. This suggests that there is a need for long-term planning for the integration and inclusion of migrants as a feature of Irish society, particularly to avoid some of the experiences of exclusion and ghettoisation of migrants in other countries. Improving access to public services in areas such as health, education, employment and housing, along with access to English language and orientation programmes, can be critical to long-term integration and participation (Pillinger, 2007: 269).

However, the assumption has been that migration has/is temporarily filling an employment gap. This has resulted in significant policy gaps that Pillinger (2007: 269) argues, if addressed, could enhance integration and reduce the risks of marginalisation and exclusion. According to the NESC, the challenge for integration policy and social policy is to respond effectively to the scale and diversity of migration by improving capacity and service developments:

These include improving the collection and use of data, enhancing the ability of staff to deal with a diversity of users, understanding the vulnerabilities of women in the migration-integration process and providing the public with better information on service entitlements and standards’ (NESC, 2006b: xvi).

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\textsuperscript{140} Details provided in email correspondence with Gerry Roughneen, Office of the Minister for Integration 29/7/09.
The first key publication on inter-culturalism was *Integration: a Two-Way Process* (DJELR, 1999). The report only covers the situation of refugees and people with leave to remain. The report was produced at a time when Ireland’s experience of immigration was considered to be new and relatively limited. The working definition of integration adopted by the report was as follows:

Integration means the ability to participate to the extent that a person’s needs and wishes are met within all of the major components of society, without having to relinquish his or her own cultural identity (DJELR, 1999: 9).

The report did argue for the removal of obstacles for refugees accessing services, and the need to address barriers to employment through education and training, language support and improving access to the labour market (DJELR, 1999: 30-33). Without access to support the report notes that integration will be unlikely (DJELR, 1999: 35). However, within the exclusionary logic of the asylum process the social exclusion faced by asylum seekers is not acknowledged by the report with Mac Éinrí (2007: 374) in particular arguing that the definition itself is timid and largely aspirational.

The state began to incorporate a more wide-ranging approach to integration of all immigrants, not just refugees. For example, in March 2005 the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform announced the establishment of the Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service (INIS) as a ‘one stop shop’ for immigrants. INIS is responsible for administering the functions of the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform in relation to asylum, immigration (including visas) and citizenship matters and is structured around a number of key areas – asylum, visa, immigration and citizenship processing, asylum and immigration policy, repatriation, and reception and integration[^1]. It should be noted that the state’s Reception and Integration Agency (RIA) deems integration to be achievable when immigrants, as well as the host community, are able to ‘speak the host language; gain access to, and delivery of, core services such as education and health; secure jobs commensurate with their abilities; engage in all aspects of civil action; participate fully in the democratic process; and when immigrants are prepared to modify their attitudes and behaviours’ as defined by a presentation.

[^1]: More details and related bodies associated with INIS to be found here: [http://www.inis.gov.ie/en/INIS/Pages/Related_Bodies](http://www.inis.gov.ie/en/INIS/Pages/Related_Bodies)
made by John Haskins, Principal Officer in the RIA\textsuperscript{142}. In May 2008 the then Minister for Integration, Conor Lenihan, launched ‘Migration Nation’ that provided a statement on integration and diversity management. Speaking at the launch of the document the Minister stressed that ‘by putting the proper structure in place and by strategic planning for the future we can avoid the difficulties that other countries have experienced. A key facet of this will be the mainstream approach that will be taken in delivering services to migrants in order to avoid the advent of parallel communities’ (Minister Conor Lenihan 1/5/08)\textsuperscript{143}. A number of actions are set out to facilitate integration:

- A clear commitment to immigration laws that control and facilitate access to Ireland for skilled migrants with a contribution to make.
- A formal pathway to permanent residency and citizenship for those who qualify.
- A streamlined asylum process that progressively reduces inordinate administrative and legal delays.
- Specific funding from government and the philanthropic sector to support diversity management in Local Authorities, political parties, sporting bodies and faith-based groups who deal with migrant needs on a daily basis.
- Citizenship and long-term residency to be contingent on proficiency of skills in the spoken language of the country.
- More targeted support for teachers and parents dealing with diversity in the classroom or school setting.
- Enhanced institutional and legislative measures to be in place to combat exploitation or discrimination against migrants in the context of the government’s implementation of Towards 2016.
- New structures to assist and reflect the changed dynamic of migration into Ireland, i.e. a standing Commission on Integration, a Ministerial Council on Integration and a Task Force to establish future policy needs (Office of the Minister for Integration, 2008: 9).

The report outlines that the key ‘principles’ which will inform and underpin state policy with regard to integration are as follows:

- A partnership approach between the government and non-governmental organisations, as well as civil society bodies, to deepen and enhance the opportunities for integration.
- A strong link between integration policy and wider state social inclusion measures, strategies and initiatives.

\textsuperscript{142} Presented at a European Network Against Racism seminar on ‘Integration and active citizenship’ 27/1/06.

\textsuperscript{143} Full speech is accessible online: http://www.justice.ie/en/JELR/Pages/Migration%20Nation%20Launch
• A clear public policy focus that avoids the creation of parallel societies, communities and urban ghettos, i.e. a mainstream approach to service delivery to migrants.
• A commitment to effective local delivery mechanisms that align services to migrants with those for indigenous communities (Office of the Minister for Integration, 2008: 9-10).

The report particularly stresses the focus of ‘bottom up’ initiatives at a community level with the aim of promoting integration ‘on the ground’. The NESC also acknowledges that generally non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have a superior knowledge of local conditions and are equipped to communicate with immigrants and provide advocacy support, but they face significant constraints, particularly financial (NESC, 2006: 164). The NESC considers that for community groups to play an expanded role in the integration of immigrants ‘requires a sustained support by government and the development of a more mature working relationship across the sector, characterized by better coordination among NGOs and more effective ties with government ministries’ (NESC, 2006: 164). More recent research with immigrants has advocated more support for NGOs and for local government services (Focus Ireland/Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2009; Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2008). The following pages look at policy innovation.

4.3 ‘Implementing Integration’ - Policy Innovation

Debates about social exclusion have increasingly been linked with those about integration (Fanning, 2006b). The National Anti-Poverty Strategy (NAPS), since its inception in 1997, represented the first attempt by any state to adopt an explicit target against which progress in reducing poverty could be monitored\textsuperscript{144}. Following EU Commission recommendations the Revised National Anti-Poverty Strategy (2002) for the first time identified the importance of focusing on immigrants with the goal of ensuring ‘that members of ethnic groups resident in Ireland are not more likely to experience poverty than majority group members’ (Government of Ireland, 2002: 17; Adshead, 2009). However, no targets were set to address the goals as the report noted that ‘very little quantitative information is available about the socio-economic situation of foreign-born residents in Ireland’ and ‘it

\textsuperscript{144} The NAPS overall objective is to considerably reduce the numbers of those who are ‘consistently poor’ from 9% -15% to less than 5%-10% (Adshead, 2009; Adshead and Millar, 2007).
was not possible, therefore, to define specific targets for this group as a whole or for a particular ethnic group at this stage’ (Government of Ireland, 2002: 18). The most recent National Action Plan for Social Inclusion 2007-2016 (2007)\(^{145}\) highlighted goals for reducing poverty and social exclusion. The plan acknowledges that migrants, amongst other disadvantaged groups, did not benefit equally from the booming economy and are at risk of poverty and exclusion. By prioritising a number of ‘high-level goals’ the report argues that ‘these targeted actions and interventions are designed to mobilise resources to address long-standing and serious social deficits with the ultimate aim of achieving the objective of reducing consistent poverty (Government of Ireland, 2007: 13). The report focuses on integrating migrants through the provision of language support services in the education sector and aims to improve access to other public services to ‘develop a strategy aimed at achieving the integration of newcomers in our society. As an initial action, resources for the provision of 550 teachers for language supports in the education sector will be provided by 2009 and access to other public services through translation of information and supports will be improved’ (p.15)\(^{146}\). Between 2007 and 2013 a commitment of €36 million is planned ‘to facilitate coordination initiatives and generally promote integration’ (p.66). These include the provision of interpretation services in the local offices of the Department of Social and Family Affairs (DSFA) and the provision of web-based information guides about schemes in eight languages (Arabic, Chinese, French, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian and Spanish). Other commitments in the NAPS report are broad priorities aiming to improve employment access, education opportunities and health services. It should be noted that while the NAPS report refers to migrants, only one mention is given to refugees in relation to accessing an intercultural health service (p.64). There is no reference made to asylum seekers or direct provision in the accommodation section. The NAPS report (p.66) makes reference to the National Action Plan against Racism (NPAR) as containing other initiatives. The next section looks at policy responses around racism and discrimination.

\(^{146}\) Chapter 5 will look at education, including a focus on language support.
4.3.1 Policy Responses- Key policies and legislation

Ireland has relatively robust legislative provisions around racism and discrimination. The principal pieces of legislation are:

- Prohibition of Incitement to Hatred Act, 1989
- Employment Equality Act, 1998
- Equal Status Act, 2000
- Equality Act, 2004

The Prohibition of Incitement to Hatred Act, 1989 makes it an offence to incite hatred against any group of persons in the state or elsewhere on account of their race, colour, nationality, religion, ethnic or national origins, or membership of the Traveller community. There have been concerns about the effectiveness of this legislation, which has resulted in very few convictions. However, there is a lack of accurate data as the District Court does not publish decisions. A review of the Incitement to Hatred Act, 1989 was initiated in 2001 by the then Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform, John O’Donoghue; however, no changes occurred. In 2007 180 incidents of racism were reported to Gardai, up from a figure of 84 incidents in 2004 (O’Brien: 19/12/08). In 2008 the National Action Plan Against Racism published a report titled Combating Racism and Xenophobia through the Criminal Law that noted weaknesses and gaps in the way racism is dealt with in the courts and considerable under-reporting of racially motivated crime. The report makes a series of recommendations aimed at ensuring these crimes are dealt with more effectively. They include:

- Updating the Prohibition of Incitement to Hatred Act, 1989 to include racism on the internet.
- Promoting the use of the Public Order and Offences against the Person Acts as a means of prosecuting racist incidents.
- The publication of an annual Garda report on the level of racist crime in Ireland (O’Brien, 19/12/08).

In May 2001, the NCCRI established a system for recording incidents related to racism in Ireland. The final report compiled by the NCCRI covered the period of

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148 The growth of blogs like http://irishsavant.blogspot.com/ and forums like www.stormfront.org has seen a rise of racist commentary online.
January-December 2008 during which 106 racist incidents were reported, 42% of which related to Black Africans (2008: 4). 

Both the Equal Employment Acts, 1998 and 2004 and the Equal Status Acts, 2000 and 2004 provide for a range of protections that prohibit discrimination in the workplace and in the provision of goods and services on nine grounds. These grounds are gender, marital status, family status, sexual orientation, religion, age, disability, race and membership of the Traveller community. However, in relation to government services, only some services are explicitly recognised under the Equal Status Act (such as education); whereas others have been deemed not to fall under the Equal Status Act (such as the Gardaí). Yet even the areas that are covered, such as education, have certain exemptions. To ensure the implementation of these protections and provide easy access to redress in cases of discrimination or victimisation, the legislation also provided for the establishment of the Equality Authority and the Equality Tribunal. The Equality Act 2004 gave effect to more recent developments at European Union level in the area of equality protection, that is the Race Directive (2000/43/EC), the Framework Employment Directive (2000/78/EC) and the Gender Employment Equality Directive (2002/73/EC). In addition, the opportunity was taken in the Act of 2004 to introduce a number of technical improvements, including the significant development of transferring the jurisdiction in discriminatory dismissal cases from the Labour Court to the Equality Tribunal. This provides additional cohesion in the hearing of claims for redress under the Employment Equality Act. 

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149 The report outlines some of the cases brought to the NCCRI’s attention. For example, there was a report that some Irish taxi drivers were sticking “100% Irish” slogans on their taxis. The person reporting the incident claimed the intent of the stickers was to influence customers to take their taxis and not taxis driven by foreign nationals. It was felt that the campaign was racist in intent (p.7). Another incident of racism related to the article entitled “Africa is giving nothing to anyone – apart from AIDS” by Kevin Myers in the Irish Independent on 15th July 2008. The NCCRI received 18 racist incidents report related to the Myers article. For the full report refer to: http://www.nccri.ie/pdf/RacistIncidentsJuly-Dec08.pdf

150 Refer to the Equality Authority for more details: www.equality.ie

151 For example, the Catholic ethos of a school. The Equal Status Act Section 7(3)(c) states, ‘Where the establishment is a school providing primary or post-primary education to students and the objective of the school is to provide education in an environment which promotes certain religious values, it admits persons of a particular religious denomination in preference to others or it refuses to admit as a student a person who is not of that denomination and, in the case of a refusal, it is proved that the refusal is essential to maintain the ethos of the school.’

152 The Equality Tribunal: www.equalitytribunal.ie
Equality Tribunal 2007 Annual Report saw a 106% increase in claims on the race ground by employees claiming racial discrimination. 1978 (following the European Year against Racism) saw the establishment of the NCCRI which was an independent expert body working with both government and NGOs on matters relating to racism and interculturalism. The next section looks at the origins and development of the National Action Plan Against Racism.

4.3.2 The National Action Plan Against Racism 2005-2008

The 2005 publication of the National Action Plan against Racism 2005-2008 (NPAR) originated from commitments given by governments at the United Nations World Conference Against Racism in South Africa in 2001. The decision to develop the NPAR was further reaffirmed in Sustaining Progress, the Social Partnership Agreement 2003-2005 (DJELR, 2005). The report emphasises that the plan has focused on ‘reasonable and common sense measures to accommodate cultural diversity in Ireland’ (DJELR, 2005: 40). The NPAR identifies a framework for the development of a ‘more inclusive, intercultural society in Ireland…based on policies that promote interaction, equality of opportunity, understanding and respect’ (p.27). The report defines integration interestingly as ‘a range of targeted strategies for the inclusion of groups such as Travellers, refugees and migrants as part of the overall aim of developing a more inclusive and intercultural society’ (DJELR, 2005: 39). The intercultural framework included a range of measures that focused on building on the definition of integration. The intercultural framework underpinning the NPAR was based on the following elements:

- **Protection** – Effective protection and redress against racism
- **Inclusion** – Economic inclusion and equality of opportunity
- **Provision** – Accommodating diversity in service provision
- **Recognition** – Awareness of diversity
- **Participation** – Full participation in Irish society (DJELR, 2005: 27).

The methods envisaged to achieve the framework follow the same social partnership type language of inclusive engagement:

- Mainstreaming an intercultural approach into policy-making processes and

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into all relevant policy areas, with reference to Ireland’s commitments to equality and human rights;
• Targeting of specific strategies to overcome the inequalities experienced by specific groups informed by an evidence based approach to policy-making;
• Benchmarking progress through targets and timescales and the development of statistical strategies to provide the necessary data to measure such progress;
• Engagement of key stakeholders and drivers to support the implementation of the NPAR, including policy-makers, specialised and expert bodies, the social partners and local communities, which include groups representing cultural and ethnic minorities (DJELR, 2005: 28).

Most significant in the plan, the identification of the need to accommodate diversity in service provision is highlighted as being of particular importance, as is the focus on measuring outcomes rather than on a ‘one size fits all’ approach (DJELR, 2005: 30). A Strategic Monitoring Group was appointed by the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform to oversee the implementation of the plan. The individuals appointed to the group were from government departments, the social partners and relevant organisations. The group has available to it an annual budget of €1 million to make targeted interventions to further the strategic goals of the plan (NCCRI, 2007b: 16). To assist the group in its work, each government department nominated a liaison officer for intercultural issues. The steering group prioritised a number of initial initiatives to advance the action plan, including:

• Research Initiatives
• National Intercultural Health Strategy
• The Football Association of Ireland (FAI) Intercultural Strategy
• Grants Scheme for Sport, Recreation and the Arts
• Support for the Development of Anti-Racism and Diversity Plans
• An Intercultural Strategy for Youth Work
• Policing
• Anti-Racism Protocol for Political Parties
• Interpreting Services
• Schools (NCCRI, 2007b: 16-18)

However, it must be noted that the NPAR had no statutory basis and it was left to the NCCRI to monitor its implementation.

4.3.3 Significant Shifts?

Chapter 2 outlined that since 2008 Ireland has been hit by a global recession and a banking crisis. As a result of this the government has implemented severe cuts in
public expenditure, considered necessary to deal with the impact of the economic crisis. The first of these came in the budget in October 2008 and in relation to integration resulted in significant shifts in state policies. The NCCRI lost its position as an independent body and was subsumed into the Office of the Minister for Integration, which had its operational budget cut by 26% leaving it with a budget of €7.665 million for 2009. The Irish Human Rights Commission\footnote{The IHRC was established in 2001 as one of the conditions of the 1998 Belfast Agreement to ensure that human rights of all people in the state are fully realised and protected, in law, in policy and in practice.} budget was also cut by 24% whilst the Equality Authority budget was cut by 43%, resulting in the CEO, Niall Crowley, resigning (Crowley, 2010b). The abrupt closure of the government’s own anti-racism advisory body, NCCRI, received particular criticism. In the foreword of the final report published by the NCCRI, its chairperson Lucy Gaffney is very critical of the closure:

In midst of an economic crisis afflicting this country on a scale few of us anticipated when NPAR was established with its four year remit, organisations working in the area of integration and interculturalism are the first victims of government cutbacks. A decision has clearly been made that we can no longer afford to confront the potential for racism, precisely at the time when many immigrants living in Ireland are at their most vulnerable. We should be investing in schemes and projects to ensure that the type of social problems and tensions between immigrants and the local population that have afflicted other European countries with large numbers of foreign nationals do not emerge in Ireland. This is especially necessary during times of economic downturn when such tensions have a tendency to emerge (NCCRI, 2009: 2).

Whilst welcoming the establishment of the Office of the Minister for Integration Gaffney asks, ‘by creating a ministry that does not have a seat at Cabinet is the government in danger of limiting the potential for racism to be addressed at the highest level of decision-making in Ireland?’ (NCCRI, 2009: 2-3). Gaffney was clear to emphasise that the term ‘anti-racism’ had all but disappeared from official policy highlighting that ‘while there is now some focus on integration – albeit without any plan – it’s nearly as though anti-racism is done now. As if, “we’ve stamped that out”’ (quoted in Mac Cormaic, 21/3/09). The NPAR has now been wound up with no undertaking to implement a further plan despite ministers emphasising the challenges of averting tensions between immigrants and native born populations during a recession (Mac Cormaic, 21/3/09).
Following a junior ministerial reshuffle in April 2009, Conor Lenihan was replaced by John Curran, with integration being placed in a larger portfolio that includes community and drugs strategy. In 2009 the Report of the Special Group on Public Service Numbers and Expenditure Programmes (Known as An Bórd Snip Nua) was established to examine the current expenditure programmes in each government department. The report recommends that the government consider that the Office of the Minister for Integration should be discontinued and replaced with a requirement on each department to report annually on the promotion of cultural integration (GOI, 2009: 62). Also contradicting the government’s own aims in Migration Nation of having a bottom up approach towards integration, the budget in December 2009 resulted in the government deciding to:

...cut 30 community development projects entirely, projects that provided childcare, counselling, and community supports in disadvantaged areas, on the grounds that they were ‘non-viable’, and undermined community development projects in 150 other areas by merging them with Local Development Social Inclusion Partnership companies, effectively ending community-led initiatives (Browne, 23/12/09).

Crowley’s research (2010) has outlined that publicly the Irish government message has been stressing the need to protect immigrants and assist in their integration, particularly in recessionary times. This is clearly evident in a recent speech by Minister Curran (11/3/10) at the launch of the European Week against Racism stressing the Irish state’s open approach to migration and how we have not ‘seen the kind of serious racist incidents which have occurred in other countries’. The Minister went on to stress:

We are now facing many new challenges, during this economic downturn. Increasing numbers on the unemployment register and significant cuts in public expenditure have impacted upon everybody living here. We must be clear and unequivocal that racism has no place in our society and we must be very careful not to scapegoat migrants. Oversimplified discourses and unfounded accusations about immigrants merely serve to create

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155 Full title Minister of State with Special Responsibility for Drugs Strategy, Integration and Community Affairs.
156 An Bórd Snip Nua: The Expenditure Review Committee (more commonly known as An Bórd Snip) was an advisory committee established by the Irish government in 1987 to recommend cuts in state spending. In 2008 another board with a similar remit was established, referred to as ‘An Bórd Snip Nua’. ‘Nua’ is the Irish word for ‘new’.
separation and division in our society and to deny the enrichment which immigration has brought to our daily lives (Curran, 11/3/10).

A week previous to that the Minister was in Limerick to launch the city and county integration plan for 2010-2012, a plan that sets out a clear focus in the foreword by the joint chairs to establish Limerick as a ‘City of Equality’ with the plan promoting a strategic objective ‘to ensure refugees, asylum seekers and ethnic minorities are welcomed, supported and valued in the community’ (italics in the original p.4). Interestingly, the Minister’s speech, whilst welcoming the report, made no reference to refugees and asylum seekers but clearly made a direct reference to migrants 12 times – a glaring omission or part of the ‘hidden agenda’? In March 2010, following yet another cabinet reshuffle, Curran was replaced by Mary White, a Green Party TD, who was appointed Minister of State at the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform and the re-formed Department of Community, Equality and Gaeltacht Affairs with special responsibility for Equality, Human Rights and Integration. Minister White has made some welcome statements around her focus as minister. In March at the Green Party conference (27/3/10) White stressed that she was in ‘listening mode’. Following that, in White’s first major interview since being appointed she stated that she plans on setting up an integration task force consisting of immigrants and Irish representatives including academics and service providers (Smyth, 10/5/10). The Minister also outlined that she personally wished to reform the asylum process so that asylum seekers would be able to work. However, she noted that ‘the government position is that this is not tenable at the current time’ (quoted in Smyth, 10/5/10). The Minister also admitted that ‘there are pockets of Ireland where racism rears its ugly head’ and pledged to tackle rising discrimination (quoted in Smyth, 10/5/10). The next section charts some of the responses to racism.

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158 The plan can be accessed here: http://www.limerickcdb.ie/docs/2010/DORL_001_WEB.pdf

159 I received a copy of the speech from the Minister’s office on the 5/3/10. It should be noted that after Minister Curran launched the plan a panel discussion was chaired on ‘Integration and the Recession’. The Minister did not stay for the discussion. More importantly the launch was not attended by Mayor Kiely and no elected city or county councillor stayed for the panel discussion.

160 Speech can be accessed online: ‘Speech by Minister for Equality and Integration, Mary White: http://convention.greenparty.ie/?p=246
4.4 Racism and Anti-Racism in Ireland

Attitudes toward minorities and immigration (as measured by opinion polls) have hardened since the late 1990s (Garner and White, 2001). People have become less inclined to view immigration as positive (*Prime Time* 19/5/09). One of the major challenges to Irish society is racism that is not new but has become more visible now due to the rapid changes in society (*Coleman at Large* Newstalk 4/3/10; *Prime Time* 19/5/09; Murray & O’Doherty, 2001: 17) and due to the economic recession. Within politics there have been limited examples of openly expressed racist views. However, chapter 6 will illustrate a shift in negative comments towards migrants in particular since the recession. One example occurred in 2001 when a sitting Fianna Fáil TD from Cork, Noel O’Flynn, attacked asylum seekers saying the country was being ‘held hostage by spongers, wasters and con-men’ (Riegel and Niland, 27/01/02). Whilst the Taoiseach at the time, Bertie Ahern, described O’Flynn’s comments as neither being ‘educated’ nor ‘tolerant’, no punitive action was taken and O’Flynn topped the poll in the 2002 election (Mac Êinrí, 2009: 40; Fanning, 2009: 65). O’Flynn later used Dáil privilege to again attack illegal immigrants:

> Am I to tell the citizens of Cork that they have no right to express views on events such as occurred at the North Quay Centre a few days ago? Must I tell them not to complain about being pushed off the pavement by illegal immigrants because that would be racist? Will I tell shopkeepers in Cork that they are to close their eyes to the intimidation they are suffering when some groups of illegal immigrants enter their shops and steal from them? Some, as Deputies know, have chosen a life of crime, including credit card scams and drug dealing. Is this the behaviour of people who entered this country looking for asylum? Surely they should be behaving themselves and conforming with the laws of this country? (*Dáil Debates*, VOL. 547, 31/01/02)\(^{161}\).

Whilst not having any influential anti-immigrant parties such as the BNP in Britain or the Front National in France, there have been some developments. For example, the Immigration Control Platform (ICP) was launched in Ennis in December 1997 where, as Fanning (2009: 64) documents, anti-racist groups interrupted the inaugural meeting. The ICP describes itself an NGO advocating

\(^{161}\) The full debate is accessible online: [http://historical-debates.oireachtas.ie/en.toc.dail.html](http://historical-debates.oireachtas.ie/en.toc.dail.html)
organised immigration control\textsuperscript{162}. The leader of the ICP, Áine Ní Chonaill, has stood for election on a number of occasions. For example, in 2002 she ran in the Dublin South Central constituency and in spite of receiving much media profile she got only 926 first preference votes\textsuperscript{163}. In 2007 Ted Neville ran for the ICP in Cork South Central obtaining 804 votes for the party\textsuperscript{164} whilst Patrick Talbot ran in the 2009 Dublin central bye-election receiving only 614 votes\textsuperscript{165}. The ICP also ran candidates at the 2009 local election but only received a few hundred votes\textsuperscript{166}. In February 2010 the newly founded Irish National Party launched its core policies. Whilst stating it believes in ‘the equality of all peoples’ the party seeks ‘the immediate deportation of all illegal immigrants and asylum seekers who have had their application rejected and additional controls on further immigration from outside the European Union’\textsuperscript{167}. The party is currently conducting an opinion poll on the possibility of changing the party’s name as they ‘do now wish to be associated with the British National Party’ (February 2010). Online websites such as Stormfront (\url{www.stormfront.org}) have a very active section on Ireland with threads such as ‘ethnic crime’, ‘blacks in Ireland’ and ‘building a league of Irish patriots’\textsuperscript{168}. In Limerick the ‘Movement to Save Ireland’ circulated posters around the city in 2007 stating ‘multiculturalism is evil, the Irish people reject it’ and ‘mass immigration is harming you and your children’ and has an active blog\textsuperscript{169}. Whilst mainstream parties for the most part have not campaigned on anti-

\textsuperscript{162} ICP Website: \url{http://www.immigrationcontrol.org/index.html}


\textsuperscript{164} 2007 Cork South Central results breakdown available here: \url{http://www.rte.ie/news/elections2007/results/constit-7.html}

\textsuperscript{165} 2009 Dublin Central by-election results available here: \url{http://www.rte.ie/news/elections/bye/dublincentral.html}

\textsuperscript{166} Also refer to Talbot’s election manifesto: \url{http://www.immigrationcontrol.org/pattalbot.htm}

\textsuperscript{167} Refer to: \url{www.irishnationalparty.ie}

\textsuperscript{168} Refer to: \url{http://www.stormfront.org/forum/forumdisplay.php?f=41}

\textsuperscript{169} Refer to: \url{http://saveireland.blogspot.com/}
immigrant issues they have openly exploited anti-Traveller racism (Fanning, 2009; Mac Éinrí, 2009; Lentin and McVeigh, 2006; Hayes, 2006; Helleiner, 2003). In particular, Fanning (2009: 66) outlines how in the run up to the 2002 election a bill put forward by Fine Gael TD Olivia Mitchell, which sought to criminalise Travellers who halted on unofficial sites, was endorsed by the Fianna Fáil/Progressive Democrat government and resulted in the 2002 Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act getting overwhelming cross-party support without any debate on the adequacy of current Traveller accommodation or any consultation with Traveller organisations such as Pavee Point or the Irish Traveller Movement\textsuperscript{170}.

Conflicting attitudes on immigration in Ireland have been published. In 2006, the National Action Plan Against Racism published the results of an attitudinal survey on migration to Ireland updating the findings of a similar survey carried out in 2003. The research showed that attitudes had softened in recent years with only 13% of respondents saying they had witnessed racism or racist behaviour, a significant drop on the figure from a comparable survey done three years earlier. But there were also apparent inconsistencies. While 58% said they did not feel insecure about the presence of so many newcomers, 45% went on to declare themselves ‘very concerned or somewhat concerned’ about the freedom of movement brought about by EU enlargement\textsuperscript{171}. A week after that survey a poll of immigrants' attitudes conducted by the ESRI (2006) (and that excluded refugees, student visa holders and illegal immigrants) found that 35% of recent immigrants said they had been insulted, threatened or harassed in public because of their ethnic or national origin. For black Africans the figure was higher: 53% of them reported some form of harassment on the street or on public transport (Mac Cormaic, R., The Irish Times; 30\textsuperscript{th} May 2007). The Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS) is a large-scale, nationwide survey of households in Ireland undertaken by the CSO. In 2004 the survey included a special section on equality

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{170} Irish Traveller Movement response to the legislation: \url{http://www.itmtrav.com/publications/PR-RawDeal02.html} and Pavee Point response: \url{http://www.paveepoint.ie/publicationsAccommodation.html}.

\textsuperscript{171} Data accessed from ‘Significant Shifts in Understanding and Awareness of Non-Irish Nationals and their Role in Irish Society over the past three years’: \url{http://www.diversityireland.ie/News/Current/Research_into_Opinions.html} (This site no longer exists due to cuts to NCCRI).
\end{footnotesize}
(QNHS Quarter 2, 2004) and found that 24% of non-Irish nationals reported having experienced discrimination, compared to less than 12% of Irish nationals (CSO, 2005). The CSO survey also found that 32% of persons of ‘Other Ethnic Backgrounds’ reported having experienced discrimination, compared to 12% of those of ‘White Ethnic Background’. The Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform at the time, Brian Lenihan TD, warned that while Ireland has not yet had any great racial tensions ‘the mood would change very very quickly were there any economic downswing’ (Fanning, A., The Sunday Independent; 24th June, 2007).

As Ireland is now in an economic ‘downswing’ recent EU-wide research undertaken by the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) shows Ireland among the worst of all the EU countries when it comes to victims of racial discrimination and abuse\(^1\). The research found that 73% of those surveyed of Sub-Saharan African origin and 25% of those from new EU Member states stated that they considered discrimination based on ethnic or immigrant origin is widespread in Ireland. The survey provided a ‘top ten’ of European countries where immigrants from specific groups were experiencing the highest levels of discrimination over a 12 month period. In descending order, these were:

Roma in the Czech Republic (64%), Africans in Malta (63%), Roma in Hungary (62%), Roma in Poland (59%), Roma in Greece (55%), Sub-Saharan Africans in Ireland (54%), North Africans in Italy (52%), Somalis in Finland (47%), Somalis in Denmark (46%), and Brazilians in Portugal (44%) (FRA, 2009: 9).

The research found that in 2008 discrimination occurred in a range of areas, including when seeking employment, buying or renting a house, at school or in a restaurant or bar, or in accessing health and social services. Ireland was also among the worst five EU countries where people of Sub-Saharan African origin had experienced racist crime or victimisation such as theft, assault or harassment. The survey also showed that people of immigrant or ethnic background avoided

\(^1\) The EU-wide survey, which is the first ever survey of its kind on immigrant and ethnic minority groups’ experiences of discrimination and racist crime, was carried out for the FRA by GALLUP with face-to-face interviews of some 23,500 people of ethnic and immigrant backgrounds across Europe. For the full results of the survey visit the EU-MIDIS web area at http://fra.europa.eu/eu-midis/
certain places for fear of being assaulted or seriously harassed because of their ethnicity whilst there was also a low level of trust in the police, in particular by 59% of Sub-Saharan African respondents in Ireland, the highest rate recorded across the 27 countries (FRA, 2009: 17). It is particularly stark that the majority of those surveyed in Ireland did not know of any organisations offering support and advice to people who have been discriminated against (FRA, 2009). The recent budget cuts to the Irish Human Rights Commission (IHRC) and the Equality Authority, and the closure of the NCCRI, are only likely to worsen this situation. Recent research from Trinity College with 169 young immigrants aged 15-18 (Gilligan et al., 2010: 67-68) found that racism ‘surfaced in many forms of the young people’s lives, at school, on the street, in looking for work’ and was not raised in focus groups by the researchers but by the young people themselves. The next section looks at the inclusion of immigrants in debates about active citizenship and the debate around the expectations for immigrants.

4.5 Active Citizenship

The former Taoiseach Bertie Ahern declared that ‘community is the thread that holds together the fabric of our society and our future’ (An Taoiseach Bertie Ahern, Village: 9-12 September, 2005: 10). Former Taoiseach Ahern stressed the importance of the concept of social capital in the ‘development and evaluation of public policy’ explaining it as relating to ‘networks, relationships and feelings of belonging, of trust and of civic responsibility’ (Ahern, 2003). Ahern expressed his admiration for Putnam and in particular his work in Bowling Alone (2000) describing him as an ‘extraordinary genius’ (O’Regan, 2005). Ahern invited Putnam to address the Fianna Fáil parliamentary party in 2004 on the collapse of civic values in the US (O’Brien, 1/8/09). A subsequent Task Force on Active Citizenship was appointed in 2006 to identify ‘the extent to which citizens engage in the issues that affect them and their communities’ (Task Force on Active Citizenship, 2007: Foreword). An exact definition of active citizenship is difficult to find; however, it is variously referred to as being about ‘engagement, participation in society and valuing contributions made by individuals, whether they are employed or outside the traditional workforce’, implying duties as well as rights (Task Force on Active Citizenship, 2007: 2) and being ultimately concerned
with the ‘underlying values which shape behaviour by individuals as members of communities’ (Task force on Active Citizenship, 2007: 3). In describing the range of activities implied by the notions of engagement and participation, membership of political parties and sporting organisations is mentioned, as are voluntary work, caring for a family member or neighbour and ‘simply being active and caring about the local neighbourhood, the environment as well as larger global and national issues’ (Task Force on Active Citizenship, 2007: 2).\footnote{The report also notes that Ireland has a ‘very centralised policy-making and service delivery system’ (Task Force on Active Citizenship, 2007: 20) and recognises the need for ‘a significant decentralisation of decision-making power and associated reform of revenue-raising capabilities at local level’ (Task Force on Active Citizenship, 2007: 25).}

Whilst not having any immigrants on the appointed task force, one change the report does acknowledge is migration and it devotes a whole section to ‘Ethnic and Cultural Diversity and the Challenge of Engaging Newcomers’ (Task Force on Active Citizenship, 2007: 22). It argues that ‘a balance is required between integration and absorption of norms of civic behaviour here, on the one hand, and on the other respect for differences in culture, languages and customs’ (Task Force on Active Citizenship, 2007: 22). Recommendations include the establishment of a formal citizenship ceremony and the organisation of courses on ‘Irish history, democratic institutions, culture, language and traditions’ (Task Force on Active Citizenship, 2007: 23). More vaguely, Irish community and voluntary sectors are ‘encouraged to undertake proactive initiatives to reach out and engage newcomers to Irish society’ (Task Force on Active Citizenship, 2007: 23). The report also looks at newcomers seeking Irish citizenship and recommends that they be formally inducted into society and that ‘appropriate information material and education courses should, once developed and established, become a more structured part of the process of becoming an Irish citizen’ (Task Force on Active Citizenship, 2007: 23). However, no mention is made in the report of an onus on Irish citizens to learn about the history, culture, language and traditions of newcomers. Indeed the majority of the focus on integration is on the newcomer, nowhere more evident than in the area of language proficiency (see chapter 5). Cronin argues that the:
...strictly unilateral construction of Irish society leads to a formulation of what we might term ‘reactive’ rather than ‘active’ citizenship. What is meant by reactive citizenship? In the context of migration, is the construction of citizenship in reaction to external circumstances in a manner that sees citizenship as a matter of blood rather than soil defines citizenship wholly in terms of non-reciprocal obligations (Cronin, 2009: 74-75).

As outlined previously, the 2004 Citizenship Referendum, the 2008 Immigration, Residence and Protection Bill and the non-reciprocal expectation of immigrants in the 2007 Active Citizenship Task Force all highlight a notion of citizenship that is highly reactive to immigrants. Recently the Report of the Special Group on Public Service Numbers and Expenditure Programmes (known as An Bórd Snip Nua) was established to examine the current expenditure programmes in each government department. The report recommended that the government consider that the Office of the Minister for Integration should be discontinued and replaced with a requirement on each department to report annually on the promotion of cultural integration (GOI, 2009: 62). The report also recommended the discontinuation of programmes within the Department of the Taoiseach which were no longer justifiable given the significantly reduced Exchequer resources available with the ‘Active Citizenship Office falling into this category’ (GOI, 2009: 71).

What of the experience of immigrants in integrating into a community? Recent research published by the Central Statistics Office (CSO, 2009) on community attachment and social networks from 2006 data highlighted:

- Persons most and least likely to participate in group activities: Irish nationals (66%) compared with non-Irish nationals (47%) (CSO, 2009: 10).
- Participation in informal charitable work: Irish nationals (25%) compared with non-Irish nationals (16%) (CSO, 2009: 12).

The research highlighted that immigrants had a weaker sense of attachment to their neighbourhood than Irish people, were more likely to feel socially isolated and less likely to take part in unpaid charitable work or civic activities. However, a number of factors need to be considered in relation to why immigrants have a weaker sense of attachment; for example, the length of time an immigrant has been in Ireland
may have a bearing, or it can be argued that Irish citizens have a disproportionate sense of attachment (Adshead and Tonge, 2009: 125-126). The CSO data were collected in 2006, just two years after the EU enlargement that led to high levels of immigration from Central and Eastern Europe. Another explanation is that many immigrants work long hours in low-income jobs, and don’t have much free time to give. Volunteering rates are high among immigrants in certain sectors, notably in churches and in their communities’ representative groups. For example, research by Ugba (2007) looked at African Pentecostal churches in Ireland and their importance as they prepare members ‘to gain confidence and skills they need to cope with the demands of larger society’ (Ugba, 2007: 182).

Recently research has also looked at the participation of immigrants in politics (Fanning et al., 2009). Whilst non-citizen residents cannot run or vote in a general election they can do so in local elections. In June 2007 Rotimi Adebari was elected mayor of Portlaoise and Ireland’s first black mayor, and was one of two Nigerian former asylum seekers elected as independent councillors in the 2004 local government election. He was invited to the Houses of the Oireachtas by John O’Donoghue, the Ceann Comhairle at the time, who described the Adebari election as ‘a significant moment in Ireland’s development’ envisioning that it would ‘only be a matter of time before we see “New Irish” elected to the Houses of Oireachtas’ (O’Donoghue quoted in Fanning, 2009: 145). The Office of the Minister for Integration’s Migration Nation report emphasised the role of political parties in integration:

Given the number of migrants who live in Ireland it is essential that every effort is made to ensure that as many as possible engage with the political system and participate to the maximum extent possible…It is clear that all parties have embraced migrants as members. The challenge is to further encourage more to become active in political life both at local and national level (Office of the Minister for Integration, 2008: 44).

The report envisaged funding for political parties to implement integration plans; however, this has been put on hold due to the current economic crisis. Also Fanning et al.’s (2009: 2) research on political parties and immigrants illustrates that political parties’ efforts in recruiting immigrants have been ‘amateurish and
ineffective’ with parties monitoring immigrant membership on the basis of surnames on their registration list. The research also interviewed immigrant election candidates who found the term ‘immigrant candidate’ exclusionary as it presumed that a candidate was only there to represent the needs of immigrants. The 2009 local elections saw 41 ‘immigrant candidates’ running for local government seats with only two candidates being elected, both outside the major cities. Katarzyna Gaborec, originally from Poland, made the breakthrough for Fianna Fáil on Mullingar Town Council while Rotimi Adebari retained his seat on Portlaoise Town Council (Mac Cormaic, 15/6/09). The next section looks at the current debates around diaspora.

4.5.1 Shifting to Diaspora?
Recently the discourse on immigration and on integration has shifted towards integrating Ireland’s diaspora. Article 2 of the Irish Constitution states that the ‘Irish nation cherishes its special affinity with people of Irish ancestry living abroad who share its cultural identity and heritage’ (Bunreacht na hÉireann, 1937: Article 2). Coogan’s (2000: ix) book outlines the ‘green gene’ where ‘some 70 million people in the globe are entitled to call themselves Irish, a remarkable statistic when one considers that there are only five million people on the island of Ireland itself’. Whilst Coogan does not elaborate on what ‘entitles’ a person to call themselves Irish, Howard (2007: 85) notes the figure of 70 million has obscure origins but has become ‘part of discursive construction of modern Ireland’\(^\text{174}\). Hayward and Howard (2007: 47-50) outline how the state, through FÁS’s ‘Jobs Ireland’ campaign, mobilised the ‘emotive discourses of blood and soil’ to persuade ‘our’ people to ‘come home’ to fill the gaps in the labour market, targeting places such as Sydney, Berlin, Newfoundland, United States, Britain and South Africa.

In 2005 economist David McWilliams’ book *The Pope’s Children* (2005) looked at the social and economic impact of the Celtic Tiger. His follow up in 2007, *The Generation Game*, looked at post-Celtic Tiger Ireland. McWilliams argues that debates on immigration have been dominated by those not threatened by it such

\(^{174}\) One of the earliest references to the figure of 70 million is found in Kearney (1988: 7).
as academics, journalists and politicians. This, according to McWilliams, results in political and economic correctness and a subsequent shut down of the debate:

If the Right have a workers-not-people view, the Left, on the other hand, have what is best described as a ‘United Colours of Benetton’ approach, where discussion of the wisdom of mass immigration is characterised by sanctimony. The right-on, soft Left view appears to be that it is our role to take in as many colours, creeds and people as possible and that it is up to us to adapt them. This approach leads to silly censorship where any questioning of the appropriate level of immigration is immediately slapped down with accusations of racism (McWilliams, 2007: 60).

McWilliams forecasts a crisis in immigration that can be avoided if culturally compatible immigrants are selected from the Irish diaspora rather than from the European Union and non-EU countries. McWilliams argues that due to economic growth immigration was accepted as part of a contract based on full employment and rising house prices. However, he claims this has now left an anxious generation exposed to economic downturn looking for scapegoats:

We are now at a turning point and people are conflicted. Everything seems rosy, but something’s not quite right. We are rich but feel poor; we are strong but feel weak. Our pensions and jobs feel less secure. We are overdrawn, overtired, overworked and overstretched. There are foreigners everywhere and our neighbours’ jobs are moving to the East. For Sale signs are staying up longer, house prices are falling, yet the cost of living is rising. There are ten foreign children in your child’s class, yet the building is falling down. No-one says hello anymore. The place is different, it’s unravelling and we feel like outsiders (McWilliams, 2007: 209).

McWilliams outlines a conflict between ‘Hibernians’, which refers to ‘those Irish people who regard themselves as Irish first, expressed by the Catholic religion, Irish culture, history and language’ (McWilliams, 2005: 216), and ‘Cosmopolitans’, defined as those people born on the island of Ireland who regard themselves first as citizens of the world and secondly as Irish (McWilliams, 2005: 216). McWilliams describes an election rally for an Independent candidate in Greystones, Co. Wicklow:

They concluded that we, the people, needed more power, more community; more of us, less them; more national, less international; more Hibernian, less Cosmopolitan. This is a new version of the old conflict between Hibernianism and Cosmopolitanism which has characterised our thinking since the foundation of the State. When there are threats, perceived or actual, from outside we regroup and want to go back to a
McWilliams (2007: 242-243) calls for a ‘New Hibernia’ modelled to some extent on Zionism and Jewish history by highlighting how the Jewish Diaspora is independent of the Israeli state but contributes money, influence and brainpower:

Jews around the world, most of whom have no traceable ancestors there, come back to Israel to recharge their Jewishness. They support Israel materially and Israel gives them a feeling of authenticity and a sense of belonging. They are part of the tribe. From an economic perspective, the Jewish Diaspora expands Israel’s human capital. By granting all Jews the right of return, the right to settle there, the country has created a tangible modern link with an intangible spiritual yearning. Both sides benefit (McWilliams, 2007: 243).

In a section titled ‘Culture Matters’ McWilliams argues that ‘although it is not politically correct to say so, it is easier to integrate a third- or fourth-generation Irish-American family who have a vested interest in this country than it is a Moroccan Muslim family with French passports who don’t speak the language, some of whom wear the veil or believe in arranged marriages’ (2007: 255). McWilliams suggests removing Ireland from EU membership as it is creating an immigration policy ‘at odds with our history’ and focusing on recruiting the Irish diaspora (2007: 257), stressing the appeal of this idea by outlining that:

They go to the core of the globalisation versus community struggle. Many Irish people believe we are being swept along on an external tide of change, from immigration, to economic downsizing, to multinationals, to foreign money, washing over us. Others claim that our culture has become too self-absorbed, celebrity driven, narcissistic, cynical and self-serving. For some we are even witnessing the end of our civilisation (McWilliams, 2007: 211).

Indeed McWilliams further argues that unlike the Israelis the Irish state has ‘no “Palestinians”, an Irish right to return would threaten no-one’ (McWilliams, 2007: 211).

McWilliams has developed this argument in a number of newspaper articles175 advocating that Ireland follow the Israeli example and ‘institute a "right of return" policy and extend citizenship to people of Irish descent, beyond the current cut-off point of two generations’ (McWilliams, 18/3/09). McWilliams also proposed that

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175 All McWilliams’ articles are available online at http://www.davidmcwilliams.ie/
the Irish government hold an economic conference similar to the one held every January in Davos, Switzerland. As a result the Irish government held a forum titled ‘The Global Irish Economic Forum’ at the Farmleigh Estate on the weekend of 18-20th September 2009. The main focus of the forum was to invite 180 entrepreneurs and business leaders with Irish roots to discuss reviving Ireland’s economy. However, one of the plenary sessions held was ‘Ireland and its Diaspora: Harnessing a Unique Resource’ to look at future plans for linking in with Ireland’s diaspora. Suggestions included the establishment of an online portal called ‘Gateway Ireland’. In May 2010 the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Micheál Martin, announced that tourists with Irish ancestry would be eligible for a ‘certificate of Irish heritage’. Whilst not giving any entitlements to citizenship the certificate would allow tourists, once successful, to be issued ‘with a small credit-card style card giving discounted rates at tourist venues’ (Irish Times, 19/5/10).

The next section moves to the experiences of immigrants and service providers in implementing integration at a local level in Co. Clare.

4.6 Case Study: Integration in Co. Clare

This section focuses upon the various ways in which immigrants have integrated into County Clare by reflecting on how immigrants have succeed or failed to make connections with local people and, more generally, to begin to perceive themselves to be full members of the community. Secondly, the section looks at the experience and the response of local service providers and community groups in implementing integration. Experience has shown that if immigrants arrive to a place of work in which they do not share the same rights and entitlements as citizens or in which they work only with their compatriots, then working experience can help to set immigrants apart from their host communities rather than generating ties between them (Rajasekar, 4/3/10). Therefore the focus in this section is on the theme of social integration and upon the various ways in which immigrants can join their host society and begin to share a wider sense of community with local citizens. There will also be a specific focus on accommodation and integration, particularly looking at the perceptions of asylum

176 For further details refer to: https://www.globalirishforum.ie/
177 This session can be watched in full: http://www.rte.ie/news/features/economicforum/clip16_av.html
seekers in direct provision and their experience of integration. Also, it was outlined to focus group participants that in general there are three main models of incorporation (differential exclusion, assimilation, and multiculturalism) and participants (both immigrants and service providers) were asked which model of integration seemed to be relevant to Ireland. Resulting from discussions and supporting the conclusion in chapter 2 it was agreed that, depending on the type of access an immigrant has, all three modes of incorporation can be applied to Irish state responses to immigration. Added to this are four specific variables that impact on immigration, which arose from questionnaire responses and focus group participants. These are status, colour, religion and perceptions of Irishness. These models will be developed further in the following sections. The first of these looks at whether the status of an immigrant impacts on how they integrate.

### 4.7 Status

Participants in the social integration service providers’ focus group (17/5/07) outlined integration as being mixed and dependent on the status of the immigrant. One participant made reference to Ireland as having a ‘mixed bag’ and outlined that immigrants from Eastern European countries tended to ‘stick together and perhaps have been very slow to integrate’ (Social Integration Focus Group, 17/5/07). This was the same in the Clarecare focus group where service providers spoke of the tendency of the Nigerian Community to group together:

> Some of my clients, they would have a tendency to group, especially maybe the Nigerians, they would be part of a Nigerian community here in Ennis and they would group, and sometimes I suppose that can cause its own problems in that they’re not that open, I would have found, with me. It’s as if they’ve been told to be careful what to say and they don’t know whether you’re a friend or enemy. So sometimes that can be a little bit problematic I suppose when you are working with them. You know there are situations, depending on how long they are here (Clarecare Focus Group, 29/5/07).

Another service provider pointed out that whilst asylum seekers were ‘supposedly’ provided with an integration programme (focusing on services and information on the area) the direct provision accommodation was not the best model for integration:
It is certainly not the thrust or the thinking behind direct provision of asylum seekers that there would be integration into the community. In fact it would be the opposite and it would be that people would not be in employment so therefore that is a natural vehicle of integration that you wouldn’t think about, it’s just a natural place to mix and get to know people isn’t it (Social Integration Focus Group, 29/5/07).

The health and welfare focus group (21/5/07) service providers agreed that integration was dependent on the status of the immigrant. They highlighted that EU citizens, due to their rights and entitlements, can integrate easily whilst for some non-EU citizens ‘in tandem with that we have the sort of ghettoisation, institutionalised ghettoisation of some groups’. However, participants stressed that both groups have vulnerabilities. The following section looks at the experiences of different immigrants in integrating and will look in particular at whether their status impacts on how they integrate.

4.7.1 West Africans and Nigerians

Questionnaire evidence suggested that West Africans generally and Nigerians (the majority of whom were either asylum seekers or refugees), have been very successful in building connections with Irish co-residents. However, focus group informants suggested that Nigerians were also especially likely to inhabit a world of quite dense overlapping networks, networks that engaged separately different communities of neighbours, their children’s school-friends’ parents, and for different purposes their own compatriots. Nigerians within the direct provision centre have been able to reconstruct the social life supplied at home through extended families. This support system seems to have provided the springboard that has enabled Nigerians to establish themselves as settled local residents. One service provider noted that:

The Nigerians in particular are pretty fantastic at it. They are really good. You find they may have naming ceremonies, a few, six or seven days after and it’s a real connection and a real gathering… the majority of them have established good networks, you’d nearly able to identify the people that haven’t very quickly you know (Health and Welfare Focus Group, 21/5/07).
However, comments about the Nigerians were not always positive and somewhat conflicting. In one of our focus groups we were told by a social worker that ‘Nigerians tend to group together… they’re not that open… It’s as if they’ve been told to be careful what to say and they don’t know whether you are a friend or an enemy’ (Clarecare Focus Group, 29/5/07). On the one hand, the questionnaires indicate a strong tendency among Nigerians (and West Africans more generally) to form local friendships with Irish neighbours and parents of their children’s classmates. On the other hand focus group informants, mainly service providers who have wide experience of Clare immigrant communities, suggest that Nigerians have a robust sense of group cohesion. There is a perception that Nigerians are clustering in certain neighbourhoods, and may even be guarded in their attitudes to outsiders. Both impressions may be valid as group solidarity may not preclude social connections with Irish people and may help to generate the social confidence needed to deal with Irish society, institutions and officials. It may be no coincidence that a former Nigerian immigrant, Taiwo Matthew, had succeeded at the time in winning a seat on the Ennis City Council. Matthew, originally from Lagos, Nigeria, became the first immigrant to be elected to any local council when he was voted in as an Independent member of the Ennis town council in County Clare in 2004. However, in the 2009 election he lost his seat.178

More generally, Nigerians impressed service providers who attended focus groups by their propensity for taking up local services. Unlike many of the immigrants who arrive in Clare, Nigerians usually speak fluent English, are often well educated and are regular church attendees. Experience and longevity as a local community may also be important as Nigerians helped to constitute one of the earliest distinct and geographically concentrated African immigrant settlements in the Lahinch Road vicinity of Ennis.

4.7.2 On the Margins

If West Africans represent a relatively well integrated group among the Clare immigrants, with social networks enriched, extended and complicated by local

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178 County Clare also had Ireland’s first, and so far only, elected Muslim TD: on Wednesday 25th November 1992 Dr. Moosajee Bhamjee was elected as a Labour candidate in the Clare constituency. He declined to stand again in the following 1997 general election. Refer to: http://www.Clarelibrary.ie/eolas/Claremuseum/acquisitions/bhamjee_election_flyer1.htm
friendships, Czech and Slovak Roma seem to be especially socially isolated. Focus group observations suggested that Czech-Roma women are particularly marginalised socially, tending to remain in the home even when all their children are at school. Only one Roma out of 60 mothers at Ennis Educate Together School (a favourite school for Roma parents) can drive (VEC Tutors, 15/5/07).

But it seems to me that there’s an area where they are outside of mainstream very much, it may be in a different kind of way. The children are very poor attenders at school and it doesn’t seem to be followed through in the way that the other children would be. The women tend to remain at home, isolated (VEC Tutors’ Focus Group, 15/5/07).

Roma children are erratic school attendees. The girls especially leave school early to marry, despatched for this purpose by their families to the Czech Republic at very young ages, sometimes 14 or 15 (refer further to chapter 5). In general, we were told, ‘Roma don’t really integrate with the Irish either, they stick to themselves… (and remain) very reliant on family or friends’ (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07). Even at school, Roma children were likely to cluster together, learning English very slowly, marked out from their classmates by their participation in a ‘Gangsta’ sub-culture imported from the Czech Republic and derived from African American rap music, an internalisation of their stigmatised ‘black’ status in the Czech Republic. As stated earlier in chapter 3, the evidence in this research includes no direct testimony from Roma informants as unfortunately they were absent from the focus groups and from the groups interviewed through questionnaires.

4.7.3 Encapsulated Communities

Polish migrants were also a group that was a target for generalised comments. They appeared to fall into two groups with respect to the extent to which they become connected to local social life. These groups probably correspond to the categories identified earlier in this report in the section on work:

1. People with relatively open access to the labour market, that is entering Ireland with work visas and well qualified and educated, and usually quite young
2. Trade and craft workers, employed in factories or in construction, often seasonal, and generally male including a significant group of older men.
In our survey of migrants most of our respondents evidently belonged to the first group, mainly engaged in the service sector: 28 were employed in hotels and restaurants. Only one worked in a factory, though seven were employed in construction. Of this group many were third-level educated so a large proportion were working below their skill level. Both groups, young well qualified and older craft/trade workers, are present in the large Polish community living in Kilrush (referred to further in chapter 6). For example, there are 600 Polish workers, contracted by a Polish company, who work at the Moneypoint ESB power plant near Kilrush, mainly on shift work. All the 16 Polish participants that partook in the Kilrush focus group outlined that there was a sizeable participation in English language classes but there was a need for more flexible classes. For this group, work would provide very limited social interaction with Irish people. In general, it was reported that where large groups of Polish workers were employed they would sit together during work breaks (Ennistymon Ethnic Minorities’ Focus Group, 28/5/07). During tea breaks, Polish and Lithuanian workers on Ennis construction sites sit in separate areas from the Irish (Social Integration Focus Group, 17/5/07).

However, Polish families as well as young single men live in Kilrush. Respondents in one focus group perceived that attendance at local churches and, for women in particular, the experience of working in shops was important in helping to foster social connections with local people (Health and Welfare Focus Group, 21/5/07). One observer reported that the Polish population in Kilrush falls into two groups, that is, middle class settled families and transient male families – two quite separate communities in fact (VEC Tutors’ Focus Group, 15/5/07). East European male alcohol abuse through street drinking was raised as an issue in the Health and Welfare Focus Group. Respondents in the focus group also expressed concern that Irish girls were having problems with East European men in pubs, and teenagers from secondary schools felt intimidated (Health and Welfare Focus Group, 21/5/07). In Ennistymon, life is comparably bleak for single male Polish construction workers. A participant in a focus group of migrants in Ennistymon said that members of their community ‘know nothing about English and they were forced to come here and they arrive, it’s like in and out of work and then back home. Four or five people live in same house…. Probably just sending money’
Migrant workers lamented the absence of sports facilities in Ennistymon and one man outlined how a group of men had begun to use a basketball court next to the school but were then asked by a school administrator to leave and were told that the school did not have the appropriate insurance cover (Ennistymon Ethnic Minority Focus Group, 28/5/07). More generally, East European immigrants are often taken aback by the lack of public sports facilities in Irish towns.

Questionnaire evidence supplied by migrant workers attending language classes provides a slightly less discouraging picture than the above representations of life out of working hours at Ennistymon (see Figure 15). The questionnaires were completed in Ennis, which as the main county town has the fullest range of recreational options. Of 71 respondents, 15 cited access to nearby sporting facilities (seven of these were Polish). Twenty-eight of these respondents were Polish and seven used local sports facilities. Forty-two acknowledged access to public libraries, 37 used pubs, 30 had attended the cinema and 56 accessed the internet. A total of 21 (including 12 Poles) watched live sport and eight attended GAA fixtures. Roughly the same proportions of usage of recreational alternatives were evident among the asylum seeker/refugee group: here East Europeans mainly constituted the pub-going group – and only one Nigerian reported visiting pubs.

**Figure 15: Migrants’ recreational options**

![Migrants' recreational options chart](image-url)
Key:
1 – Nearby Sporting Facilities
2 – Public Library
3 – Pub/Bar
4 – Community Centre
5 – Youth Club
6 – Internet
7 – Cinema
8 – Theatre/Arts Centre
9 – Watching Sport
10 – GAA
11 – Other

In the case of the comparatively large Polish community, church-going or visiting the pub may not represent opportunities for contact with local people: both Ennis and Limerick have Polish clergymen, Polish pubs and other provisions for sustaining Polish community life. The availability of Polish radio services and, through satellite, Polish television may help to encapsulate further the Polish immigrant communities. The Polish participants in English language classes in Kilrush listened only to Polish radio and watched only Polish television (Social Integration Focus Group, 17/5/07). This impression was partly substantiated by our questionnaire evidence: 17 out of 24 Polish respondents watched home country satellite programmes and a minority of 10 watched RTE. In this context, the minority of migrants who watch live GAA fixtures may represent a group especially likely to develop social networks that embrace local people. The experiences of the Polish communities show a clear conflict with Schierup, Hansen & Castles (2006) three modes of incorporation. Chapter two summarised that European Economic Area (EAA) immigrants fit under the ‘multiculturalism’ mode. The research in county Clare showed that this is indeed the case but for those who were young, well qualified and who had settled with families. In contrast the experiences of transient older single Polish men in Kilrush could be classified to the ‘differential exclusion’ mode due to their temporary and isolating experiences. The next section looks at the status and experience of asylum seekers.

4.7.4 Status of Asylum Seekers and Direct Provision

Direct provision in County Clare comprised two facilities when this research was
undertaken. The first was Clare Lodge in Ennis which was privately owned and leased to the state with a capacity of 65 and was a centre for single men. The second was the Knockalisheen centre in Meelick on the Clare/Limerick border, which was state-owned and had a capacity of 300. On 14th August 2009 the Reception and Integration Agency faxed 62 residents of Clare Lodge to inform them that they were to be moved from the centre with a week’s notice to other direct provision centres in Killarney, Tralee, Sligo, etc. The centre was closed on 29th August. The letter stated:

In the ongoing review of our portfolio of accommodation the RIA wishes to confirm that it will be closing the Clare Lodge Accommodation centre in the coming weeks...In order to minimise the disruption to residents transfers will be arranged on a phased basis over the coming weeks to alternative RIA accommodation. You should approach your local Community Welfare Officer and request a travel voucher for this purpose (Judge, 19/9/09).

The decision was condemned by Ennis CDP arguing that many members had developed strong ties with the local community and that direct provision was ‘designed to keep asylum seekers socially isolated and that such policies are having a devastating effect on the mental health and wellbeing of these already vulnerable people’ (Ennis CDP Press release, 26/8/09). A focus group was held with residents of Knockalisheen (16/6/07) and with HSE workers who provided services to residents in Knockalisheen (19/6/07). However, it is important to highlight in relation to findings that the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, the Reception and Integration Agency, and Campbell’s Catering who run the centre did not wish to participate in the consultation so the research does not include their views. At the beginning of July 2007 Knockalisheen Centre accommodated 263 asylum seekers. This group included 55 families, most including two or three children. The residents represented 42 nationalities, including 21 African countries. East Europeans also made up a significant proportion of the population. Accommodation of single men was reinstated in 2003 after the closure of another centre and has remained in place even though several younger women reported feeling threatened by their presence and stated that they had complained to service providers (HSE Service Providers’ Focus

\[179\] Aramark/Campbell Catering Ltd.’s current contract to run Knockalisheen runs from 28/02/2009 27/02/2011 (from Dáil Response by Minister Dermot Ahern 9/7/09).
Group (SPFG), 19/6/07). In the focus group attended by Knockalisheen residents, participants had lived at the centre for periods that ranged between six months and five years. We asked the 11 participants to outline how long they had been living in Knockalisheen:

- A - Female, no country of origin specified, been in Knockalisheen for three years and three months
- B - Female, from Central Africa, been in Knockalisheen for one year and four months
- C - Female, no country of origin specified, been in Knockalisheen for one year and eight months
- D - Male, no country of origin specified, been in Knockalisheen for six months
- E - Female, no country of origin specified, been in Knockalisheen for four years
- F - Female, from Sierra Leone, been in Knockalisheen for one year and eight months
- G - Female, no country of origin specified, been in Knockalisheen for five years
- H - Female, no country of origin specified, been in Knockalisheen for one year and seven months
- I - Female, from Zimbabwe, been in Knockalisheen for one year and one month
- J - Female, from Nigeria, been in Knockalisheen for two years
- K - Female, from Nigeria, been in Knockalisheen for one year and nine months.

It is important to note the history of Knockalisheen. In 1956, following the ratification of the UN Convention on Human Rights, the Irish government agreed initially to grant asylum to 250 refugees from Hungary, later increasing this number to 1,000. Ward (1996) explains that the Irish government wished to illustrate to the international community that it could provide assistance. Popular support stemmed from the church sermons often reprinted in local newspapers referring to the struggle of anti-Communist Catholic martyrs in Hungary (Ward, 1996). Fanning (2002: 88) outlines that the Irish Red Cross raised over £170,000 in church gate collections with the money used to pay the Department of Defence for the accommodation of refugees in the former army camp Knockalisheen, and to pay allowances to individual refugees as they were now allowed social welfare payments by the state (Fanning, 2002: 88). Fanning’s (2002: 88-89) work focuses on the media reporting at the time where Hungarians were represented as grateful and deserving. Although Article 17 of the UN Convention (1951) conferred upon
the refugees a right to work, considerable efforts were made to prevent the Hungarians seeking employment. As Fanning describes:

In effect, there was a policy of containment from the outset. Refugees were confined to the camp by the use of quarantine periods. When these elapsed, efforts were made to use the Gardaí to illegally restrict their movements\(^\text{180}\). In essence the refugees were locked up pending various decisions on policy being worked out by government officials. They were less than two months in Ireland before an emphasis on control and containment gave way to a resolve to remove them altogether. Commitments to accept more Hungarian refugees were abandoned (Fanning, 2002: 90-91).

As a result of these initial difficulties it was agreed that the first arrival (517 people) would not be increased to 1,000 as promised (Fanning, 2002: 91). After only two months in Ireland the government resolved to remove them altogether with a Department of Defence memorandum in January 1977 suggesting efforts be made to have the refugees accepted by Canada (Fanning, 2002: 91). The Hungarians made complaints about various restrictions on their movements and about conditions within the camp. As illustrated in a statement issued by them in January 1957:

However great the material generosity of the Irish people may be, a community of 500 people living in partial confinement without information as to their future, can be overcome by a sense of frustration, which grows as this time of uncertainty goes on. Under such conditions, nervous tensions arise; smaller frustrations seem larger, major frustrations unbearable (quoted by Fanning, 2002: 93).

Complaining that the huts were damp, cold and unhealthy, and resulting in children and women becoming ill, a hunger strike was commenced by the majority of adults at the camp on 29\(^\text{th}\) April 1957. Following a visit from senior officials from the Department of External Affairs and Justice the hunger strike was abandoned with the agreement that the camp would be closed. Most of the refugees were willing to move to Canada and by 1959 438 of the total 517 had left the country (Fanning, 2002: 93)\(^\text{181}\).

\(^{180}\) The Advice of the Department of Justice was that Gardaí had no authority in law over the movements of refugees unless the Minister made an order under the Aliens Act (1935).

\(^{181}\) Following on from this as a result of the Report of the Commission on Itinerancy (1963) councillors focused on the possibility of using Knockalisheen to accommodate all Travellers in the region (Fanning, 2009: 25) where they would be educated about how ‘the settled way of life was better than the nomadic one’ and the need to provide ‘camping sites’ around the region would be
In January 2007 the 270 asylum seekers at Knockalisheen began a two-day hunger strike because they were unhappy with living conditions at the former army barracks. ‘People outside the walls of Knockalisheen don’t know how we live. It’s a prison. Animals should live here, not humans’ (Sheridan, 9th January 2007). The 270 asylum seekers at the Meelick centre in Co. Clare were housed in six blocks, with as many as four people, including two children sharing one bedroom. A letter dated on January 9th 2007 to the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform listed a range of concerns including the management of the centre, meals, cleanliness and accommodation and claimed that the management had ‘bluntly refused any forum where these complaints could have been discussed and tackled’ (Sheridan, 9th January 2007). ‘In meals, we find foreign objects such as hair strands, broken plastic shards, rough particles of shells, especially in bean porridge, served...Only one toilet roll is given out once a week, which is not enough because before the week runs out it finishes. Then you are asked to wait till the next date of supply, which we find inconveniencing’ (Sheridan, 9th January 2007). Participants in the Knockalisheen focus group (13th June 2007) supplied corroborative details on these events and highlighted that the main issue for the protestors was the poor quality of food at Knockalisheen. Protestors refused to use the dining rooms that day and organisers of the protest stopped other people from taking their meals. Focus group members also insisted that the two people mainly responsible for organising the demonstration had been subsequently transferred from Knockalisheen to another centre. Centre managers use this threat of transfer, we were told, when residents confront them with complaints or requests for changes.

Generally residents live in partitioned rooms, sharing a toilet and shower cabinet with one other family, two families to a room with a partition between them. A family must include four people to qualify for a double room:

If there is a father they give a separate room with maybe two children, but if you have three kids and there’s a father and a mother they give you a

removed. The proposal, however, proved unworkable as it required an unprecedented level of co-operation between local authorities (Fanning, 2009: 26).
double room, a nice room, a happier room (Knockalisheen Focus Group, 13/6/07).

Rooms are furnished with beds and wardrobes and a small television set and are heated. Several rooms will share a block kitchen, equipped with a microwave oven. The shared kitchens are not equipped for the preparation of full meals nor do they have refrigerators or personal lockers. Residents are not allowed to keep food in their rooms. Several of the participants referred to a ‘food raid’ last year in which all the rooms in the centre were searched for food supplies. In general, focus group participants confirmed that the centre was well heated during winter months. Residents can lock their doors but management retain key cards. Residents outlined that management often check rooms ‘for pots because we are not allowed to cook, irons, any electrical stuff they will look for it’. In the case of single adults three will share a room. Residents also spoke of the difficulties of sharing a room, in particular if people are from different countries or have different religious beliefs:

For example, some people do not know how to close the doors, sleeping when you are not, some people make noise, some people they slam doors, some people they don’t like cleaning and we are using the same bathroom... somebody who drinks alcohol and they smoke, who don’t smoke and they are in the same room (Knockalisheen Focus Group, 13/6/07).

Residents are not allowed to invite visitors from outside the centre directly into their rooms. A security officer must escort guests to and from the room, though participants in the service providers’ group suggested that the implementation of such security measures is uneven. One service provider spoke of how children had an image of the centre being an ‘electric fence’:

We asked if we could go to visit this family to speak to some parents. I didn’t, the security were very much ‘no, you’re not allowed to go in to the accommodation to knock on the door to ask to speak, I must go over there first and bring her to you’. And then I was like ‘ok’ and then the management, the children then said that ‘there’s an electric fence here and the security are allowed to go across there, but nobody else because they don’t want anybody outside to see how bad it is’. Now one day there was a new security guy and he just let us in by mistake, but he was severely reprimanded for letting the outsider go up and knock on the door (Knockalisheen Service Providers’ (HSE) Focus Group, 19/06/07).

Residents are not allowed to exchange rooms so that they can share their living space with friends. One resident outlined how she went to management requesting
if she and her children could move into her friend’s room. She was told that moving between rooms could not be authorised by local management as such a request had to be sanctioned by the Reception and Integration Agency and/or the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform.

One HSE Knockalisheen service provider spoke of undertaking consultations with a group of Knockalisheen children and asked them to design homes:

They were asked to design homes and not one of the 13 children designed homes with a living room or a kitchen. They only designed their shoebox homes with separate bedrooms. That was the priority – to have a separate bedroom – but the concept of a living room or communal space was, am, not one child ever mentioned it. And my, when I did mention it they kind of looked and they were like ‘well yeah yeah, I suppose a living room but what do they do in a living room?’. Those sort of things (Knockalisheen Service Providers’ (HSE) Focus Group, 19/6/07).

Not one of the 13 children designed homes with a lounge or kitchen. The exercise helped to underline the major problem that arises from the kind of accommodation that is provided, in particular imposing an impoverishment of family life. Residents estimated that there were 100 children living in the centre with facilities for children and young people being an issue as there was no indoor playroom for children:

Before that room was used for children’s playroom, because the time I came to the hostel there was no men around but when the men started coming in then the management banned the children not to even enter. Before when they entered the playroom they start playing the games and the men would throw them out or smack them and then they started having bad company. So because of that the management banned the children not to go into the playroom (Knockalisheen Focus Group, 13/6/07).

HSE Knockalisheen service providers said that this was very difficult for children:

I mean for growing, for development and all that, sure where can you go around the room when they’re starting to explore? Do you know like if you have a baby and if you have a toddler like I mean it’s very hard really (Knockalisheen Service Providers’ (HSE) Focus Group, 19/6/07).

Service providers also stressed their own frustration, describing what happened when they raised the issue and asked for a prefabricated mobile unit for the children’s play:

Or when they asked for either a mobile unit to be wheeled in that could be wheeled out again for the children specifically, or a prefab, and they were
told – the one thing that they’re constantly told is we don’t know how long Knockalisheen is going to be here for. Knockalisheen is always a temporary thing, there’s no long-term plan, we don’t know it could be closed, it could be shut next week as far as we know. Therefore, we’re not going to, we can’t, we’re not allowed put anything in because it could be closed next week (Knockalisheen Service Providers’ (HSE) Focus Group, 19/6/07).

In the summer when it is dry children can play outside; there are swings and other playground equipment. There is a pre-school crèche that is open for two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon on weekdays. It can only take 15 children at most:

The crèche will be only used then by parents who are doing the course on site. It’s just a regular crèche that everybody can go down to in the morning. It’s only used by the parents, the children of the parents that are doing maybe an English class (Knockalisheen Service Providers’ (HSE) Focus Group, 19/6/07).

There are pre-school facilities in nearby Moyross and there are summer camps as well but residents in our focus group did not mention these, and it is unclear if these are available to Knockalisheen residents.

The centre provides three meals a day: breakfast from 8am-10am, lunch from 12noon-1.45pm and supper from 5pm-7pm. Breakfast includes cereals, toast and fruit. Residents suggested that rice is the main staple for the two main meals and service providers confirmed that the menu is designed to meet African expectations, a source of dissatisfaction amongst Eastern European residents:

The Eastern European children had a very very big gripe against the African children. Because the Eastern European kids, the kids from Croatia and Georgia, said that a lot of the food is African food… and that they are sick to death of eating African food, that they don’t want African food. It’s either African food or burgers and chips. And if you either, one girl said I mean ‘I’m going to get fat or I’m going to get sick from spices’ (Knockalisheen Service Providers’ (HSE) Focus Group, 19/6/07).

Africans made up most of the residents’ focus group and they too disliked the catering. Muslim women had specific concerns:

Always I have a problem with the food in the dining room. For the lunch, for example, and the dinner, because of this pork. Because we are Muslims we do not eat pork…In the whole place there is pork, everything. If you do not eat the pork how do you eat in that place? This is a big problem
because sometimes when I go to the dining room I’m hungry all the time and when I go I can’t eat, just I take bread and I go back (Knockalisheen Residents’ Focus Group, 13/6/07).

According to residents the turnover among canteen workers is high and ‘virtually every month they are bringing in and out new staff’. When new staff arrive they have to learn about the special needs of residents and ‘by the time they learn they start to get problems and they leave and another one comes in’:

We are the ones eating the food. Like for me rice is my basic food, I can eat rice three times a day if I want to…but the method of cooking of it they will just boil the rice and they put in an oven to bake. We are the ones eating the rice, we told them okay this rice, we want the rice but this is they way we want to eat it (Knockalisheen Residents’ Focus Group, 13/6/07).

As was pointed out by service providers, the fact that parents are unable to cook for their children deprives them of a vital family function.

Do you know yourself when you’re away and you’re eating loads of spicy food and you’re looking for something normal. I mean they are deprived of that basic human right that you can function as a family. Like mothers can’t teach children. So naturally we have obesities coming on. I mean there’s, we’re creating problems by, do you know (Knockalisheen Service Providers’ (HSE) Focus Group, 19/6/07).

One service provider spoke of taking some children away for the day and offering them an option for lunch:

Like we had about 13/14 children and we brought about our own food that day and we asked them, you know, to prepare the food with us. And I said ‘Well what do you want?’ And some of them, the smaller ones in particular, the six, seven, eight year olds were like ‘Just make it and give it to me’ (Knockalisheen Service Providers’ (HSE) Focus Group, 19/6/07).

Service providers also allege that mothers hide food, especially baby food, ‘because they can’t afford to buy it, and they’re hoarding it and they’re probably hoarding the milk. They tell you they’re not but you know that the children are getting heavier than they’re used to sweet food like’. Children complained to service providers that the canteen is closed when they return from secondary school and they haven’t eaten the school lunch:

And the thing as well when they’re coming home from school, the secondary school kids, is that the canteen wasn’t open when they were coming home from school. And as well for the school lunches if you don’t like corn beef, tough luck you go hungry like…and your parents wouldn’t
have enough money to give you to buy your own lunch. So, you know, that’s what they’d be saying as well that you’d be going to school hungry and that if they don’t make it breakfast is closed, tough luck and you go off and then you go in with your corn beef sandwich and you don’t like corn beef that’s it. You stay hungry. You come home then and the canteen is closed. So then you might not have really eaten that much at all all day long until dinner time and where you get your burger and chips (Knockalisheen Service Providers’ (HSE) Focus Group, 19/6/07).

Residents who live under these conditions for several years at Knockalisheen have very few ways in which they exercise any autonomous management over their own households. They cannot budget for food and even other basic necessities are supplied in a fashion that deprives them of basic decision making. This results in further difficulties for those asylum seekers who receive refugee status in settling and integrating into an area. It is clear from the testimonies from both service providers and asylum seekers that the state has made no attempts to facilitate asylum seekers to integrate into the community. This has resulted in many asylum seekers feeling socially excluded whilst they wait, some for many years, for their applications to be decided.

In the questionnaires directed at asylum seekers and refugees, informants were asked whether, in an emergency, there was a person or people upon whom they could rely on to look after the children during their absence (see Figure 16).

**Figure 16: Is there someone whom you can rely on to look after the children during your absence?**

Thirty-six of the asylum seeker/refugee group responded to this question. Of these, 12 told us they would rely on other family members, 17 said friends (eight of these were Nigerian), eight said neighbours, one would ask their landlord, and
one would leave their children with the Clare Immigrant Support Centre. A minority of seven said they had no-one to turn to in such a situation.

In summary, the previous sections have outlined that West Africans in particular, and more specifically Nigerian refugees, were perceived by service providers to have networked and integrated well into the Ennis community. Nigerian asylum seekers, despite living in direct provision, had also made efforts to make links outside of the direct provision centre. However, it is clear from the evidence that asylum seekers, the Roma community and older Polish migrant workers were for the most part isolated despite all having different types of access into the state. Accordingly, from the evidence it is clear that other factors apart from the status of an immigrant need to be considered when looking at integration. The next section explores whether skin colour has an impact.

### 4.8 Skin Colour

Participants in the Clarecare focus group agreed that skin colour could impact on how an immigrant integrates. One observer noted, ‘colour and that if you obviously look like an outsider, I think it is more difficult than if you don’t obviously look like you’re from somewhere else’ (Clarecare Focus Group, 29/5/07). One participant in the Clarecare focus group spoke of recruiting black immigrants for voluntary work and the difficulties in placing them:

Participant A: I’m recruiting volunteers and I recruited a fairly high percentage of, I mean, in this area Nigerian and other black, ethnic from different parts of Africa or whatever, the majority of Nigerian. And because obviously in that role I’m a volunteer co-ordinator…Then when I came to get them out to volunteer in the community I’ve had three or four instances where people have said no it’s not going to work with this family, it’s not going to work with that family. So I’ve been in a very awkward position that I’ve heard volunteers have been trained, recruited, gone through, gotten certificates and I can’t put them out there and that didn’t happen with Eastern Europeans.

Participant B: Why? Is it that they won’t go out or because people won’t have them in?

Participant A: Black, black- bigotry, prejudice whatever you want to call it (Clarecare Focus Group, 29/5/07).

Therefore, despite black immigrants wishing to participate and volunteer, some Irish citizens were unwilling to accept their assistance. Participant A spoke of how
families had objected to black volunteers assisting adults with learning disabilities and was informed by work colleagues that it was a ‘no-no to introduce any black volunteers into the Travelling community, and I was told that categorically’ (Clarecare Focus Group, 29/5/07). This will be looked at further in chapter 6 on the experiences of black immigrants in applying for work. The next section looks at religion.

4.9 Religion
The discussion on religion and integration was limited in focus groups. However, one Irish service provider participant spoke of his own experience of being abroad for a number of years. He argued that certain immigrants in Ireland were unwilling to assimilate and that this was resulting in problems for immigrants. He outlined that his wife came from Asia and the participant was of the belief that immigrants who come to Ireland and try and hold on to their culture and traditions will have difficulties. The participant made specific reference to Muslims:

If they try to hang on to their backgrounds and cultures and try to establish them in an environment or almost in some situations certain countries or races try to impose their views here or some, like we’ll say Muslims, Muslim situation and I don’t say this in any disrespectful way but they are very strong in their beliefs and when they arrive at their destination in a new country they almost want to carry that with them and impose it on the rest of us around, adopt our ways, we want to keep our ways, we are not going to integrate with your ways (Clarecare Focus Group, 29/5/07).

Consequently for this service provider there was an expectation that Muslim immigrants should assimilate. He spoke of his own experience abroad stating ‘we were always expected as the foreigner to toe the line with their rules and regulations so it isn’t reciprocated’ (Clarecare Focus Group, 29/5/07). In contrast, service providers perceived Nigerian Christians to be the ‘best’ networkers. Even in the Knockalisheen direct provision centre Nigerian Christians, we were told, had built networks both within and outside the Knockalisheen community (VEC Tutors’ Focus Group, 15/5/07). Therefore, Nigerian Christians were deemed to have integrated well whilst in contrast the limited focus group discussion found that Muslims were expected to assimilate. The next section looks at immigrant perceptions of Irishness.
4.10 Immigration Perceptions of Irish People and Irishness

English immigrants who had settled in County Clare for many years, with some having a link to Ireland through family who had previously emigrated, provided perhaps the most interesting discussion on Irishness. These immigrants would be perceived to have the least difficulty in integrating due to having a common language, shared history, period of integration, etc. However, participants in the focus group who originated from England spoke of having a feeling of never being fully accepted, and despite living in an area for a substantial time always felt like a ‘blow-in’:

Well I just had an experience in Kilrush a week ago. I’m down there working and I give a lady a lift back after our group is finished and she says to me, ‘oh, what brought you to Clare?’ and I explained for her, ‘oh, my dad always said when he retired in his sixties he’d go back to his favourite county which is Kerry’…And she said, ‘oh, you’re not Irish then?’ That is the height of it (laughs) and a lovely, friendly woman and I sort of looked over at her sitting in the car but that was her understanding because it didn’t matter where my parents had come from or my grandparents or whatever, I was born in England and she didn’t say that with any, you know, hostility or, it was a matter of a fact thing. But if you take that then out of context and people you know are listening and then as a group and then it gets distorted, that’s where it all starts to go wrong, so it is a big melting pot. We’ve been here two years. I mean I suppose because I have relatives on the east coast, I don’t think I’m English, I don’t think I’m Irish, I just know that it’s where I want to live and there’s masses of people around me (Clarecare Focus Group, 29/5/07).

An Irish participant argued that the rivalry between English and Irish people was ‘healthy’. However, another participant noted that the danger was when ‘this rivalry turns and racism takes off’ (Clarecare Focus Group, 29/5/07). One English participant argued that when negative or hateful comments were made by Irish people about English people it is never deemed to be racist. She spoke of her own experience at work:

I think people don’t think it’s racism when it’s English people, that’s what I think […] It was after last Christmas there was a joke left in a public office in the other building and it was, I found it hugely offensive, it was about English people and I wrote a comment to that effect that I found it racist and offensive and it sat up in the office over the road for about, well it was a week because I’m part time so it was the day I came in I saw the joke, wrote my comment on the bottom and the next week it was gone the second day I was in. And I think people don’t think it’s racist when it’s English (Clarecare Focus Group, 29/5/07).
Therefore, this immigrant group, despite living in the county for a number of years, felt they were not fully integrated and were particularly uncomfortable with the categorisation of a ‘blow-in’.

Polish participants in the Kilrush focus group (7/6/07) spoke of finding it difficult to get to know Irish people:

> There is a couple of main problems. First of all language. Basically, if you do not know language […] Second of all there are culture differences – Polish do not go to pubs… It is very rare when Polish people go to a pub – they visit each other and that makes things difficult, to get know Irish people (Kilrush Focus Group, 7/6/07).

Another Polish participant observed that Irish people rarely mix in the estate where he lived and did not share any common interests:

> Where we live….each Irish, that’s my opinion, stays at home, rarely go out. It is not like in our case-meetings, BBQs…We love to grill right? They don’t…They rather like pubs (Kilrush Focus Group, 7/6/07).

Survey responses found that only four of the 15 Nigerians cited friendships with compatriots resident in Ennis and no Nigerians acknowledged friendships with non-compatriot immigrants. Therefore, this group of Nigerians were more likely to make friends with Irish people than with other Nigerians and other immigrants. More anecdotally, within one of our focus groups one Nigerian woman, a resident in Co. Clare for nine years, spoke in detail about her close friendship with Irish neighbours in Kilrush, which developed initially through children. Her children, she said, were ‘very rooted in their locality’ (Social Integration Focus Group, 27/5/07). The next section looks at where immigrants were living in County Clare.

### 4.11 Accommodation and Integration

Survey respondents highlighted that accommodation patterns vary across the region and between different immigrant communities, but nearly all immigrants are housed in the private rental sector. From the groups surveyed, both the migrant workers and the refugees, this was evident. None of the migrants lived in housing provided by the local council and only 4 out of 36 refugees lived in council houses. For the migrants we interviewed in the survey, most lived in single-family occupied rented houses (31) or single-family rented apartments (22) or stayed with friends. Some immigrants reported that they had moved home as a
result of difficulties with their Irish neighbours, with name-calling and racial abuse common:

**Questionnaire Number 15 (Asylum Seeker/Refugee) Q.4.8.** Interviewee thinks that her neighbour (Irish nationality) keeps complaining about loud music just because she is not Irish herself. Most important – music is never loud. The neighbour keeps calling interviewee and her son refugees or immigrants.

**Questionnaire Number 23 (Asylum Seeker/Refugee) Q.4.8.** Neighbours parked their car and blocked the entrance to my house. I called them to move it but they refused. I called Garda, but they didn’t show up, asked me to call landlord.

Focus groups revealed many incidences of ‘low level’ harassment from Irish neighbours towards immigrants including name calling, unwarranted complaints (for noise, parking, etc.), refusing to let children play, creating public disturbances, etc. There was much anecdotal evidence to suggest that Gardaí treat complaints in relation to all of these kinds of incidences quite differently depending on whether the complainant is perceived to be ‘Irish’ or ‘foreign’. One interviewee recounted a case of a friend who came home to find four Gardaí helping the landlord remove the friend’s personal property. When the tenant arrived and witnessed what was occurring, took out a camera and started to record it, the Gardaí immediately left the scene. After this the person had numerous incidents in which the Gardaí targeted the person by fining the person for trivial charges (e.g. tyre conditions on a car and having a scratched windscreen) (Ennis Ethnic Minorities’ Focus Group, 28/5/07). Another participant at the Ennis Ethnic Minorities focus group spoke of an encounter he had after his children had formed friendships with neighbouring Irish children. One evening there was a row between the children and the parents of the children complained to Gardaí, who arrived at the participant’s house during the night and accused the children/family of harassment. The participant challenged the Gardaí to produce evidence which they were unable to do. The family ultimately had to move to another neighbourhood (Ennis Ethnic Minorities’ Focus Group, 28/5/07).

A focus group attendee spoke of an area in Ennis (the Lahinch Road) that is populated by a majority of immigrants and is being neglected:

It was a community that had the first African communities, I think I moved in with an African man on the same day and it was brilliant. And it is 80% rented and the rental community is made up of people from
Nigeria, the Congo, Slovakia, Lithuania, Czech Republic, one or two Polish families, etc. And there’s a part of the estate that has been left to go to seed, nobody speaks English apart from us going down and putting flowers on the window, nobody, nobody visits, nobody calls and my question would be where are the social workers? Where are the family care workers? Where is the language tuition for women who are in those houses with small children, who cannot speak English and husbands are going out to work? And I worry for the future socially for the young children and for the teenagers that we deal with (Social Integration Focus Group, 17/5/07).

Although we heard positive experiences about living in the Lahinch Road neighbourhood from residents in our focus groups, external perceptions of the community can be less favourable. On several occasions, Lahinch Road was mentioned as one of the potential ghetto areas, a locality in which ‘the majority of people are not indigenous, that’s a problem waiting to happen as well’ (Clarecare Focus Group, 29/5/07).

Both local residents and immigrants have been active in a Residents’ Association, which has sought to engage with immigrants. Certain initiatives had occurred to promote integration. Participants in focus groups outlined how the Residents’ Association organised the following series of community events to promote integration and to protect the area from ghettoisation for homeowners:

- Organised a collection to support a visit by Santa to all children on the estate, ringing a bell and knocking on doors. Notes sent around prior to event, lots of photos taken.
- Prepared local booklets on local services (where to get plumbers, mechanics, etc.).
- Christmas music recital with local and immigrant musicians, mulled wine and chocolate for children.

In a more practical manner the association had translated and distributed official booklets. The next section looks at immigrants’ experience of racism and xenophobia.

### 4.12 Experience of Racism and Xenophobia

Formation of social networks that include local people and being able to negotiate entitlements successfully with officials need not preclude racial discrimination or, at the very least, perceptions of being victims of racial resentments. As noted
earlier in the chapter, West Africans are generally acknowledged among service providers to be well integrated socially, partly because of their fluent English and their knowledge of their rights (Health and Welfare Focus Group, 21/5/07). As we have seen there is plenty of evidence to indicate that West Africans form local friendships with Irish people, especially neighbours and the parents of their children’s classmates. Even so, most of our African respondents felt they had been subjected to unfair treatment or even hostility because of their racial identity. Most of the West African respondents in the Social Integration Focus Group complained of experiencing racism when seeking employment, citing in particular their difficulties in obtaining interviews. There was an unwritten sense in Ireland of ‘jobs for our own’ (Social Integration Focus Group, 27/5/07 referred to further in chapter 6). In our questionnaires, 30 out of 52 asylum seekers or refugees had either no experience of racism or racial discrimination since their arrival, or had not experienced it very often (See Table 12). Eighteen of this group were African – more than half the Africans we interviewed with this questionnaire. However, among the 22 respondents who did cite racist experiences, 21 had encountered racism in their everyday interaction with local people. Small minorities reported on their children’s experience of racism at school, and seven respondents (five of them Nigerian) said they had met racist officials.

| Table 12: Refugees and asylum seekers: experience of racism |
|---------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
|                                 | Refugees | Asylum seekers |
| No, not at all                  | 8        | 5              |
| Not very often                  | 15       | 4              |
| Some hostility in everyday       | 14       | 9              |
| encounters with local people    |          |                |
| From other children at school   | 2        | 2              |
| From teachers                   | 2        | 1              |
| From officials                  | 4        | 3              |
| In the media                    | 3        | 1              |
| Total                           | 48       | 25             |

Among the everyday incidents reported in the asylum seeker/refugee questionnaires the following kinds of treatment were reported quite frequently:
Questionnaire Number 22 (Asylum Seeker/Refugee) Q.4.8. Interviewee was working in Ennis General Hospital as a security officer. An Irish man came and stated: ‘Black man, go back to your country, you come here to steal our jobs’.

Questionnaire Number 2 (Asylum Seeker/Refugee) Q.4.8. Policemen told him to go home and called his wife a black bitch.

Questionnaire Number 37 (Asylum Seeker/Refugee) Q.4.8. I was in Dunnes Stores last autumn when a man came to me and said: ‘I hate you, go back to Africa, looking at you makes me sick’.

Questionnaire Number 31 (Asylum Seeker/Refugee) Q.4.8. I was assaulted and no Irish didn’t help me, even the police.

Questionnaire Number 24 (Asylum Seeker/Refugee) Q.4.8. ‘Black monkey’ jibes.

Questionnaire Number 32 (Asylum Seeker/Refugee) Q.4.8. Some pass near to me when I was walking and they said ‘black nigger go home’ and they drove away.

Questionnaire Number 44 (Asylum Seeker/Refugee) Q.4.8. When I was in a hostel the manger always picked on me when the food was bad. I often felt sick as well together with my children. He often told me that bad food in Europe is the best food in Africa. I felt so sad every time I heard that. When I came to Ennis, an Irish man asked me whether we slept in trees in Africa. I couldn’t believe what I heard.

Questionnaire Number 38 (Asylum Seeker/Refugee) Q.4.8. I had an insult from children from a Traveller community. I was walking one afternoon when these three children between the ages 8-11 followed me and call me ‘nigger’, ‘bitch’, ‘we hate you’ and so on. I was disappointed because of their age.

In another section of the questionnaire we asked asylum seeker/refugee respondents whether they felt safe where they lived. The majority of respondents reported that they did feel safe. However, 10 out of 54 respondents replied that they felt generally unsafe. Most commonly, such beliefs about safety were held mainly by men who encountered hostility from local residents when meeting them in the street or in shops. There was no obvious propensity among any particular nationality to feel insecure. However, we also asked our respondents whether they would report the crime to the Gardaí if they were assaulted. Nine out of 52 said they would not. Of these, six were West Africans. Three respondents felt that the Gardaí would not be interested in crimes committed against immigrants. Two did not want to draw attention to themselves and one did not trust the Gardaí.

Among the 78 respondents to the migrant questionnaire, 51 had no or infrequent experience of racist treatment. Of the 27 who had become more familiar with racial or xenophobic sentiment, including 10 out of the 29 Poles who completed
the questionnaire, 18 had experienced what they perceived to be racist hostility in everyday encounters with local people. Among the everyday incidents reported in the migrants’ questionnaires the following kinds of treatment were reported quite frequently:

**Questionnaire Number 1 (Migrants) Q4.8.** In Poland I worked in an office but here I am cleaning rooms and people treat me with disrespect.

**Questionnaire Number 80 (Migrants) Q4.8.** I was doing basic computer with other student. When I asked a question teacher will be very angry, but when other students asked she will tell them what the answer is. I felt bad.

**Questionnaire Number 35 (Migrants) Q4.8.** People and shops curse at Polish people.

**Questionnaire Number 56 (Migrants) Q4.8** City Council, hard to get information about housing and any other kind of information.

Migrants also cited rudeness at counters in post offices and social welfare offices in several questionnaires. However, certain perceptions of racist inequities may be a consequence of legal difficulties that confront all new immigrants to Ireland, irrespective of their identity, as in the case of the respondent who complained that ‘In a bank I tried to open a bank account, but when Irish people open a bank no problem’. In summary, despite an impressive record for developing locally based social networks, a significant minority of Clare’s new residents often feel unwelcome. Africans and East Europeans alike perceived that they were resented for taking up local employment, subject to rude treatment in shops and more explicit racist abuse in streets and public places, and more occasionally experiencing racist officials. Generally, it needs to be emphasised that the discriminatory treatment experienced by our respondents has been the consequence of individually held attitudes, not the expression of institutional racism. Of course, it could be maintained that racial hostility directed against members of the asylum seeker community is in part the indirect consequence of official policies that are intentionally punitive, especially with respect to the enforcement of direct provision since 2000. Moreover, the social isolation of certain migrant workers, as well as the difficulties Africans experience obtaining employment, are partly a consequence of official policies that afford different immigrant nationalities different kinds of access to the labour market. Even so, it is noteworthy that most of the voluntarily expressed examples of racism recorded in our survey were by members of the public, not officials.
4.13 Children as the Best Mode for Integration?

One important way in which immigrants might begin to develop fresh social connections is through their children attending school. Participants in focus groups and questionnaire responses showed that this was indeed true. Immigrants seem to develop local friendships quite widely through meeting the parents of their children’s classmates. For example, among 52 respondents who were interviewed through the questionnaire directed at refugees and asylum seekers, 27 had made friends with local Irish people (see Figure 17). Of these, 21 agreed that they had made friends with parents of their children’s friends at school. Among these respondents the largest national group were 15 Nigerians, and of these, eight had formed local friendships through this route.

Figure 17: Refugee/asylum seekers and migrants: have you made friends?

The perception that school and the relationships developed at school enabled children to acquire a local sense of belonging was expressed quite frequently
within focus groups. One Polish participant who did not have any children in Ireland observed ‘if there are relationships, friendships [with Irish people], they are between children’ (Kilrush Focus Group, 7/6/07). A group of Polish parents concurred that their children were experiencing no problem in making local friends. However, this was also a source of anxiety for parents as they felt that their children had picked up bad habits through peer pressure. They also felt that Irish parents give children too much freedom (VEC Student Focus Group, 15/5/07). A Bangladeshi couple, resident for one year, confirmed that their children have made friends whom they bring home and whose homes they visited for birthday parties and other social events. Through their children, this couple had developed a good relationship with their Irish neighbours (VEC Student Focus Group, 15/5/07). Among the asylum seekers and refugees whom we interviewed, 28 out of 30 respondents’ children had made friends with local children at school. Twenty-two had children who had been invited to other children’s homes, mainly for birthdays and parties but several for more regular or routine kinds of play date. What is striking is the proportions in both groups who claimed to have made friends with local Irish people, just over half in both cases – 27 out of 52 among the asylum seekers/refugees and 40 out of 79 among the migrants. Within the migrant group, 17 out of the 29 Polish respondents had Irish friends.

Finally we asked immigrants if they would like to remain in Clare. The questionnaire evidence indicated a large majority of the asylum seekers, 15 out of 17 who addressed the question, would like to stay in Ennis if their applications for asylum are successful (See Figure 18).
With respect to the migrants who completed questionnaires, 35 said they would like to live in Ireland permanently, including ten of the 29 Polish respondents. Only eight said they would not and another 35 didn’t know. It is reasonable to assume that their eventual decision would be influenced by employment opportunities.

**4.14 Conclusion**

The chapter has examined Irish approaches to integration by utilising a number of indicators to outline how integration has evolved. The first of these looked at government action highlighting policy responses, the establishment of the Office of the Minister for Integration, and key agency supports and legal Acts. From there the chapter looked at the impact of the NCCRI, and in particular the impact of both the National Action Plan Against Racism and the National Anti-Poverty Strategy. Next the chapter looked at discussions of immigrants and of integration by political elites, outlining also the impact of the economic recession on integration and more recent debates on active citizenship and diaspora. Given the economic outlook, a number of challenges need to be considered. For example, a public opinion poll in 2008 indicated that 66% feel immigration policy should be made more restrictive (Mac Cormaic, 10/9/08) and an RTÉ Prime Time Special
titled ‘Growing Resentment Toward’s Immigrants’ (19/5/09)\textsuperscript{182} highlighted Irish people’s negative attitudes towards immigrants at work and showed a local council candidate in Dublin, Patrick Maphoso, being racially abused as he canvassed. Despite this, the state response in the October 2008 Budget (Budget 2009)\textsuperscript{183} was to cut 43\% of the budget of the Equality Authority and close the government’s own anti-racism advisory body, the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI).

The research from County Clare found that in relation to Schierup, Hansen & Castles’ (2006: 41) three modes of incorporation, not only must immigrants overcome their status but other factors also impact on how they integrate. Focus group testimonies and questionnaire data illustrated there is a need to also consider colour, religion and perceptions of Irishness. The research also found a conflict to Schierup, Hansen & Castles in relation to fitting immigrants into the three modes depending on status. For example the research found that certain cohorts who were in the asylum system had integrated well into the county and could be applied to the ‘multiculturalism’ mode. It should also be noted that full integration was often not the goal of some immigrants, as relayed in focus groups. However, such intentions can change, in particular when children in immigrant families grow older and become ‘more Irish’, developing a local sense of identity. A large majority of asylum seekers and a significant number of migrants who completed questionnaires indicated they wished to live in Ireland for the long term; therefore, learning how these different communities have succeeded in forming friendships is important. The evidence from County Clare suggests that immigrants enjoy stable social relationships with local people; this was perceived by service providers as being particularly relevant to Nigerian Christians and to West Africans. At the same time the evidence found that some Eastern European immigrants are more likely to be socially marginalised or wholly encapsulated by their indigenous networks and subcultures, such as Roma families and older Polish migrant workers. All groups complained of racism, normally on the street and in shops, whilst entrenched or institutionalised discrimination within

\textsuperscript{182} Report can be watched here: \url{http://www.rte.ie/news/2009/0519/primetime_av.html?2546558,null,230}

\textsuperscript{183} Budget 2009 was unveiled on 14\textsuperscript{th} October 2008. Refer to \url{http://www.budget.gov.ie/}
bureaucracies seemed to be rare. However, several participants outlined racial hostility from Gardaí or discrimination against foreigners. What is clear from the evidence is that education and schools are the catalyst where immigrants were especially likely to form friendships as a consequence of their children’s experiences at school. The next chapter therefore looks at education and language immersion.
Chapter 5: Implementing Education and Language Immersion
5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter concluded that education is a key variable for integration. The evidence showed that for many immigrants it was through their children attending school that links were made with Irish people. Therefore it is important to reflect on how immigrants are experiencing the education system and how service providers are responding to their needs. Very little research has been done charting the experience of immigrants, both children and adults, in accessing education. Furthermore, little is known about the experience of schools and education systems in dealing with a more diverse student intake (OECD, 2009c; Smyth et al., 2009). In contrast, there has been a substantial body of research internationally on social and cultural change in education. Existing research clearly recognises that immigrants are a heterogeneous group, with their experience and background likely to affect their opportunities regarding access to education (Conger, et. al., 2007). In Ireland a majority of immigrant students do not have English or Irish as their first language (Ni Shé et al., 2009; Devine et al., 2004) with studies also noting that language-related issues are to the forefront in supporting immigrant students (INTO, 2004; Ward, 2004). The debate around education, and in particular the role of the Catholic church, has never been more relevant with the publication of and reaction to both the Murphy and Ryan reports on clerical sexual abuse in the Dublin archdiocese and in Catholic-run institutions country-wide respectively.

This chapter charts Irish approaches to education and language immersion by using a number of indicators. In particular the chapter looks overall at how the education system is framed for immigrants, reflecting Schierup, Hansen & Castles’ (2006: 41) three general types of incorporation. This is done by first profiling the historical evolution of the education system. This is important as it assists in our understanding of current education structures. Secondly, the chapter outlines the key players within the education system, and from there charts the different levels of education available. The chapter then profiles immigrant students in Ireland and the levels of access they have to the education system. The chapter highlights the perceived difficulties facing immigrant students in accessing education, focusing in particular on language support. Chapter 3
outlined that whilst immigrants to Ireland are somewhat concentrated in towns and cities they are nevertheless widely distributed around the country. This is important when considering the educational and linguistic needs of immigrants. The final section of the chapter draws on testimonies of parents, children, adults, and educators in accessing and providing education in Co. Clare.

5.2 Historical Evolution of Education

In many respects the system of education in Ireland is highly complex, representing a mixture of state and church interests, particularly at primary and secondary level. The Catholic church in particular has played a pivotal role in the shaping of education policy and the extent of the church’s control in Irish education has been well documented (Adshead and Tonge, 2009; Garvin, 2005; Curry, 2005; Clancy, 1995; Nic Ghiolla Phádraig, 1995; Drudy and Lynch, 1993; McLaughlin, 1993; Lee, 1989; Ó Buachalla, 1988; Whyte, 1981). In post-independence Ireland the church ‘was the only institution capable of sustaining a level of provision comparable to that of the state’ (Adshead and Tonge, 2009: 195). Therefore the church became embedded in the system of social services, particularly in education. Drudy and Lynch (1993: 6) chart the dominant pattern as being of ‘church ownership and management but with the state responsible for the bulk of both capital and current costs and with the state also having central control of curriculum and assessment’. Clancy (1995) documents that since independence the curriculum changes introduced were inspired by the ideology of cultural nationalism where:

It was felt that schools ought to be the prime agents in the revival of the Irish language and Gaelic culture. The work of the infant school was to be entirely in Irish; no teaching of English as a school subject was to be permitted. For senior classes, Irish was to be the medium of instruction for history, geography, drill and singing, and all songs in the singing class were to be Irish language songs. The programme in history was to deal exclusively with the history of Ireland, the chief aim being to develop the best traits of the national character and to inculcate national pride and self-respect (Clancy, 1995: 473-474).

Parents are defined in Article 42.1 of the 1937 Irish constitution as the natural educators of the child and the state is only obliged to ensure that children ‘receive
minimum education, moral, intellectual and social’ (Article 42.3 (2)). In addition, the state is required to:

...provide for free primary education and shall endeavour to supplement and give reasonable aid to private and corporate educational initiative, and when the public good requires it, provide other educational facilities or institutions with due regard, however, for the rights of parents, especially in the matter of religious and moral formation (Article 42.4).

Lynch (1998: 327-328) notes that in theory this allows parents a greater choice in the education of their children. However, in reality choice in education is only open to those with the means to exercise choice, noting in particular the control and ownership of the Catholic church in both primary and secondary education.

The joint OECD/Irish government 1965 report *Investment in Education* has been credited with refocusing Irish education from character development and religious formation to one of economic development and human capital needed for industrial growth (O’Sullivan, 1992: 447)\(^{184}\). The most significant impact of *Investment in Education* was the introduction of a universal ‘free’ secondary education, credited, along with the subsequent expansion of third-level, for later economic prosperity (Fanning and MacVeigh, 2007: 112)\(^{185}\). Curry (2005: 77) outlines that since the mid-1960s some important changes have occurred including the ‘introduction of free post-primary education, the establishment of new institutions such as comprehensive and community schools at second level, and regional and technical colleges (later renamed institutes of technology)’. The educational system now represents a specific mix of a highly centralised, standardised system with a significant degree of discretion in policy and practice at the school level (Smyth and Hannan, 2000: 109). For example, an early assertion of difference in contemporary Irish education from the 1970s has been the multi-denominational school movement operating under the umbrella of Educate Together. Whilst currently only providing primary level education there are 58 Educate Together national schools in the Republic of Ireland, 26 of which

\(^{184}\) Lee (1989: 361) outlines how the report collected for the first time important statistical data and provided striking evidence of the lack of opportunity for poorer children to proceed to secondary and higher education.

\(^{185}\) In 1996 third-level fees were removed by the Rainbow Government (Fine Gael, the Labour Party, Democratic Left).
are in the greater Dublin area\textsuperscript{186}. A further example was the re-emergence of Irish-medium schools since the 1980s under Gaelscoileanna (the National Organisation for Irish-medium schools). This can also be considered in terms of the construction of difference, with Gaelscoileanna embracing ‘the Irish language as the chosen heritage rather than as an ascribed and inescapable essentialised indicator of Irishness’ (O’Sullivan, 2009: 135). Currently over 40,000 children are receiving education through the medium of Irish outside of the Gaeltacht, with 173 primary schools and 40 secondary schools\textsuperscript{187}. In their discussion of the policy issues on school governance the secretariat of the National Education Convention captures the distinctive features of Irish education:

The different religious authorities, and indeed other ethically or culturally motivated groups such as multi-denominational schools or Gaelscoileanna, who set up or operate schools, do so because they wish to ensure that certain fundamental beliefs, values and culturally valuable practices are effectively taught and learned/internalised within the schools they set up. These fundamental beliefs, values and cultural practices are to be expressed not only in explicit curricular programmes, such as religious instruction classes, but also clearly incorporated into the overall organisational character and enlivening ethos of the school. The patron/trustee in this sense stands for, or acts on behalf of, a body (usually organised) of people who wish their children to be educated within a particular religious ethical tradition (Report on the National Education Convention, 1994: 24).

Whilst the Department of Education and Science retains a supervisory role, the running of schools is left to the parish for the majority of primary schools and to the religious orders for secondary schools. It’s important to note that in relation to primary education there are seven teacher training colleges in the country, all of them funded by the state and all working under a specific religious ethos. St. Patrick’s in Dublin defines itself as a ‘community of learning in which Catholic religious values and equity are promoted’, where ‘the college recognises its duty in preparing teachers to teach the Catholic faith in Catholic schools’\textsuperscript{188}. Mary Immaculate College\textsuperscript{189} in Limerick declares itself on its website to be ‘Ireland’s largest Catholic college’ whilst Froebel College\textsuperscript{190} in Dublin defines itself as a

\textsuperscript{186} Educate Together provide a full list of schools online: http://www.educatetogether.ie/et-experience/educate-together-locations-2/
\textsuperscript{187} Information obtained from Gaelscoileanna website: http://www.gaelscoileanna.ie
\textsuperscript{188} St. Patrick’s College Dublin: http://www.spd.dcu.ie
\textsuperscript{189} Mary Immaculate College: http://www.mic.ul.ie
\textsuperscript{190} Froebel College: http://www.froebel.ie
‘Catholic college, under the trusteeship of the Congregation of Dominican Sisters’. St. Angela’s in Sligo declares itself ‘a Catholic college’ whilst the Marino Institute in Dublin is run by the Christian Brothers and declares itself committed to the tradition of that order’s founder, Edmund Rice. Finally, the Church of Ireland College of Education is explicitly dedicated to providing ‘a supply of teachers for primary schools under the management of the Church of Ireland and other Protestant denominations’ (O’Toole, 2/2/10). In the Dáil the Minister for Education and Science Batt O’Keeffe was asked if teacher training colleges made allocation for students from other religions or who are atheists. The Minister responded that, on consultation with the colleges, ‘in relation to the question of provision being made for student teachers who belong to a denomination which is not Christian, [colleges] have indicated that this has not arisen to date’ (Dáil Debate Vol. 698 No.1: 10/12/09).

The Ryan Report (2009) which catalogued the emotional, physical and sexual abuse of children in Catholic-run institutions country-wide, and the Murphy Report (2009) which catalogued clerical abuse of children in the Dublin archdiocese, have generated a debate on whether the Catholic church should retain control of the education sector. An Irish Times opinion poll (25/1/10) found that 61% of those questioned felt the Catholic church should relinquish its control at primary school level. Interestingly, Fianna Fáil supporters were least committed to this change, but large majorities within Sinn Féin, Fine Gael and the Labour Party favoured such a development. Support for a retention of the status quo amounted to less than one-third across all social classes and age groups (Collins, 25/1/10).

The extent of the damage caused by decades of clerical child abuse and systematic cover-ups is reflected by the fact that almost three-quarters of those surveyed believe the church did not responded adequately to the Murphy report whilst only 16% felt it had. With close to half of those questioned now regarding the church in a more negative light, members of the hierarchy face a monumental task in

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191 St Angela’s: http://www.stangelas.nuigalway.ie
192 Marino Institute: http://www.mie.ie
193 Church of Ireland College of Education: http://www.cice.ie
194 For the full debate refer to http://debates.oireachtas.ie/DDebate.aspx?F=DAL20091210.XML&Dail=30&Ex=All&Page=45
195 The report is available here: http://www.childabusecommission.com/rpt/ExecSummary.php
196 The report in full can be read here: http://www.irishtimes.com/focus/2009/diocese/1234.pdf
rebuilding trust with their congregations. A slight majority of 52% believe the church will change in order to prevent future clerical abuse. However, more than one-third of respondents take a negative view (Collins, 25/1/10). Loss of confidence in the Catholic hierarchy, because of its handling of clerical sex abuse issues, may account for some of this shift in public opinion. However, other factors should also be taken into consideration. As outlined in chapter 2, the census of 2006 provided evidence of a growing multicultural population and changes in religious demographics. In this context, control of 92% of national schools by the Catholic church and the right of the parish priest to appoint two people to each school’s board of management raises questions concerning the right to religious practice under the Constitution while also touching on possible discriminatory treatment under equality laws. It is clear from the outline of the historical development of the education system that there are significant challenges facing immigrants, in particular those who are not Catholic. The next section profiles the function and responses of the Department of Education and Science.

5.3 The Department of Education and Science

The Education Act, 1998\textsuperscript{197} states that the statutory role of the Minister is to ensure the provision of a level and quality of education that is appropriate to meeting the needs of each person including a person with a disability, or who has other educational needs. The government has introduced policies to promote access, improve quality and address educational disadvantage in schools (Adshead and Tonge, 2009: 206; Smyth \textit{et al.}, 2007: 139-154; MacVeigh, 2006: 67-79; Smith, 2005: 18). For example, the government supports and identifies disadvantage with an educational plan for inclusion called ‘Delivering Equality of Opportunity in Schools’ (DEIS)\textsuperscript{198}. Overall, challenges and inequities exist with only 4.7% of GDP invested in education in 2009, well below the OECD average of 5.7%. Ireland has the second largest class size in the EU with 24.5 pupils per class, and it is also estimated that every year 800-1,000 children do not transfer.

\textsuperscript{197} The Act is accessible online: \url{http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/1998/en/act/pub/0051/index.html}

\textsuperscript{198} Further details about DEIS are available on the Department’s website: \url{http://www.education.ie/home/home.jsp?pcategory=17216&ecategory=33128&language=EN}
from primary to secondary school (Children’s Rights Alliance)\textsuperscript{199}. The Department of Education and Science is responsible for the provision of education at the following levels: pre-school, primary school, post-primary school, universities and third-level colleges, adult education and further education\textsuperscript{200}. Ireland has a centralised national curriculum, allowing guidelines and content to be disseminated nationally and to be taken up within the individual school. The government has formulated guidelines in recent years in relation to intercultural education that include:

- \textit{Intercultural Education in the Post-primary School} (2006) National Council for Curriculum and Assessment\textsuperscript{201}
- \textit{Intercultural Education in the Primary School: Guidelines for Schools} (2004) National Council for Curriculum and Assessment\textsuperscript{202}
- \textit{Guidelines on Traveller Education in Primary Schools} (2002) Department of Education and Science
- \textit{INTO Intercultural Guidelines for Schools} (2002). The Irish National Teachers Organisation (INTO) is the trade union that represents primary school teachers.

\textsuperscript{200} The broad functions of the Department are: policy formulation and review; resource allocation and appropriate monitoring; evaluation of performance and outputs; quality assurance; advice and support to school management and teachers. Refer to: http://www.education.ie/home/home.jsp?pcategory=17216&ecategory=20662&language=EN
\textsuperscript{201} The report is accessible online: http://www.ncca.ie/uploadedfiles/publications/InterGlines_Eng.pdf
\textsuperscript{202} The report is accessible online: http://www.ncca.ie/uploadedfiles/Publications/Intercultural.pdf
In the spring of 2009 the Inspectorate of the Department of Education and Science evaluated the effectiveness of the provision of English as an additional language in a number of primary and post-primary schools. A national composite report has yet to be published with no specific date available for publication. In October 2008 the Department of Education and Science, in partnership with the Office of Integration, launched the process for developing an intercultural education strategy that was to be finalised in 2009 but has yet to be published\(^{203}\). The next section outlines relevant features of the Irish education system.

### 5.3.1 The Irish Education System

In relation to pre-school education, as part of the April 2009 supplementary budget the Early Childcare Supplement (€1,000 per annum)\(^{204}\) was replaced by the provision of a free pre-school year for all children between the ages of three years three months and four years six months. The universal pre-school provision was introduced in January 2010 and allocates that children enrolled in playschools will receive free pre-school provision of three hours per day, five days per week over a 38-week year. This equates to a weekly capitation grant to the service provider of €64.50 and parents with children enrolled in these services will not be charged. Children enrolled in full- or part-time childcare services will receive free pre-school provision of two hours and 15 minutes per day, five days per week over a 50-week period, amounting to a weekly capitation grant to the service of €48.50, with parents paying for their childcare net of this amount\(^{205}\). Over the course of the year, the financial benefit of the scheme for a single child is over €2,400 and is a major policy change for the government (OECD, 2009c: 18).

\(^{203}\) When I asked the Office of the Minister for Integration when the report was to be published, I was informed that it was being finalised. However, the press office was not aware of a specific date for publication. (Email correspondence with Ciara Kelleher from the press office of the Office of the Minister for Integration 20/1/10). Refer to:

\(^{204}\) As a result of increasing demand and costs in the 2006 budget the government announced a Universal Early Childcare Supplement worth €1,000 per child per year, with €250 paid for each child every three months.

\(^{205}\) Refer to the Office of the Minister for Children for further details (7/4/09) "Press Release Minister for Children and Youth Affairs Barry Andrews welcomes free pre-school year in early childhood care and education (ECCE):
http://omc.gov.ie/docs/7_April_2009_Minister_Andrews_welcomes_free_preschool_year%3Cb/1083.htm
However, the scheme has been criticised by childcare groups in that whilst the
government extended the deadline of the scheme, uptake has been slow due to a
lack of information and advertisement (Smyth, 9/1/10).

At both primary and secondary levels education is provided in schools that are
established and overseen by ‘patron bodies’ and managed by local boards of
management that include parents and operate within broad guidance provided by
the Department of Education and Science. There are a number of marked
differences between the primary- and second-level sectors, the main one being the
number of schools in each sector. In the school year 2008-2009 there were 732
second-level schools and 3,303 primary schools. Table 13 provides a breakdown
of the schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 13: Number of schools aided by the Department of Education and Science 2008/2009</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Schools</td>
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<tr>
<td>Special Schools</td>
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<tr>
<td>Second Level</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community and Comprehensive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: Department of Education and Science

In total for the year 2008/2009 there were 498,914 students in primary education
with 341,312 in secondary level. The Department does not provide a breakdown
on immigrant student numbers in school. Primary schools are predominantly
Catholic (92%) with a small number of multi-denominational schools. Second-
level schools comprise three sectors: voluntary secondary schools (mainly
founded by religious orders), vocational schools (including community colleges)
and community/comprehensive schools. All sectors have a common curriculum

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206 Key statistics of the Department:

207 Statistics refer to 2006/2007 list of primary schools from the Department of Education and Science.
and assessment framework but are different in their management and funding structures. The three sectors may also differ in their student intake, with middle-class and higher ‘ability’ students over-represented in voluntary secondary schools, and 8% of second-level schools charge fees to their students (Smyth et al., 2004; Smyth and Hannan, 2000).

Higher education comprises all courses run by universities, institutes of technology and colleges of education, which are substantially funded by the state. There are also a number of private third-level colleges in the state. Access to higher education for students progressing from post-primary education is based on the Leaving Certificate, which is the examination completed at the end of second-level school. ‘Further education’ is the term used by the Department for education and training which occurs after second-level but which is not part of the third-level system. The Department of Education and Science provides for programmes such as:

- Post-Leaving Certificate courses
- The Vocational Training Opportunities Scheme for the unemployed
- Youreach for early school leavers;
- Senior Traveller Training Centre programmes for young and adult Travellers who have left school early
- Adult literacy and community education
- Self-funded part-time adult programmes in second-level schools.

Formal adult education courses are mainly provided by statutory agencies, notably the vocational educational centres (VECs). Many other organisations and institutions, both statutory and voluntary, are involved in adult education (such as FÁS, welfare, youth, juvenile liaison, justice, and community and voluntary sector interests) providing a variety of courses from basic literacy to leisure-type courses208. The next section profiles immigrant students.

5.4 Profiling Immigrant Students

Immigrant students residing in Ireland are entitled to a free pre-school year, primary and post-primary education regardless of their legal status. This does not extend to post-Leaving Certificate courses (PLCs) or to third-level education. Immigrant students from outside the EU, except for those who are granted full

208 Refer to http://www.education.ie/home/home.jsp?maincat=&pcategory=17216&ecategory=20658&sectionpage=12251&language=EN&link=link001&page=1&doc=18622
refugee status, will usually find that they will be expected to pay the non-EU fee, which acts as a barrier and effectively excludes them in practice in the vast majority of cases (FLAC, 2010). Attendance at school is compulsory for all children aged from six to sixteen years, under the Education (Welfare) Act 2000\(^{209}\) and schools are obliged to enrol any child in respect of whom an application for admission has been made, except where a refusal is in accordance with their admissions policy, published by the school under Section 15(2)(d) of the Education Act, 1998\(^{210}\). Such an admissions policy cannot discriminate on grounds of nationality or legal status, but can on the religious status of the child. This is important to note and whilst the Equal Status Acts 2000-2004 do promote inclusiveness and diversity and do identify race and membership of the Travelling community as amongst the nine grounds on which discrimination is prohibited, the legislation has a number of exemptions. In relation to a school’s ethos it states:

> The Acts allow primary and post-primary schools which have the objective of providing education in an environment which promotes certain religious values, to admit persons of a particular religious denomination in preference to others and to refuse to admit a student who is not of that denomination if it is proved that the refusal is essential to maintain the ethos of the school (The Equality Authority)\(^ {211}\).

As 92% of the country’s primary schools have a Catholic ethos, most give admission preference to children with a baptismal certificate, largely due to demand in urban areas. Therefore, immigrant parents who are non-Catholic have very few options when enrolling their children in school. This issue came to the fore in 2007 when overcrowding at some Catholic-run national schools occurred, particularly in the Dublin area of Balbriggan. It resulted in the Department of Education and Science having to open an emergency Educate Together school,


\(^{210}\) Section 15(2)(d) of the Education Act, 1998 states that: (2) A board shall perform the functions conferred on it and on a school by this Act and in carrying out its functions the board shall — (d) publish, in such manner as the board with the agreement of the patron considers appropriate, the policy of the school concerning admission to and participation in the school, including the policy of the school relating to the expulsion and suspension of students and admission to and participation by students with disabilities or who have other special educational needs, and ensure that as regards that policy principles of equality and the right of parents to send their children to a school of the parents’ choice are respected and such directions as may be made from time to time by the Minister, having regard to the characteristic spirit of the school and the constitutional rights of all persons concerned, are complied with.

\(^{211}\) For full details on exemptions refer to the Equality Authority ‘FAQ About the Equal Status Act’: http://www.equality.ie/index.asp?docID=49#q21
dubbed as Ireland’s first ‘black’ school, to accommodate 100 children from 43 nationalities, the majority of them of African descent, because local schools could not accommodate them or accept them if they did not have a baptismal certificate (FLAC, 2010; Mahoney, 25/10/07). More recently, resulting from the publication of the Ryan and Murphy reports, Pat Carey, the government chief whip at the time and speaking in a personal capacity, stated that the state needed to stop ‘copping out’ of its responsibilities in education and saw an ‘opportunity to explore how the state can take its responsibilities for delivering an education system’ (McGarry and McGee, 1/6/09). Debate has now developed on the position of the Catholic church, particularly in primary education, with different views coming from church leaders. For example, Bishop Leo O’Reilly, chairman of the Bishops’ Commission on Education, stated that:

There is a need for pluralism of education in Ireland so that parents have a choice, as far as possible, about what kind of school their children will attend…Nobody denies that there are many primary schools under Catholic patronage. In a changing Ireland, additional forms of patronage are emerging. We have welcomed this, and last month Catholic school patrons began discussions with the Department of Education about the transfer of patronage (O’Reilly, 19/12/09).

Further to this, Archbishop Diarmuid Martin has stated that whilst the Catholic church was ready to relinquish control where there was little or no demand for Catholic input he warned the government would be on ‘dodgy ground’ if it attempted to take over the entire system (Quinn, 26/1/10). Whilst Cardinal Seán Brady, the Primate of all-Ireland, speaking at the launch of the newly formed Catholic schools partnership, stated it was ‘blatantly unjust’ and a ‘complete red herring’ to say that the Catholic church had no right to be involved in schools or receive state funding. Making reference to the challenge of diversity of religious, ethnic or cultural background, Brady argues that ‘to suggest or imply that Catholic schools are unable to be overtly Catholic and at the same time accommodate a degree of religious, cultural or ethnic diversity is unfair and not borne out by experience’ (Brady, 29/1/10).

The report ‘Managing Migration in Ireland’ written by the NESC and the International Organization for Migration (2006: 139) notes that it is difficult to clearly assess the actual numbers of immigrant students in primary and secondary
education. However, it is estimated that there are over 160 nationalities in post-primary schools. The report (2006: 139) outlines the need for a ‘mechanism for collecting information on the ethnicity and nationality of pupils in the Irish education system’ and notes that this system ‘still needs to be developed’. Indeed, it was media reporting that highlighted that schools had become diverse in pocketed areas of Dublin where primary schools were teaching children from 100 nationalities and in some schools over 40% of pupils were non-Irish (McDaid 18/6/05). A comprehensive first national study was compiled by the ESRI (Smyth et al., 2009) on how schools and students are adapting to diversity in classrooms. The share of immigrant students in schools roughly doubled from 1996 to 2006. In 1996 about 6% of children aged five to nine and about 4% of young people aged 10 to 19 were of non-Irish nationality. By 2006 these percentages had increased to 12% and 10% respectively with no signs that current immigrant outflows are having a significant impact on school enrolments (OECD, 2009c: 18). The ESRI report (Smyth et al., 2009: 56) provides a breakdown of nationalities in primary and second-level schools but is unable to provide an actual figure for immigrant students (Figure 19).

212 The report title is ‘Adapting to Diversity: Irish Schools and Newcomer Students’. This was the first time in a state-funded document ‘newcomer student’ was used rather than ‘immigrant student’. In email correspondence with the Office of the Minister for Integration I queried the change. In response, I was told that the Department of Education and Science uses the term “newcomer” as it is more inclusive. Use of the term ‘immigrant’, particularly in the context of Ireland’s socio-economic history, may be more associated solely with economic migration for some people, and thus capture only a small cohort of those coming to Ireland. In addition, the recent immigration experienced by Ireland was on an unprecedented scale. It was thus felt that changed terminology was required, reflecting the new circumstances of the country, and so the preferred term is ‘newcomer’. As used by the ESRI in its ‘Adapting to Diversity: Irish Schools and Newcomer Students’ report, the term newcomers refers to ‘children and young people both of whose parents originally come from outside Ireland’ (email reply from Ciara Kelleher, Press Office, Office of the Minister for Integration, 17/9/2009).

213 In 2008 there were 75,065 births registered, the highest number since 1896 when there were 75,332 births registered in the 26 counties. Over 15% of the children born in 2009 were born to mothers from countries other than the UK or Ireland (Irish Times online report ‘Birth rate highest for 110 years’ 31/9/09).
It is clear from Figure 19 that at second level 85% of schools with immigrants have students from the EU10 accession states (including Romania and Bulgaria), reflecting the recent rapid increase in the number of East European nationals in Ireland. As outlined in Chapter 2, 58% of schools have Asian nationals; 55% have African nationals while 51% of schools have UK nationals. However, when compared to the nationality estimates from the census this is likely to be an underestimate of UK nationals (Smyth et al., 2009: 56). At primary level 79% of schools have EU10 accession state nationals; 53% have Asian nationals and 54% have African nationals. It is clear, therefore, that it is not possible to characterise schools as having a ‘dominant’ immigrant group. However, the ESRI research highlights that immigrant students are more likely to attend schools with designated disadvantaged status (DEIS Schools) (Smyth et al., 2009: 51).

Finally in the third-level sector the most recent available data from Education Ireland have estimated that there were at least 27,275 international students

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214National groups are the following: UK nationals; Other EU-15, excluding Britain and Ireland (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden); EU-10 (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia), plus Romania and Bulgaria; non-EU Eastern European nationals; nationals of USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia; Latin American nationals; Asians; and African nationals.
registered at recognised higher education institutions during the 2006-2007 academic year from 142 countries, reflecting an increase of just below 8% over 2005/2006 (Education Ireland, 2008: 8). The European Union accounts for 42% of international students, and the United States for 16%. Other significant sending countries are China (13%), Malaysia (5%) and India (4%)\(^\text{215}\). The report also estimates the income generated by international students was just under €164 million from tuition fees for the 2006/2007 academic year – an increase of almost €10 million since 2005/2006. The report also estimates conservatively that each international student spends an average of €10,200 per year in Ireland on accommodation and other living expenses, adding a further €208 million, generating a total income for 2006/2007 of €372 million (Education Ireland, 2008: 11)\(^\text{216}\). However, these figures are not thought to be complete, as the government agency relies upon survey responses for institutions, and has noted that foundation colleges, colleges offering awards from other jurisdictions, colleges offering e-learning programmes and colleges offering awards that were neither recognised in Ireland nor internationally, were not included in the estimate. In September 2009 the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform published a set of proposals to overhaul the student immigration regime. The 20 specific proposals include capping the length of time a person can spend in Ireland as a student (five years as a student overall and two years in further education or English language classes), introducing a two-tier system to facilitate the targeting of incentives towards the upper end of the academic spectrum, a tighter inspection regime, possible changes in respect of visas, and new guidelines on work placement or internship\(^\text{217}\).

\(^{215}\) Data gathered from Education Ireland (2008) Table 5 p.18.

\(^{216}\) The Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform specifies that all non-EU student visa applicants must prove that they have immediate access to at least €7,000 which they estimate as the cost of living in Ireland for a student for one academic year. Refer to: [http://www.inis.gov.ie/en/INIS/Pages/Student_Visa_Guidelines](http://www.inis.gov.ie/en/INIS/Pages/Student_Visa_Guidelines)

\(^{217}\) The review outlines 20 key proposals in this area of which the following are the most significant: Creation of a two-tier system for students (Tier 1 reserved for degree level and above, and the English language and further education sectors in Tier 2); Capping the length of time a student can spend in Tier 2 to two years and the overall time present in the state as a student to 5 years overall (with exceptions for those at Masters and PhD level or on long-term courses such as medicine); A quality mark should be established with courses not achieving a quality standard no longer recognised for immigration purposes; Increased focus on inspection; Consideration should be given to developing a licensing system for providers of education to overseas students; Further restrictions on the placement of non-EEA children in Irish schools that are in receipt of state funding; The possibility of a levy that would recoup the full economic cost to be considered; Continued restriction on family reunification for students, with some exceptions; Provision for
5.5 Challenges for Immigrants

It is clear from the previous section that the Irish education system as provided by the state offers non-Catholic children very few alternatives, in particular for children outside urban areas. Therefore non-Catholic families have very little option but to assimilate into the system that’s provided. According to the Department of Education and Science, the principal immediate difficulties for immigrants are (a) the admission of pupils into overcrowded schools and (b) insufficient language support services (Watt & McLaugh, 2006). At national level the majority of the Department’s publications are in Irish and English only. However, plans to translate a substantial number of the Department’s main documents into languages such as Polish, Latvian, Russian and Lithuanian have been well advanced and include the translation of documentation on appeals procedures, procedures on bullying, publications for parents and information on schools and the Equal Status Act, 2000.

However, other challenges ensue for immigrant students. Prior to being abolished, the NCCRI published racist incidents monitoring reports and recorded a number of incidences that relate to the education system. For example, the final report of the NCCRI (2008: 5-6) for the period July to December recorded that:

- A 15-year-old student of Iranian decent has been subjected to racial bullying by her peers at a school in Limerick. School students posted racial slurs about her on BEBO, calling her a 'paki whore'. The students set up a BEBO profile for the girl with racist content and sent it around to other classmates. The school was contacted in relation to the incident but deny any responsibility in addressing the incident.
- A young student attending secondary school in Navan, County Meath was sent home from school for wearing a hijab. According to the school principal, the young student was not adhering to school uniform policy.

Devine and Kenny (2002) found that, by and large, teachers did not see racism as a major problem in schools, contrasting with the testimonies of immigrant students highlighting their experiences of racist abuse. An ESRI study (Smyth et
al., 2009) concluded from student interviews that only a minority of bullying was officially reported. Only 8% of primary principals and 6% at post-primary level found that bullying and racism were contributing ‘a lot’ or ‘quite a lot’ to difficulties of immigrant students. The report also found that principals and school teachers were unaware of the level of racist bullying making it difficult to intervene directly, whilst the report also highlighted that racist behaviour often occurred in the area outside the school rather than within the school (Smyth et al., 2009: 92-93).

Debate regarding the wearing of the hijab came to the fore in 2008 when a principal of Gorey Community School (secondary) in Wexford called for official guidance on whether Muslim women should be allowed to wear the hijab at school. The Labour party opposition spokesperson on education, Ruairí Quinn, stated that immigrants who came to Ireland needed to conform to the culture of the country commenting that ‘no-one is formally asking them to come here. In the interests of integration and assimilation they should embrace our culture’, adding that ‘Irish girls don’t wear headscarves. A manifestation of religious beliefs in such a way is unacceptable and draws attention to those involved’. Agreeing with his opposition colleague, Brian Hayes of Fine Gael stated ‘the wearing of the hijab is not about religiosity, it is more an example of modesty. It is not a fundamental requirement to be a Muslim’ (McDonagh, 2/6/08). The Islamic Society of Ireland found the comments ‘baffling’ whilst the director of the NCCRI Philip Watt stated the comments were ‘disappointing’ and ‘ill-thought’ (McDonagh, 2/6/08). In contrast, the Minister for Integration at the time stated he saw no problem in wearing the hijab. Following the reactions and extensive consultations, the Minister for Education and Science, Batt O’Keefe, and Conor Lenihan issued a joint statement outlining practical recommendations on the wearing of the hijab stating it was up to the schools to consult locally and decide uniform policy at a local level. Therefore it is clear that the two majority opposition parties, Labour and Fine Gael, expect immigrants to assimilate into the current system.

218 For the statement in full, refer to: http://www.integration.ie/website/omi/omiwebv6.nsf/page/7CCFEC6F64B47FDF802575760041AB C1
Last year five primary school principals addressed the Oireachtas Joint Committee on Education and Science on the educational needs of children with non-Irish parents (Gartland, 12/2/10b). Of seven Fianna Fáil Oireachtas members on the committee only one appeared for some part of the sitting, which was criticised by other members of the committee and those who were presenting. Paul Gogarty, Green party TD, highlighted shortages of secondary school places in his Dublin Mid-West constituency:

There are not enough places at second level within the catchment area. A new school will open in Adamstown shortly. For want of a better word, the dregs will end up there…I am saying that in inverted commas because the ghettoisation comment appalled me. The people who are last on the list will enter a cycle that will recur because the overspill is normally made up of those who came here last (Joint Oireachtas Committee on Education and Science, 11/2/10).

School principals warned the committee that if the state did not act now in accommodating and supporting immigrant students and schools that Ireland would become like Denmark where:

The children and the grandchild of these guest workers are Danish citizens who do not speak Danish. They are viewed as welfare cheats who refuse to work when in reality they cannot work because the Danish economy is like ours in that one cannot find employment without skills. We will begin to harvest a similar legacy fairly soon (Joint Oireachtas Committee on Education and Science, 11/2/10).

The next section looks at state responses to language support.

### 5.5.1 Language Support

Language support is a key factor to the successful integration of immigrants who lack proficiency in the languages of the host country (Devine, 2009). In order to

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219 The Chair of the Green Party, Paul Gogarty TD, stated about the absence of his coalition members, ‘it beggars belief that of the seven members from Fianna Fáil on this committee, one has apologised for being absent, one turned up briefly and five others could not bother their backside to turn up. That is an indictment of our political system’. Refer to Joint Oireachtas Committee on Education and Science 11/2/10:


220 Refer to Joint Oireachtas Committee on Education and Science 11/2/10:


221 Refer to Joint Oireachtas Committee on Education and Science 11/2/10:

fully participate in the Irish education system students need to acquire Irish or English language competence. Interestingly, in relation to Irish language immersion, in 2007 the Minister for Education and Science at the time, Mary Hanafin, issued a directive that a minimum of two-and-a-half hours of English a week had to be taught in the first year (junior infants) at all-Irish schools (Gaelscoileanna). The directive forced the 169 Irish-medium primary schools to abandon their preferred approach of total immersion in the first year as a means of teaching the language, which they argued went against best international practice. Following two years of campaigning by language groups and a legal case that was brought before the High Court by two schools (Gaelscoil Nás na Riogh and Gaelscoil Mhic Easmainn in Tralee), the new Minister for Education and Science, Batt O’Keeffe, reversed the directive in January 2010 (Ó Caollaí, 21/1/10). The Department now aims to consult with relevant stakeholders and reform the actual curriculum. It is estimated that more than 200 languages are spoken in the Irish immigrant community (OECD, 2009c: 39). This has represented both a challenge to language support but also an opportunity to expand the national language pool (OECD, 2009C). The provision of English language tuition was flagged as early as 2000 when a White Paper on adult education highlighted ‘the need to provide specific tailored programmes and basic literacy and language education for all immigrants as an elementary part of provision’ (DES, 2000: 50). In 2002 the Department pointed to English language as being central to ‘acquiring the skills and confidence (cultural capital) necessary to engage with Irish society’ and further emphasised that ‘there is a critical need to address the language needs of adults for whom English is not the mother tongue, regardless of status’ (DOE, 2002: 18, my emphasis). The third objective of the National Action Plan Against Racism 2005-2008 (DJELR, 2005: 41) makes reference to enhancing the provision of English teaching whilst the most recent social partnership agreement focuses on increasing the number of ‘migrants’ availing of English language classes, without giving any guarantees on increasing provision (ICI, 2007: 10).

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The focus has been on immigrants being proficient in the English language. However, as it stands, Article 8.1 of the Irish Constitution (1937) states ‘The Irish language as the national language is the first official language’ whilst Article 8.2 states ‘The English language is recognised as the second official language’. 
Many non-EEA immigrant students attend English language schools (as outlined in section 5.3). Until recently, all non-EEA nationals who came to Ireland for the purpose of studying, including those who came for short-term English language classes, were entitled to take up casual employment (20 hours part-time work per week, or full-time during vacation periods). Under revised arrangements in force since April 2005, access to casual employment is restricted to students attending a full-time course of at least one year’s duration, leading to a qualification recognised by the Minister for Education and Science. For adult immigrants the statutory providers of English classes are adult education centres and further education colleges, post-Leaving Certificate courses, vocational training opportunities and Youthreach schemes, and prison or VEC adult literacy schemes. FÁS provides vocational English classes in conjunction with computer courses. Community groups, religious organisations, and private schools also provide classes privately taught, often with some VEC funding. In 2008, over 12,500 migrants availed of English language classes through adult literacy services at an estimated cost of €10 million (OECD, 2009c: 48). People seeking asylum are entitled to four hours of English classes per week whilst recognised refugees are entitled to 20 hours a week. An Immigrant Council of Ireland report also notes that ‘through VEC funding and the Reception and Integration Agency’s grants, the Irish government and the EU governments fund largely voluntary groups to pick up the slack on an ad hoc basis, preventing the development of a coherent policy, a standard programme or high-quality service’ (IC1, 2007: 57).

In 2007 there were 10,000 students attending these English language classes (Department of Education and Science data). The general practice has been for the provision of additional teaching hours/posts to schools for language support in recent years. In May 2007 the Department of Education and Science allocated full-time temporary language support teachers to schools, depending on the numbers with English language difficulties under the following allocation:

- One whole-time post for 14 to 27 students
- Two for 28 to 41
- Three for 42 to 64

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223 Data from a speech by Minister Batt O’Keefe (1/10/08) at the intercultural education conference: http://www.education.ie/robots/view.jsp?pcategory=10861&language=EN&ecategory=11469&link=link001&doc=42207
• Four for 65 to 90
• Five for 91 to 120;
• Six for 121 or more (OECD, 2009c: 39).

Language support is only given to a student for two years. If further support is required a student must first be assessed. Integrate Ireland Language and Training, a non-profit company that received funding from the state to meet the language needs of children, was closed in 2008 due to funding cuts. Prior to this, it issued primary and secondary schools with language assessment kits under four levels. Following the October 2008 budget the Minister for Education and Science, Batt O’Keeffe, announced that 500 language support teachers would lose their jobs with a ceiling of two language teachers to be imposed on most, except schools with 121 pupils or more who were allowed to appoint another two teachers (Mac Cormaic, 13/4/09). A year later, following much criticism from opposition parties, NGOs and teaching organisations, it was announced in the discussion for the renewed programme for government between the Green Party and Fianna Fáil that the government would ‘maintain language support funding to schools and guarantee that extra language support assistants will also be available in schools where more than 50% of pupils do not speak English as a first language’. Department of Education and Science figures from December 2009 show that there are currently 1,182 language support teachers at primary level with 365 in secondary. This is compared to 1,620 and 560 respectively in the 2008/2009 term (Carroll, 30/12/09).

The five primary school principals who addressed the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Education and Science on the educational needs of children with non-Irish parents (Gartland, 12/2/10) All agreed that it was essential for children to learn

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224 The four levels were: Level O: Absence of any English language proficiency; Level A1: Can understand and use basic words and phrases in a social and school context; Level A2: Can understand, read and write simple English and can speak English sufficiently well to exchange information, understands some English; Level B1: Can communicate well enough in English to be integrated into the mainstream class.
225 Refer also to the Department of Education and Science Schools Division Circular 0015/2009: www.education.ie
227 To access the school presentations refer to: http://www.oireachtas.ie/viewdoc.asp?fn=/documents/Committees30thDail/J-EducationScience/Presentations/document1.htm
to speak English as soon as possible to aid them in integrating into Irish society. One principal of St. John the Evangelist NS in Adamstown, west Dublin, Mr. Tony McGinley, outlined that 87% of children at his school did not have English as a second language and even after the maximum two years of language support ‘100% of the children who were entitled to language support when they started two-and-a-half years ago on day one still meet the criteria for language support’²²⁸. He advocated that the government should provide additional language support, warning ‘if we are serious about creating an inclusive society we must seize the opportunity, otherwise in years to come, we will regret a lost opportunity to tackle some of the social inclusion difficulties experienced in other countries’ (Joint Oireachtas Committee on Education and Science 11/2/10)²²⁹. The next section profiles the experience of immigrants and educators in accessing and providing education across all levels in County Clare.

5.6 Case Study: Education and Language Immersion of Immigrants in County Clare

This section focuses upon the experience of education and language immersion of immigrants in County Clare. The case study will reflect whether an immigrant’s status has an impact on accessing educational and language supports in County Clare. The previous section charting national policy found that in relation to Schierup, Hansen & Castles’ (2006: 41) three modes of incorporation, immigrants and in particular non-Catholic immigrants, are expected to assimilate into the education system with very few alternatives provided. The case study then proceeds to profile immigrant parents’ perception of their children’s experience, outlining immigrant integration and supports. The case study then proceeds to looking at adult education and language support. It should be noted that the Department of Education and Science does not collect data on the number of non-Irish born students attending primary and secondary education in the country. However, survey respondents from schools involved in this research provide a breakdown of the numbers of immigrant school children in County Clare with 52

out of 119 primary schools and 12 out of 18 secondary schools providing survey responses. The tables that appear below only include information on those schools with the larger enrolments of international pupils. The data show the immigrant students are unevenly dispersed across the schooling system, with especially heavy concentrations at certain schools. It should be noted that in December 2009 there were 68 children living in Knockalisheen direct provision centre. However, due to its position near the Clare/Limerick border, many of the children attend Limerick schools and therefore are not included in the Clare data. Further to survey responses, a focus group was carried out with primary school teachers and principals from the schools that have a significant numbers of immigrant students to discuss their insights. Their testimonies are shared in the case study\textsuperscript{230}. The first looks at primary schools.

**5.6.1 Primary Schools in County Clare**

There are 119 primary schools in County Clare. Similar to the rest of the country, 116 of these have a Catholic ethos organised under a parish system. Therefore parents of non-Catholic immigrant children have very little option but to assimilate into these schools. The remaining three schools are multi-denominational: Ennis Educate Together\textsuperscript{231} and two Steiner schools outside the main towns at Raheen Wood in Tuamgraney and Mol an Óige in Ennistymon. Both Steiner schools only received recognition from the Department of Education and Science in September 2008. This is in spite of the fact that Raheen Wood was established in 1986 and took the state to the High Court in attempt to have the school recognised in 1999\textsuperscript{232}. Survey data indicate that the following schools had especially large enrolments of international pupils in 2007:

- Ballina National School
- CBS Bunscoil, Ennis
- Ennis Educate Together
- Holy Family Junior School, Ennis

\textsuperscript{230} It was not possible to arrange a focus group with secondary schools as the schools were about to start exams and break for the summer.
\textsuperscript{231} Refer to: www.eetns.org
\textsuperscript{232} The High Court ruled that the state was entitled to refuse to fund the Steiner school because of the failure of the school to employ teachers with state-recognised qualifications. However, Ms. Justice Laffoy was critical of the Department’s handling of the application for state aid by the school, arguing the state should adopt a more proactive approach. Refer to: http://www.raheenwood.org/highcourt.html
• Scoil Chriost Rí, Ennis
• St Conaire’s, Tullyvariaga, Shannon.

The table below shows a detailed breakdown between classes of these schools’ international enrolments:

### Table 14: Breakdown of immigrant students in Clare primary schools 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Junior Infants</th>
<th>Senior Infants</th>
<th>First Class</th>
<th>Second Class</th>
<th>Third Class</th>
<th>Fourth Class</th>
<th>Fifth Class</th>
<th>Sixth Class</th>
<th>Total Enrolment</th>
<th>% of immigrant students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ballina NS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS Bunscoil</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ennis Educate Together</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Family Junior School</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scoil Chriost Rí</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Conaire’s</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Data compiled from survey respondents

It is evident from Table 14 that in the two schools with the proportionately heaviest enrolments of immigrants, Ennis Educate Together and Scoil Chriost Rí, immigrant children or the children of immigrants constitute a majority in the most junior classes. Children from particular national groups appear to cluster at certain schools. For example, 49 of the 178 children with immigrant parents at Ennis Educate Together are from Roma families, Czech and Slovak. They constitute the largest single school enrolment of Roma children. The largest concentrations of Nigerian children in primary schools are at the Holy Family Junior School (43), at Scoil Chriost Rí (33), at CBS Bunscoil (34) and at Ennis Educate Together (15) whilst at Holy Family JS, half of the international children in the junior infant class are Nigerian.

In 2007, 16 out 52 primary schools that responded to questionnaires confirmed that they had some form of language support. It was not possible to source more recent data on language support in Clare primary schools as the Department of
Education and Science could not ‘deploy’ any staff to deal with the request\textsuperscript{233}.

The participants of the primary education focus group (5/6/07) were:

- Dónal – Principal of Gaelscoil Mhíchil Cíosóg Ennis which was to take in their first group of immigrant children in September 2007 with a 10% quota
- Seán – Principal of Ennis Educate Together National School in Ennis that had 180 students in 2007 half of whom ‘would be non-Irish born’ with a majority of Eastern Europeans and one child from East Africa
- Antoinette – A Home-School Liaison Officer and Teacher in Scoil Chriost Rí in Cloughleigh in Ennis. The school had 250 students with about ‘80 of them are non-Irish children, most of them are African origin, mainly Nigerian’
- Patricia – A Language Support teacher in Holy Family Senior School who works with ‘thirty-four different nationalities’.

The next section looks at secondary schools.

### 5.6.2 Secondary Schools in County Clare

There are 18 secondary schools in County Clare. Table 15 provides a breakdown from 2008/2009 of the number of students attending each school. Out of the 18 schools a total of 17 function under a Catholic ethos, with the Ennistymon Vocational School the only one that is multi-denominational. All schools in the main town of Ennis have a Catholic ethos.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice College</td>
<td>Ennis</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Flannan's College</td>
<td>Ennis</td>
<td>782</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>1,162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coláiste Mhuire</td>
<td>Ennis</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meánscoil Na mBráithre</td>
<td>Ennistymon</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scoil Mhuire</td>
<td>Ennistymon</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Immaculate Secondary School</td>
<td>Lisdoonvara</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph's Secondary School</td>
<td>Spanish Point</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph's Secondary School</td>
<td>Tulla</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{233} Email response from Cathal McDonagh, Higher Executive Officer, Primary Allocations, Department of Education and Science 15/2/10: ‘Unfortunately, the Department of Education and Science's Primary Allocations Section has a number of unfilled vacancies at present and we are struggling to deal with our core service to schools and the issue of re-deployment panels and allocation of posts for the coming year in particular. In the circumstances, I cannot justify re-deploying staff from this work to compile the information you request at this time’.
As stated previously, the Department of Education and Science does not collect data on numbers of ethnic minorities attending schools. However, survey data highlight that there were five schools with the largest numbers of immigrants:

- Ennis Community College (ECC)
- Rice College, Ennis
- St. Caimin’s College, Shannon
- St. Flannan’s, Ennis
- Scoil Mhuire, Ennistymon

Table 16 below shows the distribution of these enrolments across the six years at these schools in 2007.

**Table 16: Breakdown of immigrant students in Clare secondary schools 2007**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>First Year</th>
<th>Second Year</th>
<th>Third Year</th>
<th>Fourth Year</th>
<th>Fifth Year</th>
<th>Sixth Year</th>
<th>Total enrolment</th>
<th>% of immigrant students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ECC</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Caimins</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Flannan’s</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1080</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scoil Mhuire</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Data compiled from survey respondents*
Table 16 outlines that percentage proportions of international pupils enrolled at secondary schools are usually in single figures, with one exception – Ennis Community College, where international enrolment is at 16%. Clustering of national groups at particular schools is not as evident in secondary schools as in primary schools. This could be due to the fact that many immigrants arrived with younger children that were still in primary school or only had children since arriving and settling in Ireland. Surveys indicated that the largest group of pupils in a single school from one national group were six Polish students at Ennis Community College. Strikingly, the survey data suggested that no Roma pupils were enrolled at secondary schools in Clare. In 2007, eight out of 12 secondary schools that responded had some form of language support. Data supplied by the Department of Education and Science for 2009/10 outline the allocation of language support in secondary schools as follows:

- Rice College – 1 post
- St. Flannan’s – 1 post
- Colaiste Mhuire – 2 posts
- Scoil Mhuire – 3 Hours daily (0.18)
- Mary Immaculate – 4 hours and 30 minutes daily (0.27)
- St. Joseph’s Spanish Point – 2 hours and 20 minutes daily (0.14)
- St. Joseph’s Tulla – 4 hours and 30 minutes daily (0.27)
- Shannon Comprehensive – 2 posts
- Kilrush Community School – 2 hours and 20 minutes daily (0.14)
- VEC – 2 posts and 19 hours (2.75)\(^2\)

The next sections look at whether the status of an immigrant impacts on their educational experience. The experience of Eastern Europeans, and in particular the Polish community, is looked at first.

### 5.7 Eastern European

It was noted that the Polish community were clustering in the same schools as they tended to go where their friends were, with some travelling across Ennis town to attend schools. Low attendance of students was discussed, where children were going to their home countries in the middle of school term and losing whatever English they had accumulated, resulting in difficulties when they

\(^{2}\) The VEC allocation is divided between all the VEC centres in the county. Within this the posts are allocated to adult language classes. Data provided by the Language Support Section, Department of Education and Science via email correspondence, 8/2/10.
returned to class. Whilst the majority of children start junior infants aged four or five, many Polish parents believed this was too young and wanted their children to learn Polish:

They want to delay sending, they say their children should learn their Polish language first and no matter how many times I try and tell them that no it’s great for them to learn both languages side by side and hey they can do it. You know I’ve come across two women now who won’t, they want to delay, not the women, the men, their husbands are saying no they’re not to be sent to school until they are older (Clare VEC Tutors’ Focus Group, 15/5/07).

It was highlighted that some parents from Eastern European countries had very little understanding of English:

One problem I find with these Eastern Europeans is that they don't have the English language, the parents don't have it, the kids don't have it, and we are going out trying to communicate with them and you're miming, you're drawing pictures, you're pointing and you don't know whether they are getting the message or not (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

Service providers spoke about the lack of support for workers from the new accession countries due to the Habitant Residence Condition (HRC) was highlighted in the education focus group, refererring in particular the impact it had on children. As noted in chapter 2 the HRC requires two years’ residence in Ireland or the United Kingdom before any entitlement to social assistance. As a consequence some families had difficulties in paying rent:

The accession countries aren't entitled to many social benefits for up to two years. So they're finding it very difficult. But if you come over as a refugee it’s something. But they're coming over here chancing their arm I suppose to a certain extent and I don't care what the parents are up to or doing or whatever, they're trying to look for jobs, obviously they're trying to survive. But the children are our priorities in the school always, and it's very, very tough on the children. And, am, they keep moving from house to house because they can't pay the rent and they get evicted (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

Participants in the Kilrush focus group were all Polish and those with children at school reported that their children were settling in well. One parent discussed her child’s difficulty with language but that he was getting support at school:

I think it is a big problem with language. The older one has a big problem with language, with understanding. And, what can I say? I have contact with teachers. They are very friendly. Any time I can come they give me some information on my children, my sons. It is very, very nice (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).
Although some secondary schools already have significant numbers of East European students, educational transition to Ireland can still be problematic. Health workers spoke of the difficulties of schools not having a standardised education test for students and how it is left to individuals to assess a student’s ability. The case of an 18 year old Lithuanian student was discussed who, although the student had nearly completed education in Lithuania and had a high standard of English, was placed in transition year as there is no standardised test:

She's kind of thinking of dropping out because she said there's no point in staying because I've got three more years now. She only had about six months to do in Lithuania anyway but there's no way the school would let her go in and do her Leaving Cert. Even if they each year asked to assess me, give me a mock test I'll show you how good I am. And now she said she's just bored, she's sitting in transition year and she's just bored and she says there's no point now, she says I'm 18 nearly 19 and I'm in with a group of 15 year olds (Health and Welfare Focus Group, 21/5/07).

Part of Collopy’s (2009) research with immigrant children and teenagers included interviews with three teenagers who had dropped out of secondary schools to attend the youth service in Ennis and undertake FETAC/LCA\textsuperscript{235} courses instead:

- I was sixteen and I was in first year. I asked the vice principal could I go into third year and he said I would have to wait. I was waiting for four months. My friend was in the youth service so I came here instead. (Male, aged 17, Czech).
- My friend’s sister told me about the Centre. I had already done state exams in my home country. (Male, aged 17, Czech).
- I found out about it through FÁS. I had done exams in my home country already. (Male, aged 17, Czech) (Collopy, 2009: 49).

One school which responded to the secondary school survey reported that it was their policy to assess immigrant students on their English language ability only, without any examination of previous academic ability.

\textsuperscript{235} FETAC (the Further Education and Training Awards Council) is the national awarding body for further education and training in Ireland. Programmes lead to FETAC awards at Levels 1 to 6 of the National Framework of Qualifications. Refer to: http://www.nfq.ie

The LCA (The Leaving Cert Applied) is an alternative two-year programme focusing on vocational preparation and general education, offering life-skills, the arts, social education, etc. Refer to: http://www.examinations.ie/index.php?l=en&mc=ca&sc=sd
5.7.1 Roma

The research was dependent on service providers’ perception of the experiences and needs of the Roma community. Whilst the voices of the Roma community were an important omission in this research, service providers, in particular within the education focus groups, were keen to outline their experiences. Focus group evidence estimated that there was a Roma community of around 300 living in Ennis:

We would have quite a large portion of Czech and Slovak Roma children who have settled here fairly strongly in Ennis now at the moment. We would have, say, a community of Czech Romas going back let's say at least six years now, maybe seven years…so now we would have a large Irish community, about 60 children in our school who come from even Czech or Slovak Roma background and, ah, they are very interesting kids alright (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

The temporary nature of nomadism has resulted in a large amount of absenteeism amongst the Roma children. This absenteeism leads to planning difficulties for the school and for children:

The Roma guys are very nomadic you know, as regards jobs, and the children. There's no aspect of planning. As I've said to people, you know, 'is your brother starting here in September?' and the kid looks at me as if, is September after Monday. They don't plan that far ahead. Even the parents don't plan that far ahead. So they might be working in Ennis now and then in two months time they might be in Carrick an Suir or they might be in Holland, Denmark. They might be in all various different countries around Europe so it's very difficult on the children, they're being uprooted continually (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

One of the biggest concerns was the lack of uptake of pre-school services for the Roma community, resulting in children presenting themselves in primary school with no English language at all. The case of two siblings who were to start school in September 2007 exemplifies this problem:

Those two children did shock me a bit, having no English whatsoever, I wonder do they not even watch TV. They don't, they watch Czech TV at home. So like them having been born and bred and never having left the country ever, they have never left Ireland, never left Ennis I’d say so since they've arrived in Ireland seven years ago, they were born and they have not one word of English (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).
In relation to parents, lack of English language proficiency is exacerbated by the fact that often parents from the Roma community have left school early or have not attended school at all, resulting in extreme educational disadvantage. This difficulty and the flux nature of Roma children’s school attendance were discussed:

There’s a huge rate of absenteeism amongst their children and they might send them to school maybe for two days and then they’re off for three weeks. We go and visit them and they’re on antibiotics, they’re on medication and my friend across the road told me she couldn’t cross the road when she’s right across the road from the school...If she can’t cross the road in fifth class, well I’m sorry where there’s a traffic light you know. So they make up loads of excuses as to why the children are missing (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

Concerns were raised about how young girls were dropping out of secondary school:

But they're disappearing at huge rates in secondary schools. I’ve been around the secondary schools in the county and they're like, girls come in at twelve, disappears at fourteen one day, just vanishes (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

Also concern was expressed about the prospects of the Roma boys who leave school:

I’d be worried about, you know, groups of boys hitting the age of 15 or 16, no education and no job and no prospect of a job, being a concern you know. Obviously any time you have 50 boys between the age of 14 and 17 years of age kind of going around the place. It's obviously a recipe for disaster, possibly identifiable (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

The majority of the Roma children attended the Educate Together school with about 60 of the 180 children of Czech or Slovak background. Seán, the principal of the school, stressed that whilst the school made an effort to highlight the Roma culture, sometimes children did not want their Roma identity to be highlighted:

So, we try to celebrate their differences. We have Roma national anthems playing on tapes and we have Roma music. You know they don’t really want to hear the Roma side of things sometimes, some of them are very receptive and others aren’t. Like they will never speak Roma to each other at school, even though they speak Roma at home some of them. About half of them speak Roma at home and the other half don’t speak Roma, but the younger kids would speak Roma to each other (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).
The focus group drew attention to links between access to education and some aspects of Roma culture and traditions, especially with respect to Roma views about family and gender roles. The importance for the Roma of maintaining their culture was stressed:

Most important for the Roma families is that the girls get married so the Roma children do get married at 13, 14, 15 if they can get away with it and most important to them is to keep their culture alive because despite centuries of persecution against them, it’s unbelievable that they are still a community (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

Sineád, a community development worker with the HSE, found that some Roma teenagers preferred to identify as Czech rather than Roma in school as they did not wish to be accused of being a gypsy. There was general agreement in the primary school focus group that, when they attended, Roma children integrated well at school.

5.7.2 Nigerian

It was generally agreed by service providers that the Nigerian community have integrated well into the community. Service providers spoke of Nigerian parents being very ambitious for their children:

I said the Nigerians have a very good level of English coming in, a lot of them have better English than our own…and that’s being honest about it, they are very articulate. And the parents would be very, very ambitious for their children; they want them to get on. And as I said on visiting the Nigerian parents, the vast majority of them are out in the morning time, out doing courses early in the morning (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

A teacher with a high number of Nigerian children noted very few problems as parents are generally easily able to communicate with the school:

The Nigerians would question everything. And they want to know why their child didn’t do this when some other child did it (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

The next section looks at the educational experiences of asylum seekers.
5.7.3 Direct Provision and the Experience of Asylum Seekers

Accessing Education

The Reception and Integration Agency data show that in 2008 there were 68 children living in Knockalisheen out of a total occupancy of 283. In 2009, out of a total occupancy of 265, there were 68 children accounting for 26% of the residents in Knockalisheen. The age profiles of these 68 children were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number of children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-12</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-17</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A crèche is available in Knockalisheen but it is only ‘used then by parents who are doing the course on site. It’s not just a regular crèche that everybody can go down to in the morning’ (Health Service Providers’ Focus Group, 19/6/07). Children of school-going age attend school in Meelick, Co. Clare and Limerick City. They are collected by bus, and on return from school they complete their homework in their rooms as no separate study space is available. The residents in the focus group reported. The Social Cohesion Project provides an after school project, but ‘it’s running on an absolute shoestring’ (Health Service Providers’ Focus Group, 19/6/07). Parents receive money so that they can buy school uniforms but not for the workbooks that are a requirement for many lessons. They must purchase the workbooks from their €19.10 per week per adult or €9.60 per child weekly allowance, which many residents perceive to be an unfair imposition: ‘This €19 we are having, we subsidise too much, we use it for so many things’ (Knockalisheen Residents’ Focus Group, 13/6/07). One mother spoke of her difficulties in finding the money for school books:

I should start saving at least €10 every week if I want my son to go to school with books…if he goes to school, he don’t go with books, the other children make fun of him and as a child he doesn’t know what is right and wrong, there are times he even blames me that the mummy was working when actually it’s not working, she can’t provide this for them. It is so stressful it is difficult (Knockalisheen Residents’ Focus Group, 13/6/07).

\(^{236}\) Data supplied via email by Stephen Walsh in the Statistics Section of the Reception and Integration Agency, 9/2/10.
According to the service providers, children are not allowed visitors from outside the centre and this obviously curtails any prospects they may have of making friends at school as their classmates cannot visit them (Service Providers’ Focus Group, 19/6/07). The children travel to school by bus. Parents do not collect their children from school, resulting in parents having very little contact with teachers. When there is ‘something going on in the classroom it’s hard for the teachers to try to get that message across. If he writes the note in English and mum doesn’t speak English and it’s in the bag it just gets lost’ (Service Providers’ Focus Group, 19/6/07). This is socially limiting for parents for, as described in chapter 4, contact with local people through the social connections made by their children at school and through meetings with other parents is often the main way asylum seekers develop friendships beyond the asylum seeking community. Knockalisheen children have few incentives to study, in any case, because third-level education and training is effectively denied to them due to prohibitively high fees for non-EU nationals. Service providers were aware of the difficulties of motivating the children:

And teenagers when they do their Leaving Cert they’re not, obviously it just stops there. If they want to go on to third level they need to pay. They’re not part of the European Union so they need to pay huge amounts of money to go on to third-level education. So some of the teenagers that are in fifth year that I’ve been speaking to I say ‘what are your aspirations?’ And they all wanted to go on to third level but they said that won’t happen because they have no status so they won’t. There’s no money either so it’s like, why bother studying? Because what’s the point? You wont be able to work, you wont be able to continue with your education so you’re just left there. But they say that back in their home countries like study and college and stuff that was a huge thing and there was a big focus on education. But here they said that they’re feeling stupider and stupider as the years go by, because there’s no incentive. No incentive to study, you can’t work and you, what’s the point? (HSE Knockalisheen Focus Group, 19/5/07).

Even so, the children, especially the teenagers, value school, because through attending school ‘they can get out of Knockalisheen’. For this reason, they cannot look forward to summer holidays:

And their major concern was the summer time. You know teenagers, ‘what are we going to do in the summer?’ They were tearing their heads out because they were not going to get out working part-time summer jobs like all the kids in our school. ‘None of our friends are allowed to come up and see us, we’re isolated, we can’t get out to them because you have to go
all the way on a special bus times’ and they said that the summer, that they were just really dreading the summer (HSE Service Providers’ Focus Group, 19/6/07).

Some of the adults attend language classes at the Adult Education Centre in Limerick and the VEC also provides classes at the Centre. Doras Luimní, a Limerick-based voluntary organisation, provides legal advice, language classes and also tries to arrange opportunities for voluntary work to be undertaken by the residents themselves. A Health Education Programme established by the HSE has run a special Knockalisheen project. So far it has organised three activities: training women to participate in a marathon at Moyross (Limerick), running dance classes, and starting a women’s basketball team. In the latter undertaking the aim is to work with the Limerick Sports Partnership to arrange fixtures with other local clubs, ‘to try to integrate them really – there’s no point in having them play only against refugees and asylum seekers’ (HSE Service Providers’ Focus Group, 19/6/07). The Clare Youth Service provides services for young people aged 12-25, including information on rights and entitlements, representation of youth interests, and the organisation of youth clubs and community activities. It is clear therefore that immigrants, depending on their status, have different experiences in accessing education. The next section looks at immigrant parent perceptions of their children’s experience at school.

5.8 Immigrant perceptions of their children’s experience at Clare Schools

In the questionnaires that were administered to refugees, asylum seekers and migrants, respondents were asked of their children’s experience at school. Generally, these experiences seem to have been positive. Of the 72 refugee and asylum seeker respondents, 30 had children attending schools in Clare, mainly in Ennis. Eleven of the respondents had children at secondary school. All but one of the respondents had met their children’s teachers, most of them quite often – just four reported that they had met teachers only once. When asked to choose a phrase to describe their children’s experiences at school, none suggested that their children were unhappy or unsettled. Five respondents indicated that their children ‘seem to be settled’; four reported that their children seemed to be ‘fairly settled
and happy'; and 21 claimed their children were ‘very settled and happy’. Twenty-four of the respondents confirmed their children were doing well in their classes and another three claimed that after initial difficulties their children were making progress. A small minority of four respondents reported that they had children who found the classes bewildering or difficult and only one reported that their child encountered language difficulties.

The questionnaire asked respondents whether teachers had been helpful and whether their children appeared to like their teachers. Again, as Figure 20 below indicates, the responses were broadly favourable with more than two-thirds of the respondents reporting helpful and supportive teachers and only two suggesting that teachers paid their children no attention. Just one respondent indicated that their child was nervous of their teacher. Only two of the asylum seekers reported that they had children with special needs, and of these, one claimed that those needs were not being addressed.

**Figure 20: Migrants, refugees and asylum seekers: is the teacher helpful?**

Key: 1 – Teacher is helpful 2 – Children seem to like him/her 3 – Teacher pays them no attention 4 – Children are nervous of their teacher

Only 21 out of the migrant workers who completed questionnaires indicated they had children at Clare schools. Again, their children’s experiences seemed to have been positive. Eighteen of our respondents had met the teachers of their children, 17 of them often. Three suggested that their children were unhappy; the rest
reported that they were settled and a number chose the ‘settled and happy’ response. In class, though, children of migrants may have struggled: half the respondents had children who found classes bewildering, who could not keep up, or who were held back by language difficulties. Most parents, though, thought teachers were supportive and that their children liked them. Two of the migrant workers had children with special educational needs and these needs were being met at school.

5.10 Educational Support

Educators spoke how support available to Traveller children was not matched by any provision of resource teachers for Roma children, though they experience comparable degrees of ‘educational disadvantage at home, illiteracy at home you know’:

I know one of the schools in Ennis at the moment applied for a resource teacher for some Travellers for September because they had the magic 14 or 15, and they were told no – there were no such thing as resource teachers for Travellers any more and we’re phasing them out over the next four years. No, I was hopeful and I was talking to the Inspector and I’d done studies and written out. We were hopeful of getting extra resource teachers for the Roma children, that they would be recognised as an ethnic group. Well, they are, but that they’d be getting the same support as the Traveller children were getting all right. But then they bloody pulled the rug from under us completely and disappeared into the system (Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

The limited resources given to language support teachers was highlighted: ‘We certainly have children that are leaving me now and they could do with extra help and support’ (Education Focus Group, 5/6/07). Another difficulty raised was the lack of languages other than English in which any psychological assessment can be conducted:

So you are assessing them with an instrument that is not suited to their needs at all. You are assessing a child with a, whether it’s a psychological assessment or just a simple reading assessment. You’re assessing them with a tool or instrument that has not been designed with their needs in mind at all. So it's totally unfair, they're disadvantaged from day one when they're being assessed in that regard...I'm really worried; we're very slow to react – extremely slow (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07)
If children need psychological or psychiatric services there are long waiting lists and in any case such care may be of limited value given the unavailability of such services in languages other than English:

We have three or four children that are going, or going to go as I was told the last day, going to go on to the waiting list – they're not even on the waiting list yet – and that the waiting list is a year-and-a-half to two years for psychiatric service. And then they attend these psychiatric services and they can't speak English (laughs). So you have a double difficulty (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

The difficulty in getting Special Needs Assistants who spoke languages other than English was discussed, and one school had advertised for a Special Needs Assistant with Czech but no-one had applied.

### 5.11 Students’ Integration

Whilst a perceived reluctance of learning English was prevalent amongst the Roma community it was noted that the children wished to assimilate into the schools. However, it was pointed out that it was easier for the children to identify as Czech rather than being accused of being a gypsy (Czech Roma). Teachers made an effort in celebrating and highlighting difference in schools; however, sometimes the children don't want their differences celebrated. In relation to religion it was noted the some Eastern European children returned to their home countries to make their holy communion, whilst some children within the Nigerian community had been baptised into the Roman Catholic church. There had been no significant issues around cultural and religious difference in relation to the Muslim faith so far in the schools. However, it was felt by the educators that a debate or guidance was required. One parent spoke of his dissatisfaction with the Catholic ethos of the school his children were attending:

I have a problem in the school with religions, all the time priests coming and teach my kids…I will teach them my religion and then I think they are too small to learn it and I have spoken to the principal a few times, we are not alone. They go all together in the church I don’t mind but my daughter have to go as well in the church, nobody have to take care of my daughter (Clare VEC Students’ Focus Group, 15/5/07).

Seán, the principal of the Educate Together school, spoke of the school policy towards religion:
Well we don’t talk religion in our school so it only comes up when communion comes, because we do communion and confirmation outside of school, outside of school times. And ah, but our second class last year, we had twenty-five in second class, and only five did communion. So the other twenty are either non-practicing Catholics or, we don’t ask, we don’t know… And then there was an issue about swimming. The girls couldn’t go swimming in the pool after the boys had gone swimming in the pool. Those kind of issues started to crop up. And we’ve never had any of those issues, ever at all at all so we’ve never had. It’s just never happened; I suppose religion would be something that would be avoided a lot in our school. We wouldn’t go on about it an awful lot (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

In relation to integration, there was overall agreement that within the primary schools there were few difficulties with children integrating and mixing. However, the question of the onus on the Roma integrating was also raised. As one of the teachers in a focus group observed, though Roma children often constituted a group apart in school classes, it was extremely unlikely that they would be leaving Ennis in the near future. As he noted:

They like being in Ennis because, as a lot of the children told me, like a guy coming to the fifth class told me, he likes coming to our school because he doesn’t get beaten up on the way to school, because in the Czech Republic he used to get beaten up on the way to school because he was a gypsy Roma (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

The difficulty of the children in Knockalisheen integrating was highlighted in the HSE Knockalisheen Focus Group (19/6/07) when it was noted that no children under the age of 16 were allowed to visit:

You know one thing for the children is they're not allowed to bring a friend, like she was saying. Nobody, no youngster under 16 is allowed in to visit. And that's one thing the children said, issue like, is that they weren't allowed to have friends outside of the centre over to visit if they are under 16 (HSE Knockalisheen Focus Group, 19/5/07).

The impact of a small number of schools in Ennis having a large ethnic mix whilst others had a smaller mix or were predominately Irish was explored:

Well I think it's a danger long term for any school. For Ennis schools in general, you know there are three or four schools in general that would have a huge ethnic mix and origin Irish children are mixing with children from the Czech Republic (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).
Focus group informants outlined that since a 2000 directive, schools under the patronage of the Bishop in Ennis had to allocate a minimum of 5% of admissions to ethnic minorities. The benefit of having an ethnic mix in schools was outlined:

A young guy started at my school this year and he says he goes home to his mother and she asks ‘what do you think of the new school?’ ‘It’s great’, he says, ‘you know there are loads of swear words in Croatian’. So you know he’s growing up with that. His friends that he brings to parties and everything from Croatia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Nigeria, France, Ireland, England (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

In September 2007 one school in Ennis was to have an intake of 34 in junior infants, and approximately 20 of those children were non-Irish born. The next section looks at further education.

5.12 Further/Adult Education

With regard to adult education opportunities for immigrants in the county, they are for the most part provided by Clare VEC. VEC centres are located in Ennis, Kilrush, Scarriff, Miltown Malbay and Shannon. In 2007 the VEC provided education services to over 5,000 adults within the county. The VEC also runs the Clare Adult Basic Education Service (CABES) that offers one-to-one and group tuition to adults with low literacy attainment as well as providing English language training for asylum seekers, refugees and migrant workers. Over 1,800 adults accessed this service at 30 locations throughout the county in 2007 (data supplied by Clare VEC)\(^{237}\). The lack of motivation for undertaking literacy and English classes for people, in particular men, was outlined in the Clare VEC tutors’ focus group:

Whereas with the men, they can't see any sort of reason for doing this English unless they can attach it on to, sort of, employment or something specific, you know, because of their situation, in terms of their status, you know, there isn't that link, they can't apply directly or it maybe for a long time so I think motivation is a huge issue (Clare VEC Tutors' Focus Group, 15/5/07).

Reference was made to the difficulties some asylum seekers and refugees have:

Many of them, particularly the women, would not have had a great deal of education in their home countries and many of them would be illiterate in

\(^{237}\) For further details refer to Clare VEC:
http://www.clarevec.ie/index.cfm/area/information/page/adulteducation/
any language and a lot of them are illiterate in their alphabet (Clare VEC Tutors’ Focus Group, 15/5/07).

Of grave concern in the VEC focus group was a group of men who, despite having refugee status, were under-educated and had not received much assistance:

I'm just thinking of a particular grouping that we all know about here. And one particularly disaffected boy, you know, you think what is the future for this lad? He's under-educated, angry, disaffected, unemployable and you say what's the future for him? (Clare VEC Tutors’ Focus Group, 15/5/07)

VEC tutors highlighted that for asylum seekers in direct provision their only option for education was repeated literacy classes provided by the VEC and the Irish Refugee Council. Those who wished to enter third level would have to pay third-level fees:

I run a homework club for asylum seeker students and a lot of the students who would have passed through the homework club in the last five or six years are now not able to go to university, not able to work, 18 years old and anecdotally getting into all sorts of trouble. And it's very sad because they’ve come through the educational system and often dealt with some terrific challenges to do so, so it’s a waste (Clare VEC Tutors’ Focus Group, 15/5/07).

Only the Irish Refugee Council is permitted to provide English language classes to asylum seekers in Knockalisheen and they found:

In terms of educational issues one of the big ones for us is access for people who would be more advanced. We have the whole range really from absolute beginners who have no education or literacy background to people who speak very well, who have many literacy writing difficulties, to people who speak very well and also write very well in terms of academic writing, are quite, I suppose other than saying that are certainly capable. So we have a number of people that, you know, wish to access third level and that’s always a very big problem (Clare VEC Tutors’ Focus Group, 15/5/07).

Questionnaires asked immigrants what further educational opportunities they would prefer. Survey respondents indicated they would like to obtain further education, though their perceived needs were significantly different (Figure 21).
Of 82 migrant worker respondents, 76 confirmed they would like access to more education. Of these a huge majority, 71, felt they needed English language training, though significant groups wanted diploma level courses (17) and university studies (14). In contrast, a minority of the refugees or asylum seekers who wanted further education, 10 out of 46, felt they needed language training. Most of the refugee or asylum seekers stated that they would prefer enrolling for diploma or university courses. In both groups only small number said they would like primary or secondary education. Focus group participants highlighted the importance of the VEC centre, seen as ‘a meeting point, it’s like a club for us. You can meet people from all other countries and Irish and everybody is so friendly here to everybody’ (Clare VEC Students’ Focus Group, 15/5/07). The next section focuses on language acquisition.

### 5.13 Language Acquisition

For all immigrants, language acquisition is the principal means through which social integration may take place. Language difficulties arise in a variety of contexts; however, survey respondents and focus group participants noted three key areas in which language skills and/or acquisition are particularly important in relation to ethnic minorities: for children entering and progressing through the school system; for adults in order to facilitate effective social and economic
integration; and for many ‘front-line’ service providers dealing with ethnic minorities.

5.13.1 Children

For many immigrant children, quite frequently their first direct and sustained exposure to English language occurs at school. How effective the transition to another language is depends to a large extent on parental support as outlined in focus group testimonies. This need not necessarily be by conversing in English, but by providing other educational supports that allow the children to develop. Parents reading to their children in any language was regarded as an important means through which children develop their language skills, and it was also suggested that enhancing mother tongue proficiency is useful in helping children to learn a fresh language (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07). Among ethnic minorities, however, for a variety of reasons this kind of parental support may be difficult to secure.

Literacy difficulties amongst some parents, in particular within the Roma community, were highlighted as a matter for concern:

The reason I’d be concerned about the parents would be, you know, not getting the parents involved you know, and then again about reading levels and acquisition of reading skills and so on. I mean do parents, do any of the parents who read to their children in their own language at home? (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

Moreover, it was noted that the challenges facing Roma children in terms of language acquisition are much more intense than may be the case for other minorities. Whereas for some minorities English represents a second language, for many Roma children it is a third, to which the Irish education system then adds a fourth – Irish. More generally, it is clear that if children’s language development should be supported by parents, then parents’ language development must also be effectively supported. The tutors who worked in the VEC noted that a significant proportion of people attending their classes had literacy difficulties, in particular women. For some immigrant families, even without literacy problems, support for children’s language acquisition may be deficient. A language teacher recounted
her experience of dealing with one Polish mother looking for English language classes, a case that highlights this difficulty:

I asked, ‘do you listen to English television, English speaking?’ ‘No, we have Polish TV.’ I said, ‘what about the radio?’ ‘No, we listen to the Polish on the radio.’ I said, ‘well you really should just turn on the television in English just for the children to hear, it's the ear that they need to hear’ (Social Integration Focus Group, 17/5/07).

The consequence of this is that schools often bear a larger burden in terms of responsibility for language acquisition than might otherwise be the case. Ironically, however, immersing children in a second language is nothing new in Ireland. Donál, principal of the Gaelscoil in Ennis, explained:

So we’d be dealing in Gealscoileanna for over 50 years with immersing children in a language that is not their home language and all of the issues that are being dealt with, ah, for non-nationals who do not have English as their first language. They’ve been dealt with by us for many, many years now in an Irish language situation and in the Gealtacht situation something similar (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

In this respect, there is a vast reserve of expertise in relation to language acquisition and language skills that could usefully be deployed in relation to ethnic minorities’ language acquisition. Surprisingly though, the consensus amongst the education focus group attendees is that Ireland performs poorly with respect to language teaching in most of its schools. One school principal explained:

We have not been good at language teaching. If you look at the surveys, the literacy and numeracy surveys, conducted by the Department [of Education and Science], such as the curriculum implementation evaluation surveys for English, the inspectors are saying that 25-30% of the language, English language lessons that they've seen by teachers, they're not using the correct teaching strategies for the teaching of English. So our teaching stock for teaching languages is not good. Because we're not good at it (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

The lack of support for language provision by the Department of Education and Science was criticised, in particular the lack of texts in diverse languages and the lack of training for teachers:

Every single national school teacher in the system today is not trained to teach through a second language, which is what you’re doing. They’re not trained to teach through a child’s second language. We do not have one teacher that got pre-service education in this country trained to teach
through a second language, and that includes Irish ok. So none of the teachers currently in the system feel that they are adequately prepared to teach children through a child’s second or additional language as they call it – it could be third or fourth. So we do not have that skills base from which to work and that is a huge deficit (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

It was noted that this was not a new challenge as the same problem was realised in sourcing Irish language texts. Gaelscoil teaching professionals noted that the success of ‘total immersion’ in a foreign language (in their case the move from English to Irish) was completely reliant on two key features:

1. The capacity for children to use their own language to develop a second language by asking questions, transferring skills, and so on
2. The effective support of a teacher who is able to understand their first language, and thus support the transfer of their language skills from one language to another.

Donál, principal of the Gaelscoil, explained: ‘Imagine if Irish teachers understood no English – how could they effectively respond in Irish and teach through Irish, if they had no understanding of their children in the first place?’ (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07). It was suggested that the best solution was to have a Special Needs Assistant or someone in the classroom with a proficiency in the child’s language to assist with comprehension, thereby hastening language development (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

For non-Irish speaking schools, the issue of how best to promote language acquisition amongst children of ethnic minorities is one that presents a constant challenge. The principal of one school explained that in relation to language teaching, best practices were constantly updated by the school. More generally, there was a consensus between teachers and principals that more of a focus should be put on co-operative learning amongst children, as well as on utilising the language skills that children already have. In relation to the experience of Irish language teaching as a model for ethnic minorities’ language acquisition, many concluded that it demonstrated policy failures and scope for improvement. It was argued that the Irish educational system ought to explore models of best practice in other countries that have a reputation for good language skills:
We're looking at children from all over the world and we're thinking narrowly of English and Gaeilge maybe, when in actual fact they are actually linguistically much, much, much better than we are at languages (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

5.13.2 Adult Language Acquisition

Language proficiency affects economic and social conditions of ethnic minorities. It seems, however, that the pattern of language acquisition amongst adults is varied – both in relation to ethnic background and also in relation to the familial and/or gendered position of members of ethnic minority groups. In terms of ethnic backgrounds, language tutors noted the language learning difficulties with migrants from Eastern European countries, in particular Poland, Latvia, and Lithuania:

Language familiarity is a big problem, not knowing the rules is also a big problem because obviously you are in an alien culture and you really don't know because no-one has actually bothered to sit down and give them that information (VEC Tutors’ Focus Group, 15/5/07).

A tutor spoke about a group of Hungarians: ‘There was about 70, who were working in a meat plant and it was very interesting in that they, we first thought that they had very good qualifications and it turned out that it was like a vocational Junior Cert that they had. So many of them would have had difficulty not only with the language but even with the writing’ (Clare VEC Tutors’ Focus Group, 15/5/07).

Many of the research participants recognised that English proficiency was critical in getting better work opportunities:

If I spoke better English, I could look for a better job (Kilrush Ethnic Minorities’ Focus Group, 7/6/07).

I am here on a contract, working here... I am satisfied; If I'll stay here longer, depends on the company. The biggest problem – language barrier; I'd like to learn the language (Kilrush Ethnic Minorities’ Focus Group, 7/6/07).

The VEC tutor focus group illustrated that the levels of English migrants learn was dependent on the work they did:
Some do and some don’t, it depends. If an employer takes, say, a group of East Europeans in a group they will speak in their own mother tongue mostly but if it’s only one or two say, there’s an organisation, it’s a cleaning organisation in Shannon and the workforce would be mixed, a lot of Irish in it as well, so therefore the emphasis for them to learn English would be greater. If they are in another work environment where say 70% of the workforce is Polish, well they will use their English but in a limited sense but be quite happy to (Clare VEC Tutors’ Focus Group, 15/5/07).

Amongst the working ethnic minority population the demand for English classes was consistently high. A group of 16 Polish workers explained that one of their biggest needs was the availability of English language classes and information about how to obtain access to classes: ‘I think that there is a need for English classes. In Kilrush, there are some English classes. One of them is organised here and one in the school, but they need advertising. A lot of people do not know about it’ (Kilrush Ethnic Minorities’ Focus Group, 7/6/07).

While on the one hand, accessing the information about language classes can be difficult with limited language skills, on the other, sometimes finding time to take language classes can also be difficult. This situation may be exacerbated by a lack of flexibility from employers. A VEC language tutor explained that sometimes employers are willing to be flexible in order to support employee language learning, but this attitude is rare:

There is a daytime class where the employer actually gives them time off in lieu in order to attend the English class and that's one enlightened employer I would say. The other employers are not particularly interested in having English as a priority as far as I can see and they should be making it a priority (VEC Tutors’ Focus Group, 15/5/07).

Immigrants from Scarriff spoke of the difficulties in accessing beginner language classes:

And for people, especially for Polish people, and probably like people who don’t know English at all, they come to Ireland and there is no basic learning and things like this starting to make these little ghettos. You know we have this enclave of Polish people, especially Polish because they could manage. Like Pakistan people they cannot manage without language, they have to learn. Polish people, they go to factories and whole shift is Polish. The shops that you go you find Polish people but then they go to tax office, they are lost. They go to court they are lost. You know it’s going here, there, everywhere. They go to hospital, it’s emergency, but difficulties and they are lost. So that’s the area that should be addressed really by somebody (Scarriff Ethnic Minorities’ Group, 1/6/07).
The Polish participants in the Kilrush focus group also spoke of their need for beginner language classes to be held in the area.

### 5.13.3 Social Integration

The social constraints provided by limited language acquisition amongst ethnic minorities are varied. In some cases, poor English language skills foster ghettoisation and marginalisation of an immigrant group. In other cases, a lack of English language skills can provide additional stresses and strains to family life, causing disproportionate burdens to be placed on more proficient linguists. The incidence of children acting as family representatives and translators is a case in point with potential long-term harm for children’s development. In other cases, the impact of inadequate English language skills can be much more direct, when required services or assistance are not forthcoming. In relation to social integration, many research participants explained that limited language skills tended to prevent them from mixing more in Irish company. In one focus group with a VEC language class, students were asked if they would invite Irish people to a party. Many reported that it was difficult for their compatriots to mix with Irish people due to limited English. Several members of the VEC student focus group (15/5/07) stated that they wouldn’t socialise with Irish people, not because they didn’t like them, but because communication was too difficult. The importance of the VEC English language classes was acknowledged by a number of participants.

Aside from the social implications of English language acquisition, the costs of not developing linguistic proficiencies are varied. The view that in many cases it is only in times of an emergency that people’s language problems were discovered was a common one. Sometimes, the burden of translating is taken up by other members of the community who tend to act as group representatives or translators – though this in itself may add another pressure to the immigrant experience:

> Some people from my country they don't speak English very good and I help them speak English to Irish and then I have to speak my language, it's very difficult (VEC Student Focus Group, 15/5/07).
This pressure is perhaps most unwelcome when it must be borne by children of families with poor language proficiency. The difficulties regarding the use of children as familial translators were noted in the health and welfare focus group (21/5/07). In trying to communicate with parents, health workers often have to depend on children for translation. As one of them pointed out, this ‘isn’t very ethical because there are a lot of personal health problems, issues that you’d be addressing’ (Health and Welfare Focus Group, 21/5/07).

5.14 Service Providers

The importance of being able to adequately communicate as service providers was noted in the Clarecare focus group (29/05/07):

We've actually had several people presenting now pregnant who cannot speak English, who would like their baby adopted because they are over here working and they haven't told the family back home that they are pregnant and they want to go home without the baby. And to fill in all the formalities, the forms, to even listen to their plea we don't have the expertise (Clarecare Focus Group, 29/05/07).

The lack of support for translation was also discussed in the health and welfare focus group:

We did bring it up before, you know, about getting say consent forms and all that translated into different languages, and it was brought up at a regional meeting and the HSE said that's not going to happen. So in the meantime anyway the refugee classes and they've been very good, they have it translated it into about five different languages and that, they've given one page to the school just explaining there was a school service. But the HSE, they're not going to take it on, they said it's a big issue to translate the forms (Health and Welfare Focus Group, 21/5/07).

In the Knockalisheen HSE focus group (19/6/07) the service providers stated that they were able to avail of a translation service from Dublin for confidential medical consultations via telephone. However, it was stated that in some cases people would bring a friend along to translate for minor consultations. In the Clarecare focus group staff spoke of the difficulties in building trust with service users when English language proficiency is absent. ‘So yes, depending on, you know, whatever language you’re dealing with here, and then obviously depending on if somebody is there, refugee, asylum, they’re terrified, they’re frightened’ (Clarecare Focus Group, 29/5/07).
5.14.1 Translation Services

The lack of available translators was highlighted as a grave concern in nearly all focus groups. Seán, the principal of the Educate Together school, outlined that he used children in his sixth class to translate. The education focus group noted that it was left to the schools themselves to access and pay for translators, as Antoinette outlined:

I tried to get a Slovak translator. I rang the Refugee Council and they told me there was nobody in Ennis available to do that... I would have paid €50 an hour plus all their expenses. Now, they told me to ring Dublin then, but they rang Dublin and this lady rang me back and she said ‘Well I can get you somebody but you will have to pay them €50 an hour plus their train expenses, their food expenses and their accommodation’. I said where do you think I’m going to get that? (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

In some cases schools had to use pupils to translate documents or to convey messages to parents:

We had this child that we were getting assessed last Friday and he didn't turn up for school on Friday. So I had to get a sixth class girl's cousin’s husband to go and ring their house for him to come into school, because the father has no English whatsoever. And then the other part of getting the assessment was the father's filling in the form to make 'an informed choice'. He signed the form giving permission to carry out an educational assessment, but quite frankly, I didn't think the man really knew what he was signing. And we don't have a translation service (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

Also in the health and welfare focus group, the case of a Roma child whose medical data was translated was discussed:

Going back to the Romas as well, it's hard to know then how traumatic, what kind of a traumatic background they're coming from as well. I had a family last year in an Educate Together school and I mean the mother's English was just so poor you know, so I called to the house a few times and basically the ten year old child she was scared like, she was in the corner all the time and I mean really unbelievable. But anyway she came in to a clinic and the mother had her on her medical notes in Slovak or whatever, she brought them in and we got them translated, but the child had been in an institution over there, institution and then the mother said and she was bad, she was bold and all of this type of thing you know (Health and Welfare Focus Group, 21/5/07).

Services providers spoke of the ethical challenges of having children as translators for their parents:
The main, say, problems that I would encounter would be the language barrier is a big issue. I would get them to fill, to complete consent forms for their health screening for the schools and so there’s a big issue in relation to the language barrier. So unfortunately what’s happening is you’re actually, with the help from the children who have good English in the school, which isn’t very ethical because there’s a lot of personal health problems, issues that you’d be addressing. And you know I found that difficult because you shouldn’t really be asking another child to try and explain, it’s not right (Health and Welfare Group, 21/5/07).

Lack of translated information about medical services distributed through school was a problem:

Especially around the whole medical services area I think it's a big thing and especially when there's a HSE meeting, the whole thing about vaccinations and information on vaccinations. Like we've vaccination letters going out at the moment, they're all in English. There's no translation of them whatsoever even though the junior infants, the bulk of the junior infants are. (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07).

It was questioned why the HSE could not go through the required forms for primary and second level schools and get them all translated into 12, 15 or 20 languages. There was a perception from members of the primary education focus group that the HSE had decided at a senior level that there would be no flexibility on the issue of translation. Health workers also spoke of this frustration and had asked for consent forms to be translated into different languages. ‘It was brought up at a regional meeting and the HSE said that’s not going to happen’ (Health and Welfare Group, 21/5/07). Therefore the HSE were issuing letters of information on vaccinations that were all in English. ‘There’s no translations of them whatsoever even though in the junior infants eight or nine of our children speak Czech, or the parents speak Czech, and yet the letter goes out in English to them’ (Primary Education Focus Group, 5/6/07). However, Donál, the principal of the Gaelscoil, stressed that his school had difficulty in getting letters translated into Irish and he often had to translate letters himself.

5.15 Conclusion

This chapter started by charting the historical evolution of the education system in Ireland, outlining the key stakeholders in the system. In particular, the central and pivotal position of the Catholic church was outlined and how this position is now
being challenged with a more diverse society and as a result of reports documenting clerical sexual abuse. From there the chapter proceeded to chart the key structure and players within the education system. The chapter then profiled immigrant students in Ireland and the levels of access they have to the education system, and considered some of the difficulties immigrants face within the education system. For example, the chapter noted how asylum seekers who wished to continue onto third-level are required to pay non-EU fees resulting in the vast majority being unable to continue their education. The chapter outlined that immigrants, and in particular non-Catholic immigrants, are expected to assimilate into the education system with very few alternatives provided. The evidence from Co. Clare indicated that for many immigrants, EU accession workers, asylum seekers and refugees, school attendance by their children represents a pathway towards social integration. Children make friends and through these friendships, parents begin to make social connections with local residents. Focus group testimonies outlined that asylum seekers in Knockalisheen have limited educational opportunities, with English language classes and basic computer classes.

Certain primary schools in the county have a significant enrolment of immigrant children whilst the presence of immigrants in secondary level was not as evident. Concern was expressed by educators that Roma children were especially likely to become educationally disadvantaged because of language barriers, absenteeism and early school leaving, particularly among young girls, whilst Eastern European children more generally could be hampered by language problems with their progress and motivation adversely affected by inappropriate class placement. Nigerian children, on the other hand, and African children more widely, seemed to encounter comparatively fewer educational difficulties. Amongst the survey responses, both migrants’ and asylum seekers’/refugees’ perceptions about their children’s treatment by teachers were broadly positive. Service providers spoke of their difficulties in providing translation of their services, often using children to communicate with parents. With regard to further education, asylum seekers were especially likely to lack motivation because of uncertainties about their future and the cost of entering third level. Teachers spoke of the importance of parental support for children learning English, and it was perceived that among certain
immigrant groups this support is weak whilst demand for English language classes is very high among working migrants. What is clear from the fieldwork in county Clare in relation to Schierup, Hansen & Castles (2006) three modes of incorporation is that as was concluded in chapter 4 that more than just an immigrant’s status needs to be considered. The evidence again some immigrant groups do not fit so easily within the modes as is clearly seen in the experiences of the Roma. The next chapter looks at immigrants’ experiences in the labour market.
Chapter 6: ‘Contesting the Labour Market’ – Differentiated Work Status and Experiences
6.1 Introduction

One of the most debated aspects of immigration is the potential impact it may have on host countries’ economies (Legrain, 2007). Immigrants often move to improve their financial situation and qualifications, with employment not only providing an income but also a social status and a means for making social connections and learning about the host society, thus providing a central role in facilitating integration and social inclusion (ICI, 2008: 11). Chapter 2 outlined how one of the most significant features of Ireland’s economic success was the availability of a ‘very elastic supply of labour’ (Clinch, Convery and Walsh, 2002: 46-7). The role of immigrant participation in the labour market was particularly significant as the economy boomed and labour shortages became more apparent.

The government responded to requests from employers for additional workers by making it relatively easy to recruit and employ workers from outside the country (NESC: 2006). Table 8 in chapter 2 (p.87-89) provided a summary of migration channels constructed by the state, and concluded that Ireland has a hybrid model incorporating all three general types of Schierup, Hansen & Castles’ (2006: 41) three modes of incorporation: differential exclusion, assimilation and multiculturalism. This chapter charts Irish approaches to the labour market by using a number of indicators. The chapter starts by exploring state responses to labour shortages that occurred from the mid- to late 1990s onwards, and then makes reference to the broader political reaction to migrants working in Ireland. In particular, the chapter will look at what mechanisms the state used to attract workers and what conditions were implemented in bringing immigrants into the state. One of the questions that is often asked about the impact of migrants on a host country is whether they affect the level of wages and employment of the existing population. Therefore the chapter will review the literature outlining the economic contribution and exploitation of migrants. Reference will also be made to the availability of up-skilling and training opportunities for migrants. Finally, the chapter will focus on the testimonies of immigrants in Co. Clare, outlining their experiences in accessing the labour market. The case study will assess status, but will also outline if issues other than status impact on immigrants’ experiences of working in County Clare and undertaking training. It should be noted that the absence of data is a problem. For example, if we wish to know the number of
persons from the new accession states working in Ireland, the figures for PPSNs (personal public service numbers) are the only available data for intercensal periods. However, while people are counted in when they register for PPSNs they are not counted out again.

6.2 State Responses

Migration can alleviate various labour shortages and can play a particular role in facilitating the growth of key knowledge-based industries. It also may be a significant source of entrepreneurship. However, migration also poses a number of challenges. The NESC outlines the difficulties for certain immigrants:

Migrants with few or no skills may be particularly vulnerable to becoming unemployed and dependent on welfare benefits during an economic downturn. To this must be added the fear that migrants may undercut wages and take jobs away from the local workforce, and that their concentration in particular areas will undermine neighbourhood ties and change local culture. Irregular migrants can be exploited by unscrupulous employers, landlords and recruitment agents. New challenges arise in relation to disease surveillance. There are also fears that antisocial elements may take advantage of migrant communities in Ireland, such as traffickers of human beings, and other organized criminal activities (NESC, 2006: 1).

Ruhs (2008: 403-408) stresses that labour immigration ranks among the most important and contested public policy issues in high-income countries. He argues that it requires countries to make policy decisions based on three questions: ‘(i) how to regulate the number of migrants to be admitted to the country; (ii) how migrants should be selected; and (iii) what rights should be granted to migrants after admission’ (Ruhs, 2008: 403, emphasis in original). Borjas (1995) suggests that if the aim is to maximise the income of existing residents, ‘the government’s objective function when setting immigration policy is well defined: maximize the immigration surplus net of the fiscal burden imposed by immigrants on native tax payers’ (Borjas, 1995: 18).

In Ireland between 1985 and 2006 the number of people in employment increased from almost 1.1 million to over 2 million. Within the same period the numbers of unemployed decreased by 128,200 to 91,400 (Adshead and Tonge, 2009: 208). It should be noted that the labour force refers to the total number of (potentially) economically active population aged between 16

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238 The ‘immigration surplus’ is the part of the additional output and income generated by immigrants that accumulates to the pre-existing residents of the receiving country.
and 65 years. According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO, 2005) a person is considered to be employed if they are working for payment, profit or in a family business for one hour or more each week. Where a person is working for more than an hour but less than they would wish, they are considered to be underemployed. In Ireland, to be counted as unemployed, a person must be without work but looking for work and available to commence work within the next two weeks (CSO, 2006b: 28). People who are neither working (according to the above definition), nor looking for work are classified as economically inactive and are not considered to be part of the labour force – a convention that excludes consideration of ‘homemakers’, those caring for dependents, and a number of unpaid farm workers (Leddin and Walsh, 2003: 422). Additionally, the ILO definition excludes those who have not recently actively sought employment and may thereby under-estimate the numbers of ‘inactive’ unemployed (Murphy, 2007: 104). Despite significant employment growth, levels of dependency on social welfare rose among those of working age from 12.4% of the working population in 1980 to hold constant at 20% for the period 1985-2005 (Adshead and Tonge, 2009; Murphy, 2006b). Evidently the increase in employment during the economic boom was made up of migrant labour (Adshead and Tonge, 2009; Adshead et al., 2007). As the Tánaiste at the time, Mary Harney, warned in 2000, a failure to address the labour shortage could undermine Ireland’s economic growth, since wage rates and the availability of skilled workers remain central concerns for multinational companies in relation to investment decisions (Loyal, 2003: 80). Evidence of labour shortages was underlined in an employment survey in 2000 by the Small Firms Association which found that of the 60% of companies which had vacancies, 91% were unable to fill them (Loyal, 2003: 79).

This section looks at how the state selected and recruited migrants.

As a member of the EU, Ireland’s labour policies have made, and continue to make, an important distinction between persons from within and outside the

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239 An alternative, though lesser-used, metric is the ‘principle economic status’ (PES) definitions that are based on a self-assessment definition of unemployment. This facilitates inclusion of those presently inactive who, given encouragement and supports, could work (Murphy, 2007: 104). According to the Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed (INOU, 2007), the 4.5% unemployment rate based on ILO definitions and updated by the ‘live register trends’ is not a true reflection of unemployment levels, and PES definition estimates of 10% in 2005 would be more accurate.
European Union. Table 8 in chapter 2 summarised the main migration channels into Ireland, with the country receiving the highest share of immigrants from countries that joined the EU in 2004. Immigrants from the European Economic Area (EAA) enjoy unrestricted rights in Ireland and fit into Schierup, Hansen & Castles’ multiculturalism model. However, on 17th December 2008, the government announced its decision that, from 1st January 2009, it would continue to restrict access to the Irish labour market for nationals of Bulgaria and Romania. Accordingly, Bulgarian and Romanian nationals continue to require an employment permit to take up employment in Ireland and any job they find would continue to be subject to the current requirement for a labour market test. A particularly high share (90%) of the EU-10 population aged over 15 is estimated to be in the labour force. Some of those not formally classified as participating in the labour force are nonetheless engaged in work, whether caring work in the home or voluntary activity outside the home. Immigrants from outside the EU, as outlined in chapter 2, can enter on a work permit or Green Card. Asylum seekers cannot work; however, the Council Directive 2003/9/EC of 27th January 2003 lays down minimum standards for the reception of asylum seekers. It is more widely know as the ‘Reception Directive’ and was adopted by 25 of the 27 EU member states. Under article 11(1) of the Directive, member states can determine a period of time from the date of application for asylum, during which an applicant may not enter paid employment. Article 11(2) sets out the entitlement of an asylum seeker to work after a year, if a decision has not been reached at first instance and the delay is not on the part of the applicant. Ireland and Denmark have opted out of the Reception Directive. One of the main reasons behind the prohibition on allowing asylum seekers the right to work is that state did not want to create, as Mr. Noel Dowling, Principal Officer with the Reception and Integration Agency, stated, ‘an economic pull factor for economic migrants using

240 With 5% of the working-age population originating from the counties that joined the EU in 2005 this was considerably more than the UK, the second largest receiving country in relative terms, where 1.2% of the working-age population came from these 10 countries (Mac Cormaic: 20/11/08).
241 For more details refer to the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment website: http://www.entemp.ie/labour/workpermits/bulgariaromania.htm
243 For further details refer to: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32003L0009:EN:HTML
the asylum system to enter the state’ (Dowling in Ní Shé, 2009: 118). However, one of the principles behind the Directive is to ‘limit the secondary movements of asylum seekers influenced by the variety of conditions for their reception’ which would contradict the Irish government’s perception that granting this right would serve as a ‘pull factor’. Thomas Hammarberg, Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe, in a 2008 report recommended that the Irish government introduce temporary work permits for asylum seekers. However, the government continues to justify its position despite no substantial evidence to suggest that there would be an influx of economic migrants if the right to work were granted (FLAC, 2010: 120). Because asylum seekers are given no other option it can be argued that they fit into the assimilation model as outlined by Schierup, Hansen & Castles (1996: 41), as they await the outcome of their application.

In April 2004 the Irish government, as part of its EU presidency, held a conference entitled ‘Reconciling Mobility and Social Inclusion’ (Office of Social Inclusion, 2004). The conference defined social integration predominantly in terms of the economic integration of workers (OSI, 2004: 8). Indeed the then incoming Minister for Social and Family Affairs, Mary Coughlan TD, equated social inclusion with participation in the labour market: ‘Work, as we know, is the main route out of poverty and social exclusion’. However, she did foresee the need for government to provide a ‘holistic approach to providing more effective and integrated services to immigrants’ (OSI, 2004: 20). In the foreword of the conference proceedings Minister for Social and Family Affairs at the time, Séamus Brennan, rather than focusing on welfare rights and entitlements of ‘mobile workers’, made reference to labour mobility and equitable access to labour markets.

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244 In the introduction to the conference Gerry Mangan, Director of the Office for Social Inclusion, talked about the benefits of mobility, noting that migrants can earn significantly higher incomes and acquire new skills, education and valuable work experience. However he also outlined the downside of mobility for migrants who are ‘at a much higher risk of poverty and social exclusion than other residents. Leaving the relative security provided by family, community and culture, they may experience great difficulties in integrating in their new country without these supports. This may be exacerbated by a lack of necessary employment skills, especially language skills. There may not be adequate, culturally sensitive support structures in the host country to help them overcome those obstacles, and their situation may be exacerbated by exploitation of their vulnerability, especially in relation to employment, and by racism and xenophobia encountered’ (OSI, 2004: 8).
Mobile workers, and especially those who migrate from other regions and countries, are particularly vulnerable to social exclusion. Mobility can involve leaving behind the supports of family, friends, local community and one’s own culture, and experiencing much difficulty in finding comparable supports in the host country. This demands that, in solidarity, we work to provide them with the supports they need to achieve social inclusion and integration. It is clearly also in our interests to do so. The social exclusion of migrants can result in their working well below their potential and to high rates of unemployment among them. This has negative consequences both economically and in relation to social cohesion. Two of the key goals of the Lisbon agenda, greater economic competitiveness and social cohesion are well served, therefore, by reconciling mobility and social exclusion (Office of Social Inclusion 2004: 6).

How such integration was to be furthered other than through the labour market has remained unclear. In May 2004, a month after the conference and as a response to fears of ‘welfare tourism’, the government introduced the Habitual Residence Condition (HRC) as a response to the accession countries joining the EU (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovak Republic, Slovenia). In order to be habitually resident the applicant has to have been living in Ireland with 'permission to remain' for two or more years245.

Research by Barrett and McCarthy (2007, 2008) on immigrant welfare dependence found that immigrants in Ireland are less intensive users of welfare and that unemployed immigrants are substantially less likely to be on welfare relative to unemployed natives. However, the exclusion clause in the system could be the result of this (2008: 551). Between May 2004 and February 2006, 186,000 PPSNs were allocated to nationals of the accession states, out of which more than half went to Polish citizens. At the same time less than 1,000 accession state nationals were signing on the unemployment register in March 2006, contradicting the ‘welfare tourism’ argument (Doyle, Hughes, et al., 2006: 13). The fact that almost 186,000 PPSNs have been issued since May 2004 does not mean that all of these migrants found a job as the PPSN is also required for other

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245 There are a number of factors taken into consideration when considering whether someone is habitually resident. They are: the applicant's main centre of interest, the applicants' length and continuity of residence in a particular country, the applicant's length and purpose of absence from a country, the applicant's nature and pattern of employment in a country, and the applicant's future intention. For more information refer to: http://www.welfare.ie/publications/hrc.html
purposes such as access to state services. However, cross matching of PPSNs with income tax records indicates that around 70% of those with a PPSN subsequently took up employment (Doyle, Hughes, *et al*., 2006: 62). About 74,000 PPS Numbers were issued to non-Irish workers in the second half of 2008, about 34,000 (31.4%) less than in the same period of 2007 (OECD, 2009: 33). Figure 22 outlines the decline of PPS number registrations from selected EU member countries between 2006 and 2009.

**Figure 22:** New registrations of citizens from selected new EU member countries with the Irish social security system (PPS) 2006-2009

![Image of Figure 22](image-url)

*Source:* OECD, 2009: Figure 1.10 p.33

It is clear from Figure 22 that new registrations in the last four months of 2008 were about half those for the same period of 2007. Ireland also saw the number of new work permits issued to non-EU workers fall by 30% in the twelve months to the end of February 2009, to 7,600, compared with 10,800 for the previous period (OECD, 2009: 33). In order to work in Ireland a non-EEA national, unless exempted, must hold a valid Employment Permit[^246]. Work permits are valid for a

[^246]: As per the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment, citizens of non-EEA countries who do not require Employment Permits include: 1.Non-EEA nationals in the state on a Work Authorisation/Working Visa; 2.Van der Elst Case. The European Court of Justice delivered a judgement on the Van der Elst Case (Freedom to Provide Services) on 9th August 1994. The Court ruled that in the case of non-EEA workers legally employed in one member state who are temporarily sent on a contract to another member state, the employer does not need to apply for employment permits in respect of the non-nationals for the period of contract. Non-EEA nationals who have been granted permission to remain in the state on one of the following grounds: permission to remain as spouse or a dependent of an Irish/EEA national; permission to remain as
maximum of one year, renewable on an annual basis. A migrant worker employed on a work permit is not allowed to work for any employer other than the one specified on the permit\textsuperscript{247}. The publication of the Employment Permits Act in April 2003, which facilitated access for workers from the ten EU accession countries to the Irish labour markets immediately upon EU enlargement, marked the beginning of a more interventionist work permit system in Ireland. In April 2003, the DETE and FÁS published a list of occupational categories that became ineligible for work permit purposes\textsuperscript{248}. In addition, in late 2003, the government began encouraging employers to give preference to workers from the EU accession countries. In November 2003, the DETE started to return applications for new work permits for workers from outside the enlarged European Union, whenever workers from the EU accession countries were available to fill the vacancy. By August 2004, the DETE announced that it would no longer consider applications for new work permits for the employment of non-EEA nationals in low-skilled and/or low-wage occupations. The NESC notes that:

Together with EU enlargement, this shift towards a more restrictive and skills based permit system contributed to a drop in the number of work permits issued from 47,707 in 2003 to 34,067 in 2004. Regarding new permits, at 606, the average monthly number of work permits issued from May 2004 to April 2005 was the lowest since 1999 (NESC, 2006: 20).

Figure 23 illustrates the total number of work permits issued to non-EEA nationals that rose dramatically from 6,262 in 1999 to 47,551 in 2003, an increase of more than 650\% (see Figure 23). Most of these permits were issued in low-skilled occupations in sectors such as catering, other services, and agriculture (Ruhs, 2009).

the parent of an Irish citizen; temporary leave to remain in the state on humanitarian grounds, having been in the asylum process; explicit permission from the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform to remain resident and employed in the state; appropriate business permission to operate a business in the state; 3.A non-EEA national who is a registered student; 4.Swiss nationals: In accordance with the terms of the European Communities and Swiss Confederation Act, 2001, which came into operation on 1\textsuperscript{st} June 2002, this enables the free movement of worker between Switzerland and Ireland, without the need for employment permits. For further details refer to:

http://www.entemp.ie//labour/workpermits/individualswhorequireapermit.htm

\textsuperscript{247} DETE’s Work Permits Information Leaflet explicitly states: ‘All employees are advised that a work permit will entitle them to work for the specific employer named, and no other, for the duration of the permit. When the permit has expired the employee’s permission to work in Ireland has expired’, http://www.entemp.ie/

\textsuperscript{248} Refer to:

As of January 2007 the Employment Permits Acts 2003 and 2006 allow for the establishment, for the first time in Ireland, of a Green Card Scheme for occupations where high-level strategic skills shortages exist. This new Green Card Scheme replaces the Work Visa/Work Authorisation Scheme that has been discontinued. Applications may be made in respect of two categories of occupation, based on salary level:

(i) Firstly, where the annual salary (excluding bonuses) on offer is €60,000 or more, the Green Card Permit is available for all occupations, other than those which are contrary to the public interest.

(ii) Secondly, Green Card Permits are available in the annual salary range €30,000 - €59,999 (excluding bonuses) for a restricted number of strategically important occupations.

From June 2009 new rules made it more difficult for non-EU workers to obtain Irish work permits. The changes required employers to double the length of time for which a vacancy is advertised before hiring a non-EEA candidate. Tougher conditions on renewals mean that before a non-EU permit can be reissued, the job

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The occupations are as follows: Information Technology, Healthcare, Industry, Science Researchers, Financial, Industry/Services. For more information please refer to ‘Employment Permits Arrangements: Guide to Green Card Permits’
will have to be re-advertised to ensure there is still no suitable EEA candidate for the post. Permits are no longer issued for low-paid jobs (salary of less than €30,000) or for domestic workers and truck drivers. Mid-level occupations (pay of €30,000 to €60,000) were removed from the Green Card skills list, particularly in healthcare and financial services. Also it should be noted for work permits and Green Cards that if a person on either scheme becomes redundant, they have up to three months from the date of redundancy to seek alternative employment. If they are unsuccessful in getting another job within three months of being made redundant, they are expected to leave the country. Later, the government announced from 1st June 2010 the removal of the right to work of non-EU family members of EU citizens while they await a decision on their right to residency in Ireland, stating that a family member would only be able to remain on condition that he/she ‘does not enter into employment, does not engage in business or profession’. It is clear therefore that immigrants on work permits and Green Cards can be classified under the Schierup, Hansen & Castles (2006: 41) differential exclusion model.

Having particular influence in setting out state responses was the formation of the Expert Group on Future Skills Needs (EGFSN) in 1997. This was initially supposed to act as an advisory body to FÁS but soon developed close institutional links with FÁS (Allen, 2007: 91). The EGFSN was given access to databases on labour market projections and aimed to prevent wages rising by ensuring that there was an alignment of supply and demand. By 2001 the then Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Employment, Mary Harney, described the EGFSN as the ‘central resource’ for advising on skills needs (Press Release DETE, 31/7/01). In 2005, EGFSN published a report titled ‘Skills Needs in the Irish Economy: The Role of Migration’ that outlined skills and labour shortages in sectors identified as of economic importance, with predictions that Allen describes as being ‘truly awesome’ (Allen, 2007: 93). For example, the report predicted a shortfall of computing graduates in 2006 of 606, rising to 969 in 2007 and 1,217 by 2010 (EGFSN, 2005: Table 4.1 p.63). In consultation with Teagasc and An Bord Bia, the report noted a requirement of 600 extra mushroom pickers (p.91) whilst in tourism, owing to poor staff retention rates, the report estimated a shortage of 35,200 workers by 2010 (p.86). After providing a

detailed analysis of shortages in different sectors, the report charted labour supplies in Eastern European countries, focusing on educational attainment levels, literacy scores and wage earning comparisons. The report listed the average earnings of eight EU countries that were 60% less than the average in Ireland (Slovenia 56%; Czech Republic 48%; Poland 46%; Slovakia 44%; Hungary 42%; Estonia 32%; Lithuania, 28% and Latvia 25%; EGFSN, 2005: Table 5.13 p.105). This report argued that this discrepancy offered Ireland as a considerable ‘pull’ to immigrants from those eight counties and concluded that ‘Ireland’s demand for low skilled and unskilled labour over the period to 2010 is likely to be met from the labour supply available from the expanded EU member states (EGFSN, 2005: 108). Allen argues that what is particularly striking in the EGFSN report is the level of detail provided in manipulating the labour market and setting it up that migrants from the ten accession countries could ‘enter the meat-packing plants, work as labourers on building sites, become the backbone of Ireland’s tourist industry, gradually displacing former holders of work permits from non-EU countries. Deprived of social welfare, they would be the nearest equivalent to the Workfare victims of the United states – forced to work for relatively low wages and poor conditions’ (Allen, 2007: 96).

Research by the Immigrant Council of Ireland (2008: 11) found that many of their immigrant survey respondents were highly educated and worked in skilled positions before arriving in Ireland. They also found that immigrants’ routes to Ireland were varied, with many in skilled professions coming through employment agencies, others finding work through the internet or in newspapers, and others through word of mouth from friends or family. The ICI also highlight that ‘many were actively encouraged to come by the Irish government and by employers based in Ireland, often through job or education fairs involving FÁS, large companies, and educational institutions’ (ICI, 2008: 12). The Department of Employment and Industry seemed to have targeted specific countries for the recruitment of employees through work fairs and advertising (Loyal, 2003: 80). In particular, the Industrial Development Authority (IDA) and Foras Áiseanna Saothair (FÁS), the national training and employment authority established in January 1998 to provide a
range of services to the labour market, held international job fairs. The ‘Jobs Ireland’ campaign, a flagship FÁS programme, was financially supported by the government with a grant of IR£4 million for 2000-02 (Hayward and Howard, 2007: 49). The first was held in April 2000 in Newfoundland and was swiftly followed by others in London, Berlin, Cologne, Hanover, Manchester, Prague, Birmingham, Cape Town and Johannesburg. In 2001 there were fairs held in Poland, France, Croatia, Estonia, Australia, New Zealand, Russia, India, and again in Canada and South Africa (Loyal, 2003: 80). Loyal argues that with the exceptions of South Africa and India the focus on recruitment was on non-Asian and non-African countries. These countries, he argues, ‘are generally populated by white Christians, who are, from the state’s point of view, more easily “assimilatable” into Irish society. This systematic racialisation of work permits by the state can be seen in terms of a straight-forward attempt to regulate internal ethnic and religious diversity’ (Loyal, 2003: 80).

6.2.2 Broader Political Reaction
The situation of migrant workers has been the focus of broader conflicting political discussion. In 2003, former Irish president and UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson, attacked Ireland’s temporary work permits system, claiming it created a situation that resembles ‘bonded servitude’ (Reid, 12/12/03). An Irish Times editorial responded to Robinson’s comments with strong support for migrant workers:

When former president, Mrs Mary Robinson, speaks out against Ireland’s temporary work visas system and describes it as resembling ‘bonded servitude’, citizens should pay close attention. It is not the first time a permit system that allows unscrupulous employers to exploit workers has been brought to the attention of the coalition government. But there appears to be a deep-rooted reluctance to improve conditions for these temporary workers, lest they become permanent…The State needs immigrants. Just as the efforts of Irish emigrants helped to build the economies of Britain and the US, so these workers have created wealth here. In the past, many Irish emigrants were rewarded with citizenship in a new country. By treating them as temporary rather than permanent workers we are creating long-term problems. Some will choose to return

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251 Through a regional network of 66 offices and 20 training centres, FÁS operates training and employment programmes, provides a recruitment service to jobseekers and employers and an advisory service for industry, and supports community-based enterprises. For further information refer to: www.fas.ie
home. But the majority have come here to make a better life. They deserve fair treatment (Irish Times, 13/12/03).

In January 2006, in the wake of trade union demonstrations held in December 2005 protesting against an Irish Ferries proposal to replace Irish workers with low cost labour, the leader of the Labour Party at the time, Pat Rabbitte, proposed that EU citizens from the 10 accession countries be made apply for work visas prior to being allowed to work in Ireland. Rabbitte warned that unless basic standards for workers were established across the EU, Irish jobs would be threatened by displacement, noting ‘there are 40 millions Poles, after all, so it is an issue we have to look at’ (Irish Times, 4/1/06). On 23rd January the Irish Times/TNS poll showed that 78% of respondents wanted the reintroduction of work permits for workers from the new EU states, even though a majority saw the presence of foreign workers as good for the Irish economy and society (Brennock, 23/1/06). The government also intervened following Rabbitte’s comments with the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform at the time, Michael McDowell, accusing him and the Labour Party of being ‘opportunistic, inconsistent, hypocritical, untrustworthy, incompetent, xenophobic and cynical’ on immigration (Collins, 3/2/06).

In 2007 the Minister for Arts, Sport and Tourism at the time, John O’Donoghue, addressed the annual conference of Irish Hotels Federation, and gave a stern warning about migrant workers:

The friendliness of the Irish people and the welcome for the visitor is legendary. But life is changing…Visitores to many of our hotels and restaurants, especially in the cities, meet fewer Irish staff. If meeting Irish people is one of the things that visitors look forward to and they do not have that experience, they may well feel somewhat disappointed…There is that intangible Irish ‘thing’ – wit or ‘craic’ or the potential to be surprised by humorous insights or exchanges – that legend almost demands should be part of the Irish experience. This is hard to manufacture (Minister O’Donoghue citied in Murphy, 2007: 13).

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252 In 2005 the case of Mrs. Orge attracted media interest (Lentin and McVeigh, 2006: 64). Mrs. Orge was a Filipino worker with Irish Ferries employed to work 12-hour shifts seven days a week for just over €1 an hour with only three days off each month. The level of pay was less than half the rate set by the International Labour Organisation.
Crowley (2010) argues that, for the most part, the government and ministers in particular have been careful in making statements that are considered and positive about the valuable presence and contribution of migrant workers. However, he notes:

They have communicated another set of more hidden messages in the policy proposals they bring forward, messages which run counter to the positive public statements made. These hidden messages are further underpinned by administrative action taken by public sector bodies. An overt agenda emerges that is based on a misunderstanding of migrant workers and their families as temporary residents whose position is entirely dependent on economic circumstances (Crowley, 2010: 5).

During local election campaigning in June 2009 in Limerick, Fine Gael local election candidates were accused by the chief executive of the Immigrant Council of Ireland of treating Eastern Europeans as disposable commodities by suggesting that they had not contributed to the economy, that they should go home, and that a week’s dole would cover the air fare (Dwane, 4/6/09). In November 2009, the Mayor of Limerick at the time and also a member of Fine Gael, Cllr. Kevin Kiely, called for the deportation of EU nationals who failed to secure employment after three months, stating ‘during the good times it was grand but we can’t afford the current situation unless the EU is willing to step in and pay for non-nationals. In some European countries, such as Poland, the rate of social welfare is €80 or €90 a fortnight, but in Ireland they get €220 per week and that is going to have to stop’. He finished by stating, ‘I’m not racist but it is very simple, we can’t continue to borrow €400 million a week and the government has to pull a halt and say enough unless the EU intervenes and pays some sort of subvention’ (Woulfe, 12/11/09). Kiely’s comments received criticism from the Immigrant Council of Ireland and the Limerick-based immigrant NGO Doras Luimnì, who noted that his comments were more likely to fuel anti-immigrant sentiments. Kiely did issue a clarification stating it was not his intention to cause offence and that he was ‘specifically referring to those individuals who travel to Ireland with the one aim of taking advantage of our social welfare system’. His Fine Gael colleague, Jim Long, supported the Mayor’s comments, stating that ‘the Mayor expressed the views and concerns of the majority of people’ (Limerick Leader, 14/11/09).

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253 The two candidates, Cllr. Liam Galvin and Jim Long, were both re-elected in the June 2009 elections. Jim Long is expected to hold the position of Mayor in 2011.
Despite calls to do so, Fine Gael leader Enda Kenny did not issue a statement clarifying Fine Gael’s policy on immigration\textsuperscript{254}, with the Fine Gael press office noting that Mayor Kiely was acting in a ‘personal capacity’ with regard to his comments\textsuperscript{255}. It is also worth noting the huge attitudinal shift of Irish citizens towards migrants. An *Irish Times*/Behaviour Attitudes opinion poll surveyed 1,004 adults in October 2009 and found that the vast majority (72\%) of people wanted to see the number of non-Irish immigrants reduced. Of these, 43\% would like to see some but not all Irish-born immigrants leave Ireland while 29\% would like to see most of them leave (O’Brien, 24/11/09). The poll also illustrated a reversal of younger people’s attitudes, that in previous polls were more positive about immigration. Thirty-eight per cent of 18-24 year olds would like to see most immigrants leave compared to 23\% of over 65s. The poll also found that almost half of those polled believed that a large majority of foreign workers would leave over the coming years, while 42\% thought a small majority would leave, with only 10\% believing that most immigrants would remain (O’Brien, 24/11/09).

### 6.3 Immigrant Displacement?

Within the literature the actual scale of displacement of immigrant workers is unclear. For example, Beggs and Pollock’s (2006) analysis of Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS) data suggested that there was no evidence that the rapid growth in the employment of immigrants had resulted in unemployment amongst Irish workers. However, the study did note that three sectors (manufacturing, hotels and agriculture) saw a decrease in the employment of Irish workers whilst that of non-Irish nationals increased. The NESC (2005b: 138) also notes that ‘many of those who experience Ireland’s social deficits most acutely are not in the labour force and therefore migrants are not in direct competition with them for jobs’. Also, Doyle *et al.*, (2006) show that demand for labour remained strong after EU enlargement with the percentage of companies reporting vacancies rising between May 2005 and February 2005 and unemployment remaining at around 4\% of the labour force. However, concern over the exploitation of migrants and the resulting undermining of standards throughout the labour marked increased. In early 2006 the trade union movement delayed

\textsuperscript{254} The policy is available online under ‘Managing Migration’: http://www.finegael.org/

\textsuperscript{255} As stated by Yvonne Hyland, Fine Gael Press Office, in a telephone conversation 12/11/09.
entry into social partnership talks until the government made a commitment that pay and employment conditions would be enforced through the labour inspectorate (Hughes et al., 2007: 229).

Currently under unprecedented economic pressures (Fix et al., 2009; Krugman, 2009; ESRI, 2009), major challenges now face immigrants in Ireland. The Fix et al., (2009: 5-9) research illustrates that the recession has dampened the movement of economic migrants, who have also taken a financial hit that has not only impacted on their households but also on immigrant sending and receiving countries alike. To illustrate the challenges for migrants in Ireland, there were 71,716 foreign nationals in the February 2009 live register, a rise of 141% in just 12 months, with immigrants accounting for 20.2% of names on the register (Opinion, Irish Times, 6/4/09). By February 2010 there were 355,690 Irish nationals and 81,266 non-Irish nationals on the live register, representing 16.6% of all persons on the live register. The largest number were nationals from the EU-15 to EU-27 states (45,649), while the smallest number were from the EU-15 states outside of Ireland and the UK (4,139) (CSO, 5/3/10). Figure 24 outlines the dramatic shift that has occurred. In particular, it’s important to note the numbers of people coming from new EU member states, which increased from less than 500 in April 2004 to more than 43,500 in March 2009.

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256 This figure had risen again by March 2009 to 75,613. Refer to: http://www.cso.ie/px/pxeirestat/Dialog/varval.asp?ma=LRM09&ti=Persons+on+the+Live+Register+(Number)+by+Month+and+Nationality&path=./Database/Eirestat/Live%20Register&lang=1

The standardised unemployment rate increased sharply from around 4.5% in late 2007 to reach 12.9% in August 2009 (OECD, 2009b: 80). This increase was the second highest in the OECD, with employment beginning to decline in the construction and other production sectors (Table 17). The OECD (2009b: 81) highlighted the scale of collapse where employment in the construction sector ‘has fallen by around one-third since its peak, with reductions in employment of 5-7% to date in manufacturing, distribution, services, hotels and restaurants’.

Table 17: Changes in employment by sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>2008 Level (000’s)</th>
<th>Change 2003-08 (000’s)</th>
<th>Change 2007-08 (000’s)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, forestry and fishing, and other production</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>industries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels, restaurants, wholesale and retail trade</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, business and other services</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial, business and other services</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public administration, defence, education and health</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total employment</strong></td>
<td><strong>2104</strong></td>
<td><strong>210</strong></td>
<td><strong>-13</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Adapted from OECD, 2009b: Table 3.1 p.81*
The OECD economic report on Ireland notes that the inflow of new migrants has ‘slowed very sharply and the number of migrants in the labour force fell by 10% over the year to the second quarter of 2009, partially reversing the inward migration in recent years’ (2009b: 80). Also significant has been the outward migration by those of new member states of the European Union. By the first quarter of 2009, the number of foreign workers had fallen by 16%, 56,000 people since the first quarter of 2008 (OECD, 2009b: 101). However, the OECD noted that despite the rise of outward migration:

Unemployment benefits receipt among foreign nationals has been significant. Whilst it was initially above their share of the labour force at around 20% of those on the live register, the proportion has fallen over recent months and the increase in the number of foreign nationals claiming benefits has been small compared with the increase for Irish nationals. However, it appears that many migrants are remaining in Ireland while unemployed (OECD, 2009b: 101-102).

Therefore, both Figure 24 and Table 17 would suggest that not all EU nationals who lost their jobs have returned to their country of origin or left to look for new employment opportunities. Indeed, the most recent Quarterly National Household Survey supplied by the CSO (2009c) illustrates that the standardised unemployment rate stood at 12.4%, with the non-Irish labour force declining by 11%. The survey estimates that there were 432,800 non-Irish nationals aged 15 years and over in the state in the third quarter of 2009, a decrease of 44,800 or 9.4% over the previous year. This compares with an increase of 19,200 or 4.2% in the year to the third quarter of 2008 (CSO, 2009c: 4). The next section outlines the evidence for the economic contribution of immigrants.

### 6.4 The Economic Contribution and Exploitation of Immigrant Workers

Immigrants have helped to increase the productivity of the economy, particularly in areas of the economy where there had been a small pool of domestic workers to provide the required skills. For example, Google’s European headquarters based in Dublin have a staff of 1,500 of whom 1,200 are non-Irish from over 58 countries (OECD, 2009b: 103). There is also evidence in the literature that Ireland gained
significant economic benefits from the inflow of immigrants up to May 2004 but that many immigrants’ skills were being under-utilised. ‘Many of the immigrants who have come from Central and Eastern European countries since then are working in unskilled jobs that only pay around the minimum wage’ (Hughes et al., 2007: 227). According to Minns (2005), Ireland generally attracts highly skilled immigrants relative to the foreign-born residents of other European countries. Minns’ findings were mirrored in a similar exercise by Barrett, Bergin and Duffy (2005) who examined the distribution of educational attainment amongst migrants (based on CSO data) and found that the immigrant population in Ireland is characterised by high educational attainment with over 54% having a third-level qualification compared with just 27% of the native population (Barrett, Bergin and Duffy, 2005: 5). The research also examines the impact of under-utilisation of immigrant labour, suggesting that if immigrants were employed at the level reflecting their educational status it would add between 3.5% and 3.7% to GNP (Barrett, Bergin and Duffy, 2005: 16). They also argue that they may have had another beneficial impact; by reducing earnings of skilled workers and raising those of unskilled workers, the immigrant inflow acted to reduce earnings inequality. Utilising data from the Labour Force Surveys and the Quarterly National Household Surveys of the Central Statistics Office, Barrett and Bergin (2007) provide an overview of the economic contribution of immigrants for the period 2003 to 2005. Whilst immigrants are more highly educated, ‘their representation across occupations is not dissimilar to the Irish-born. This suggests under-utilisation of immigrant skills’ (Barrett and Bergin, 2007: 81). The research concludes that for the period 2003 to 2004 the net immigrant inflow added between 2.3% and 3% to GNP and reduced earnings inequality by increasing the demand for low-skilled labour and hence low-skilled wages (Barrett and Bergin, 2007: 82).

There has also been a growing body of evidence pointing to the labour market exploitation of immigrants. However, it has been fashionable for some employers, economists, the media and some politicians to dismiss these claims as being ‘anecdotal’ (Mac Éinri, 2006: 368; Fanning, 2009). The evidence shows that immigrants experience higher levels of unemployment than the majority of the Irish population (O’Connell and McGinnity, 2008), are employed at occupational levels below their qualifications (Rajasekar, 4/3/10; Barrett et al., 2006), and are much
more likely to report work-related discrimination (Russell et al., 2008; O’Connell and McGinnity, 2008). Barrett et al. (2006) find that immigrants are not all employed in occupations that fully reflect their education levels, whilst McGinnity et al. (2006) found that two-thirds of work-permit holders reported that they are overqualified for their current job. Most of the literature on migrant employment suggests that disadvantage in the Irish labour market is common amongst all immigrant groups with the singular exception of those coming from ‘English-speaking countries’, mostly the UK (Barrett and McCarthy, 2007; O’Connell and McGinnity, 2008). Comparing Irish nationals and immigrants from English-speaking countries Barrett and McCarthy (2007) found no difference in wages or in the likelihood of securing highly skilled jobs, or of being unemployed (O’Connell and McGinnity, 2008). The O’Connell and McGinnity (2008) research investigated labour market outcomes by nationality, language group and ethnicity\textsuperscript{258}. In terms of access to employment they found that immigrants from non-English speaking countries were nine times more likely than Irish nationals to be unemployed. They also found that black respondents were seven times more likely to experience discrimination whilst seeking work. More recent research undertaken by the ESRI on recruitment found that candidates with Irish names were twice as likely to be invited to interview for advertised jobs as candidates with identifiably non-Irish names, even though both submitted equivalent CVs (McGinnity, et al., 2009: viii)\textsuperscript{259}. More recently Rajasekar highlighted that:

Beneath the facade of the land of a thousand welcomes there lies a hidden world of the vulnerable immigrant, whose cries against daily and diverse manifestations of discrimination never get the backing of voice or vote… Some immigrant professionals have trained their Irish juniors to be promoted over them; others are ‘groomed’ to be candidates for interviews to make the system appear ‘fair and equal’. Most continue in the roles they started off in over 10 years ago. Meanwhile, their white peers here and their brown ones elsewhere have moved on to much more senior positions (Rajasekar, 4/3/10).

\textsuperscript{258} They used a special module of the Quarterly National Household Survey (2004) which was the first representative survey in Ireland that collected data on ethnicity. It collected data on both objective labour market outcomes such as occupation and data on the subjective experience of discrimination.

\textsuperscript{259} The methodology used for the research created fictitious Irish and non-Irish candidates with names that were clearly indicative of Irish, African, Asian or German origin. For each occupation two equivalent CVs were developed. All relevant personal and employment characteristics other than national or ethnic origin were matched. Between March and October 2008, 480 matched applications were sent via email in response to 240 job advertisements. Refer to chapter 3 of the research (McGinnity et al., 2009).
The Rajasekar article suggests that immigrants in the medical professions have been one of the hardest hit groups as they are often ‘humiliated in the presence of their peers and patients, there is almost an unwritten rule that only local Irish doctors graduate to consultant roles, as statistics will clearly prove’. More recently an EU report (Pathways to Work), undertaken in partnership with the Immigrant Council of Ireland, found from 102 questionnaire responses and 10 in-depth interviews that two-thirds of immigrants plan to stay in Ireland despite the recession, with only two out of five stating they had work relevant to their skill level (Smyth, 8/5/10).

Research by the Immigrant Council of Ireland (2008) with Chinese, Indian, Lithuanian and Nigerian migrants found patterns of labour market segmentation were evident, with different nationalities becoming filtered into certain types of jobs. They also found evidence of downward occupational mobility for all four national groups, particularly acute for the Nigerians who came initially as asylum seekers (ICI, 2008: 12). The research also outlined a difference between migrants who were recruited and those who travelled to Ireland without job offers:

On one level, skilled labour migrants are more likely to work in jobs that recognise their qualifications and are given considerably more assistance in moving to Ireland. However, on arrival, many of these skilled labour migrants are hampered in their career progression, which leads to considerable frustration. Those who are not skilled labour migrants face different challenges, particularly in relation to finding work and receiving recognition of experiences…Treatment in the workplace also differs according to legal status, occupational sector, national origin, and gender. Many migrants, however, report experiences of discrimination at work, including bullying and harassment, pay and conditions, and promotion opportunities. Those on the work permit system were particularly vulnerable compared to EU and working visa holders, although experiences of discrimination were reported across all status categories (ICI, 2008: 13).

The market within the economic boom increased the need for office cleaners, dishwashers and fast food operatives, agricultural workers, factory workers, nurses, builders, waiters and waitresses. This has led to an increase in vacancies in

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260 The research found that Indian respondents were most likely to have a job offer before arriving in Ireland with almost 55% reporting a job offer in advance of arrival; this compares to 6% of Chinese respondents and 16% of Nigerian respondents (ICI, 2008: 88).
these areas. Due to this increase Loyal (2007) suggests that work permits have been used for work termed ‘3 D’s’ – dirty, dangerous and difficult, as the Green Card is limited to higher earning capacities\(^{261}\). In 2000 75% of all applicants for work permits were for unskilled work with over one-fifth of these permits being for catering jobs (Loyal, 2003: 81). Immigrant workers in some workplaces represent cheap, flexible labour and workers can lack some important social and political rights. In 2001, for example, the Labour Inspectorate in the DETE\(^{262}\) examined 108 cases of possible breaches of employment law involving foreign workers (Irish Times, 8/6/01)\(^{263}\). The 2006 census figures (CSO, 28/6/07) outline that the hotels and restaurants sector had the highest proportion (31.9%) of non-Irish national workers in 2006, followed by business activities (16.2%), manufacturing (15.2%) and construction (14.2%). About one in eight workers in the wholesale and retail trade sector was a non-Irish national person, with health and social work (11.7%) having a smaller proportion. The employment of non-Irish nationals in manufacturing increased by nearly 20,000 between 2002 and 2006. At the same time the number of Irish nationals employed in the sector fell by 21,700, leading to an overall employment decline of 1,800. The number of non-Irish nationals working in construction increased from 6,900 in 2002 to 29,700 in 2006, accounting for 36.2% of the total employment increase in the sector. The Migrant Rights Centre Ireland (MRCI) annual report for 2007 showed that workplace exploitation continued to be a major issue among migrant workers. It found that agriculture, domestic work and hotel and catering showed the highest levels of exploitation among the 4,000 migrants who sought help from it last year. MRCI found that many workers who were becoming undocumented, having arrived legally with a work permit, were subject to dire exploitation (O’Brien, C., The Irish Times, 21st June 2007).

\(^{261}\) Loyal, S. (2007) Immigrant Lives: the operation and effects of the Irish immigration system on the labour market access and working conditions of Lithuanian and Indian migrant workers (University of Limerick: SAI Conference 12/5/07). Loyal also noted that the student visa system has a large undocumented number of people whose visas have expired, in particular within the Chinese community.

\(^{262}\) Details on Labour Inspectorate; [http://www.entemp.ie/employment/labourinspectorate/](http://www.entemp.ie/employment/labourinspectorate/)

\(^{263}\) The Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Employment increased the number of labour inspectors from 17 to 31 in November 2005, mainly in response to allegations of abuse of migrant workers employed by the Turkish construction company GAMA. GAMA was found to have breached Irish employment legislation by failing to keep records of working time, not issuing pay slips to workers in Ireland, and paying employees €2.20 an hour (Curley, 8/4/05).
There is evidence that the work permit system has created an institutionalised form of abuse that cannot be explained by the actions of a few ‘unscrupulous’ employers. In its report titled *Labour Migration into Ireland* the Immigrant Council of Ireland (2003) highlighted through various cameo pictures the scale of abuse faced by migrants. One illustrated the imbalance in migrant-employer relations:

Sergei is a Latvian national who came to Ireland at the height of the Celtic Tiger boom. He has been living in Ireland for three years. Sergei is employed as a shop manager and is on his third employment permit. Sergei is the only person who is not Irish in his workplace. He has got to know his workmates very well over the past three years and likes his job, his colleagues and the craic. Two months ago, Sergei discovered that his Irish colleagues were paid more than he was for the same job. The other shop managers were paid €9.75 an hour while Sergei is paid the minimum wage. His employer has never paid overtime, and told Sergei that in Ireland people are paid the same wage every week. Most weeks Sergei has worked in excess of fifty hours. Sergei was also told that in Ireland all holidays are unpaid. He was unable to afford to take a holiday in the past three years. When Sergei confronted his employer with this information, he was sacked. He has been looking for another job but is having difficulty explaining why he is out of work. His former workmates have been trying to help him but he cannot get a reference from his old job (ICI, 2003: 29).

In April 2005 Joe Higgins, a member of the Socialist Party and then a sitting TD, exposed in the Dáil how a Turkish company, GAMA, which had won several tenders for public construction projects, paid wages to its Turkish employees of €2.20 per hour, far below the national minimum wage and the Registered Employment Agreement for the construction industry of €12.95 (Allen, 2007: 89). The GAMA workers staged a seven-week strike before they were awarded a settlement of €8,000 each. It should be noted that GAMA came to Ireland after the Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Employment at the time, Mary Harney, travelled to Turkey to invite them. The company was able to tender far below rivals. For example, its tender to Clare County Council for completing the Ennis by-pass was €14 million cheaper that its competitors (*Irish Times*, 10/5/05). In 2003 Minister Harney was informed by the Bricklayers’ Union that GAMA was engaged in such practices but Harney claimed that a senior official in the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment had found the charges to be ‘without substance’ (*Irish Examiner*, 15/4/05). A few months after the GAMA scandal was revealed, the then Minister for Transport, Martin Cullen, officiated at
the opening ceremony of the Clontibret-Castleblayney by-pass. The contract had been awarded to GAMA even after the revelations of underpayment of staff (Allen, 2007: 90).

A further report by the Labour Relations Commission (2005) analysing the experiences of migrant workers taking their cases to the Rights Commissioner found that:

The main issue was underpayment of wages, including payment below the minimum wage; followed by non-payment of overtime (including non-payment of Sunday and public holiday premiums), excess hours and non-payment of holiday pay. Other issues were those of unfair dismissal, unlawful deductions, bullying and non-issuing of pay slips. What was particularly remarkable about the issues raised is that, in almost all cases, the claimant listed more than one and, in many cases, listed all of the above complaints (LRC, 2005: 15).

The report details that about 80% of migrant workers’ claims were successful in 2002, with this figure rising to 85% in 2003 (LRC, 2005: 15). Almost all the cases (99% according to the trade union SIPTU) were brought by workers who had already left their employer because, as the report indicated, ‘their greatest and over-riding fear is that of losing their work permit and being deported’ (LRC, 2005: 20). This is not surprising considering the fact that to process a complaint to the Rights Commissioner, a worker must fill out a complaint form that is copied to the employer who holds the work permit of that employee. If the employer refuses to renew it, the worker must return to their country of origin and reapply for another. Allen (2007: 89) also outlines that in many cases there can be a delay before cases are heard, and a person must appear for the case to be processed. He argues that for many a return to their home country is beyond their means. The LRC report supports this with only one case of a migrant worker in the 2002/2003 period making a return trip from China for a hearing. The report does note, however, that where a migrant worker had some form of representation, e.g. trade union, solicitor, MRCI, ‘no shows’ never arose.

The labour market has become increasingly segmented by different rights and entitlements, and as a consequence has given rise to employee vulnerability

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264 The Rights Commissioner is an independent service of the Labour Relations Commission established by the Industrial Relations Act, 1969. For more details refer to: www.lrc.ie
regarding abuse, particularly of those hired directly from their country of origin through sub-contracting arrangements (Fanning 2007). In 2006 Ireland had 31 labour inspectors to cover a work force of nearly two million. To put matters into perspective, there were 41 inspectors whose function is to enforce the smoking ban and there are 50 dog wardens to cover a canine population of around 150,000. A leaked report to the *Irish Times* (Dooley, C., 9/4/05) indicated the morale within the labour inspectorate was extremely low with a high turnover of staff resulting in ‘a loss of experience, knowledge and expertise’. The government allocated €11.3 million in 2007 to support employment rights. From this the National Employment Rights Authority (NERA)\(^{265}\) was established by the government in February 2007, resulting from a commitment in the most recent social partnership agreement, *Towards 2016*\(^{266}\). Whilst a guarantee was given to increase the number of labour inspectors to 90 by 2007, this had not occurred by April 2010 when there were 11 inspector team managers and 67 inspectors\(^ {267} \). Also, with the reform the powers of the inspectorate are extremely limited as they cannot compel employers to pay overtime rates, Sunday rates or bank holiday rates. Under the Organisation of Working Time Act (1997) inspectors can only ensure that employers keep records but they cannot carry out direct investigations. Even if they are able to enforce the Minimum Wage Act (2000), now set at €8.65 an hour, they cannot do anything about the loopholes that allow employers to pay below the rate while an employee is in ‘training’. The recent annual report by the Equality Tribunal for 2008 noted that race continued to be the most frequently cited ground for claims in relation to the Employment Equality Acts 1998 and 2004\(^ {268} \). Most employment issues are dealt with by the Acts, including dismissal, equal pay, harassment and sexual harassment, working conditions, promotion, access to employment, etc. under the nine grounds of discrimination (gender, 

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\(^{265}\) NERA: [http://www.employmentrights.ie/](http://www.employmentrights.ie/)


\(^{267}\) Information supplied via email (21/4/10) by John Moran, National Employment Rights Authority (NERA), with the following country-wide breakdown: Carlow, 3 Inspector Team Managers, 20 Inspectors; Cork, 2 Inspector Team Managers, 8 Inspectors; Dublin, 3 Inspector Team Managers, 23 Inspectors; Shannon, 2 Inspector Team Managers, 9 Inspectors; Sligo, 1 Inspector Team Manager, 7 Inspectors.

\(^{268}\) The Annual Report in full is available here: [http://www.equalitytribunal.ie/uploadedfiles/AboutUs/Annual%20Report%202008%20-%20Final2.pdf](http://www.equalitytribunal.ie/uploadedfiles/AboutUs/Annual%20Report%202008%20-%20Final2.pdf)
marital status, family status, age, race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, membership of the Traveller community). In 2007 there were 307 referrals made on race grounds, rising to 359 in 2008, an overall increase of 17% (Equality Tribunal, 2008).

### 6.5 Up-Skilling and Training

Very little attention has been paid to the question of whether immigrants are more likely to access opportunities for employer-provided training compared to natives in Ireland (Barrett et al., 2009). O’Connell and Junblut (2008) reviewed the international literature from Germany, Ireland, Sweden, the UK and the US, and found that training at work is highly stratified: those with higher educational attainment are more likely to participate in training while those with the greatest need for training receive less of it. More specifically in relation to immigrants, whilst the research is thin, three papers from Australia (Kennedy et al., 1994; Miller, 1994; Van den Heuvel and Wooden, 1997) all signal that immigrants are less likely to receive training. More recently, Hum and Simpson (2003) looking at Canada also found a lower incidence of training among immigrants in contrast to natives.

In relation to Ireland, research by the ESRI (Barrett et al., 2009) was the first to look at immigrants and employer-provided training using data from the 2006 National Employment Survey (NES) conducted by the CSO (Barrett et al., 2009: 5). Barrett et al.’s analysis finds that overall, immigrants are less likely to be in receipt of training relative to natives, with immigrants from the EU accession countries in particular suffering a training disadvantage. Within the new member states (NMS) group, the training disadvantage was experienced only by those with post-secondary education and primary degrees. When they ‘divided the sample into employees and 12 training intensive and non-intensive firms, not only were immigrants from NMS less likely to be employed in a training intensive firm, a further training disadvantage was experienced by this group employed in non-training intensive firms’ (Barrett et al., 2009: 12). The research also highlighted mixed experiences for other immigrants with training disadvantages arising for specific sub-groups. For example, immigrants from non-EU/English speaking
countries working as process, plant and machine operatives were shown to be 26% less likely to receive training when compared to natives in the same occupations. Immigrants from the EU-13 were found to be 32% less likely to receive training relative to natives, once interactions were controlled for which picked up the effect of EU-13 immigrants working in large firms (Barrett et al., 2009: 12). The findings point to a diversity of experiences both within new member state immigrants and across other immigrant groups. Barrett et al. (2009: 12) conclude that a much deeper understanding is required in relation to the outcomes of immigrants beyond the well researched areas of earnings and occupational attainment. The next section looks at the testimonies of immigrants in Co. Clare in accessing the labour market.

6.6 Case Study: Accessing the Labour Market, Differentiated Work Status and Experiences in County Clare

The profile of ethnic minorities in the methodology chapter has already identified that it is possible to begin to see newly emerging immigrant patterns in County Clare. An examination of the immigrant experience in relation to work clearly demonstrates the significance of immigrant status to immigrant experiences of work. This section will discuss the ways in which the varying immigration types of access affects work experience. It should be noted that whilst a focus group had been organised with employers for 21/5/07 in Ennis, not one invited employer attended. This was disappointing, in particular as Mr. John Vaughan, chair of the Shannon Branch of the Irish Hotels Federation, had contacted all Clare members urging them at attend to share their experiences (11/5/07). Therefore the perspective of employers in employing immigrants is not contained in this section. Essentially, questionnaire and focus group testimonies highlighted that in County Clare there are quite different immigrant experiences in relation to work relating to an immigrant’s status – as a migrant on a work visa, or a work permit, or as a refugee. The case study outlines these experiences from both questionnaire data and focus group participants.
6.6.1 Migrants on Work Visas

This group typically comprises younger, well-qualified workers with English language (or the ability and willingness to acquire language), for whom the immigrant experience is largely positive. Many graduates travel to Ireland and meet up with or make new friends from their own country, but seem equally able to make new Irish friends. This cohort reports ‘plenty of work in Ireland for anyone willing to go get it’. Many have reported accepting jobs below or inappropriate to their education and skill level as a means of learning the language, then incrementally work through a series of jobs which become closer to their own skills and qualifications. This is a highly mobile and well-motivated workforce, whose members typically reserve judgement on whether or not they will stay in Ireland in the longer term.

6.6.2 Migrants on Work Permits

Whereas those who enter on work visas can bring their family, those on work permits cannot. For this group of immigrants the employer owns their permit and so the tendency is for these workers to be more dependent on their employer and less likely to complain about work conditions. Most usually, the research highlighted that in Clare those on work permits are single males who send most of their money back home. This means that their opportunities for engaging with the local community are more limited and, when workers visit very small communities, this has a significant knock-on effect for their capacity to integrate. Moreover, there is a strong sense that the work experience is quite different for ethnic groups.

6.6.3 Refugees

The data do not allow us to make general observations about all refugees. Work issues were raised only in focus groups drawn from the refugee community but invariably the comments came from the African refugees, the predominate group amongst our respondents. African refugees report considerable difficulties in accessing jobs. Although many immigrants are employed in positions below their own educational/skills level at home, African refugees find it hard to obtain any employment at all. The experiences related to job-seeking and work that were
reported in focus groups were typically negative: it was a commonly held view that would-be employers were alerted to and put off African applications, before ever meeting the applicant because of the ‘foreign-sounding’ names.

### 6.6.4 Profiling Immigrant Employment

An examination of local statistics for work permit employees shows that from 2002-2005 the number of work permits issued halved from 1,230 to 622. Since 2004 the employment permits section of the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment has been providing a county breakdown of permits issued (Table 18).

#### Table 18: Permits issued in County Clare 2004-2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>New</th>
<th>Renewals</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Refused</th>
<th>Withdrawn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Employment Permits Section, Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment*

The map (Figure 25) shows the dispersal of non-Irish national workers throughout Clare in 2006 in the hotels and restaurants sector. The main immigrant population clusters with 30% or more are generally areas with high levels of tourism – Spanish Point, Kilkee, Kilrush, and Lahinch.
In addition, a significant amount of construction work taking place across the region (in Ennis, and in the ESB plant at Moneypoint) employed East European workers with sub-contracted work terms. This was reported in focus groups as being a common occurrence. Indeed focus group testimonies outlined that there were around 600 migrants working at the ESB plant in Moneypoint, most on sub-contracted work (Social Integration Gocus Group, 17/5/07). There was also a significant group of largely female workers who are employed in hospitals as nurses and care workers. These workers (often from the Philippines or South East Asia) are usually recruited by agencies on 3-4 year contracts and typically supporting (extended) families at home. They tend to share houses together and do not go out. Their language skills are competent but limited and they tend to lead a very isolated existence (Health and Welfare Focus Group, 21/5/07).
Table 19: Live register breakdown of local offices for immigrants with County Clare addresses April 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Office</th>
<th>Total on Live Register</th>
<th>Total Foreign Nationals on Live Register</th>
<th>% Foreign Nationals on Live Register</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ennis</td>
<td>5,645</td>
<td>1,227</td>
<td>21.74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ennistymon</td>
<td>1,381</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>13.98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilrush</td>
<td>1,239</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>12.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulla</td>
<td>1,311</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>15.41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gort*</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limerick*</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>8.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10,626</td>
<td>1,880</td>
<td>17.69%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*There are a number of immigrants signing on the live register in Limerick and Gort with an address in Co. Clare. The figures for Limerick and Gort Local Offices are based on people on the live register with addresses in Clare.

Table 19 provides the most recent breakdown of immigrants on the live register in County Clare for April 2009, representing 17.69% of people on the live register. Ennis, Gort and Tulla had the highest percentages of immigrants signing on. The Department of Social and Family Affairs does not publish a further breakdown on the status of the immigrants. The next section looks at responses provided from the migrant questionnaires.

6.7 Self-Administered Migrant Questionnaires

A group of 82 migrant workers attending English language classes in Clare completed questionnaires, with the majority of the group comprising immigrants from the work visa category. Almost one-third of the group (25) were Polish and another 17 came from EU accession states. Fourteen were from Brazil, the largest single national group after the Poles. About half were aged between 18 and 30 and 80% were aged under 40. Generally, the migrants who responded to the questionnaire were well educated with 21 out of the 77 having completed third-level education and another eight having attended universities or colleges. In their home countries, 27 worked in highly qualified white-collar occupations including

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269 Supplied by Tony Kenny (EO) in the Department of Social and Family Affairs Mid-West Regional Office (12/6/09). The Department would not provide a further update on the figure (January 2010) due to staff shortages and due to a civil service wide industrial dispute.
professional work. Table 20 outlines the type of work respondents were undertaking in County Clare.

### Table 20: Migrants’ employment in Clare 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Hotel or Restaurant</th>
<th>Factory, Manual or Craft</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Professional or Technical</th>
<th>Other Service</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>At School or College</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>26 (34%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>8 (11%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>1 (1%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>7 (9%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>3 (4%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>12 (16%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>15 (20%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>4 (5%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Survey Responses of Migrants attending English Language Classes in Clare 2007

In the questionnaire we asked respondents whether they would prefer different work from their present jobs: 48 out of 70 who answered this question reported they would.

As with migrant workers, refugees and asylum seekers often possess advanced educational qualifications. In our group of asylum seekers and refugees, out of 55 who answered the specific question 13 had university degrees, three more had been to university and eight had diplomas. All except one had been educated through to secondary school. As stated previously, asylum seekers cannot work in the state but refugees can. From the asylum seekers/refugee survey, 19 refugees were self-employed whilst a further nine were professionals, including two teachers. Seven were in clerical or sales occupations and seven were unemployed. The next section outlines their experiences of working in County Clare.

### 6.8 Migrants on Work Visas and Work Permits

The Kilrush focus group contained all Polish participants and involved the largest number of migrants. They outlined where they were working as follows:

- A- Male: I am an earth science surveyor by education and I work as such in Ireland.
Almost all the workers who introduced themselves were working on contract, had been hired while living in Poland and travelled here for a specific job. Participants for the most part were happy with their work conditions. However, it was noted that those working in Moneypoint were sub-contracted to work there for a Polish company. In October 2007, after this focus group was carried out, it emerged that some of the sub-contracted workers were only being paid €5.20 per hour by the Polish company compared with the legal minimum wage of €7.65 per hour, whilst 200 Polish workers claimed they had not been paid by the company. The ESB cancelled their contract with the company and repaid the workers (RTÉ, 22/10/07).

Service providers spoke of concern for the quality of life for men working in Moneypoint:

It’s like that in Kilrush. Men coming over from Poland to work in Moneypoint, buses of them and they leave at 6 o’clock in the morning to go to work in Moneypoint and then get off at whatever time in the afternoon and they go straight into Super Valu to get their drink in the carrier bags and they’re drinking it (Health and Welfare Focus Group, 21/5/07).
A Polish person outlined in the Ennistymon focus group that Irish people had a certain perception of the role of a Polish worker:

Ireland – it’s your way or everything is wrong, you should do that – you act like we are useful in our country. So, am, there’s no other. I picked up a pamphlet one time in a local shop. It was for painting, house painting. You know it said ‘We are Polish, we are experienced, we’re on time’. (Laughs). That, I don’t know if that’s what you mean, they were saying that like ‘We’ll come when we say we’re going to come and do the work that they were going to do.’ Whereas in Ireland if I asked someone to come and paint someone’s house – they were supposed to paint the gables of my house – and we rang them up. I didn’t know them per se, I probably have given up on them, you know. I mean that – that’s what I’ve heard you saying (Ennistymon Ethnic Minorities’ Focus Group, 28/5/07).

Focus group participants noted that migrants on work permits ‘would have absolutely no contact [with Irish workers] and would even eat and have their tea breaks in a separate area to the Irish’ (Ennis Ethnic Minorities Focus Group, 28/5/07):

I would know some lads who are here nearly three years, their English is so little, but they are very comfortable in what they do: they work, they think that in another two years they’ll be able to go back, buy land and build a house in their own country (Ennis Ethnic Minorities’ Focus Group, 28/5/07).

Though this may seem like a satisfactory temporary arrangement, there is always the potential that the situation may last longer than expected. In these cases, such cohorts of workers are particularly vulnerable in terms of accessing rights and entitlements. One Polish woman in her twenties (on a work visa) recounted that her father had worked temporarily in Ireland, sending money home to the rest of the family. Though she explained to him that he was not getting as much money as he was entitled to (in terms of minimum wages, over-time payments), he did not want to make a fuss when he believed that he was earning more money than he would have done at home (Ennistymon Focus Group, 28/5/07).

It was reported in the focus groups that it was not uncommon to find employers preventing ethnic workers from speaking their own language at work. A Polish shop assistant recalled that she was not allowed to speak Polish to a Polish customer because the shop manager did not want any Polish spoken in his shop:
And there was a situation in one of the supermarkets and the Polish aren’t allowed to speak, it’s either English or Irish. Even if they speak a little bit they can’t speak English to the customers, who are Polish (Ennistymon Ethnic Minorities’ Focus Group, 28/5/07).

This was also found in some responses to the self-administered questionnaire:

- **Questionnaire Number 5 (Migrants) Q.4.8**: Problems with qualifications at work. If I’m from Poland then people think I am not qualified to do this job. For example, I am a qualified physiotherapist and now I work as a masseuse.
- **Questionnaire Number 1 (Migrants) Q.4.8**: In Poland I worked in an office but here I am cleaning rooms and people treat me with disrespect.
- **Questionnaire Number 62 (Migrants) Q.4.8**: He can’t speak own language (Polish) at work.

### 6.9 Refugees and Black Immigrants

One participant in the Ennis immigrant focus group spoke of their difficulties in getting employment and argued that state organisations such as the HSE were not taking leadership by employing ethnic minorities:

The HSE, how many immigrants would they have in their employment? And I have seen so many jobs created since the number of years I have been here… you know they could say, you know people could hide under the guise you know you qualify abroad, you don’t so much and all that. But I know quite a sizeable number who have gone to university here, who have gone to Institutes of Technology who have acquired degrees and diplomas as good and even better than many of their counterparts, yet at this moment as we speak they still can’t get a job (Ennis Ethnic Minorities’ Focus Group, 28/5/07).

All participants in the Ennis ethnic minorities’ focus group were black and were asked to outline their personal experiences in accessing employment and qualifications:

- A male a Dutch citizen originally from Ghana living in Ennis for three years outlined his qualifications in computing which include the ECDL, FETAC level 5, a Limerick Senior College course in IT support, and an IT qualification from LIT. He also has language skills including fluent Dutch and English. He described how he regularly gets called for interviews for almost every job for which he applies, but he never gets further than the interview stage. ‘They’ll call me for interview but when they see me because I’m black they say come on, we don’t need you anymore.’

- A female from Nigeria has a Business Marketing degree from Nigeria, and a FETAC level 5 qualification. The only work she could find in Ireland was with the family company of her former
landlord with whom she had a good relationship. However, in this case she was not employed but only given work experience as her landlord’s father objected to her employment on the basis that he didn’t want immigrants working for the company. She went on to do a B.Com in Marketing in the University of Limerick but still couldn’t find employment relevant to her qualifications so she started as a volunteer with the Irish Refugee Council and later got a contract job with the Community Development Project. She outlined some of her experiences in trying to access employment in Ireland, explaining that her name indicates she is non-Irish and this makes it difficult to get an interview. During an interview for a tourism job, an interviewer asked her whether Irish people would listen to her. She wasn’t offered this job. She also recounted an experience where she handed in a CV to someone behind a desk in an office, and as she left and walked past the window, she saw the person tear up the CV and throw it in the bin.

• A female Dutch citizen originally from Ghana said she did not have experience of difficulties personally, but that she was aware that it is happening.

• A female who has been living in Ennis for 10 years described how she had tried for jobs and eventually gotten a cleaning job. However, she was working full-time in the home and she said she wished for greater recognition of women’s work in the home. She was planning to improve her English language skills in the future.

• A male working as a doctor and holding an MBA from UCD. He talked about colleagues who spoke to him of their fear when they heard he would be working with them. They felt threatened by the unknown, and his high level of qualifications (he mentioned that interviewers were often intimidated when a prospective employee was more qualified than them). He believed that the system is closed to immigrants and that they must be willing to take lesser jobs in order to get into the system. He felt that there was an unwritten sense in Ireland of ‘jobs for our own’. He outlined the experiences of his wife who was educated in Nigeria and has worked in various sectors, and has been told that she is too qualified. She is qualified as a lawyer in Nigeria and then did a postgraduate in Human Resources in UL where she was top of her class. However, she has never gotten a job since even though she is aware that many of her classmates have since found relevant employment. Some of them have said to her that if she has not gotten a job, they are not worthy of their jobs.

• A male with a degree in chemistry who had applied to many ‘companies and laboratories and even here in Clare I applied, some of them send a letter saying we appreciate your application to us, the vacancy is gone now and we will keep your CV’. He applied for less skilled work and got a job in Cusack Park (GAA sports
Africans in the focus groups argued that the commonly perceived reluctance to employ African workers often stems from ignorance and it was suggested that this lack of knowledge should be tackled from the top down. Respondents perceived that many employers were not aware that English is commonly the first language in African states. Equally, their perception was that employers were unfamiliar with African qualifications and training, etc. Many Africans remarked that Irish attitudes towards them were anachronistic and inappropriate. Africa is seen as ‘one country’ characterised by a number of inaccurate stereotypes. The questionnaires revealed similar experiences and outlined some cases of abuse refugees received whilst at work:

- **Questionnaire Number 25 (Asylum Seeker/Refugee) Q.4.8:** Employers discriminate against him by not hiring.
- **Questionnaire Number 22 (Asylum Seeker/Refugee) Q.4.8:** Interviewee was working in Ennis General Hospital as a security officer. An Irish man came and stated: ‘Black man, go back to your country, you come here to steal our jobs’.
- **Questionnaire Number 5 (Asylum Seeker/Refugee) Q.4.8:** Have experienced discrimination at work. Employer refused to give a high post because of colour despite qualification.
- **Questionnaire Number 12 (Asylum Seeker/Refugee) Q.4.8:** Interviewee can’t get a job. He thinks that he can’t get a job because he’s not Irish.
- **Questionnaire Number 1 (Asylum Seeker/Refugee) Q.4.8:** When looking for work interviewee was told Irish wouldn’t like her because of colour.
- **Questionnaire Number 35 (Asylum Seeker/Refugee) Q.4.8:** There were three promotion positions offered at work. One was offered to him. But later it was cancelled because of his colour.

Corresponding with the O’Connell and McGinnity (2008) research the more significant examples of racial prejudice tended to be experienced by African immigrants. However, it was suggested in focus groups that in this matter employers were simply reflecting broader societal prejudices and racist attitudes.

### 6.10 Potential Initiatives at Work

In some cases, it was suggested that difficulties in work experiences had occurred because immigrant employees were unfamiliar with typical Irish work practices, which they had misconstrued as discriminatory. The example was given of a man
working in a company where all incoming post was opened in the morning, leaving only letters marked ‘personal or confidential’ to be opened by the person named on envelope. Without knowing that this is conventional company policy in many workplaces, an immigrant worker could very easily feel that they were being treated unfairly or with disrespect. In this respect, a number of Irish linguistic mannerisms can also be quite confusing (indirect questions, instructions, and so on). Focus groups and surveys highlighted that there is clearly a need for greater provision of information about basic employment rights. There also appears to be a need for a more broadly based and basic introduction course on ‘orientation to working in Ireland’, which might cover a range of issues including concrete rights and entitlements, but also less concrete issues such as Irish workplace conventions. This was regarded as important so that immigrant workers could:

...process for themselves what is discrimination and what isn’t and what you can expect because sometimes [difficulties arise] around making comparisons about how it works at home when it’s not working the same here (Ennis Ethnic Minorities’ Focus Group, 28/5/07).

Participants in focus groups expressed their frustration at the difficulties in having their qualifications from their home countries recognised, particularly with regard to the cost of translating certificates:

I think about certificate from my country, I’m an electrician in my country and I try here in Ireland, it is very difficult. It is very expensive, €1,000 it cost me and I would pay €1,000, I am not sure that company will recognise. Many people have that problem (Clare VEC Students’ Focus Group, 15/5/07).

The Polish participants in the Kilrush focus group recognised the importance of improving their English and wished for more flexible classes to be held in the locality. Students from the Ennis VEC spoke of their desire to up-skill and attend further education, with one participant hoping to ‘have perfect English, then have Masters degree to start own business, maybe international’ (Clare VEC Tutors’ Focus Group, 15/5/07).

6.11 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined Irish approaches to the labour market, noting in particular how the Irish state responded to shortages in the labour market. The
chapter also reviewed the literature outlining the economic contribution and exploitation of migrants. In Ireland it can be concluded that the state, through legislation, has created a situation whereby economic migrants fall into two main categories at opposite ends of the market: on the one hand, highly skilled professionals who are in much demand, whilst on the other hand – due to a shortage of labour in less skilled less well paid jobs – the ‘3Ds’ (dirty, dangerous, degrading) categories. This chapter has highlighted that an immigrant’s status affects their work experiences in County Clare, with the clearest distinction between workers who entered Clare to work on sub-contracted arrangements and those with full residential and employment rights. The latter, in particular, are occupationally mobile, socially outgoing and, in many cases, over educated for they work they undertake. Meanwhile many of the African and/or Muslim respondents reported their difficulties in obtaining employment, believing that they are being discriminated against in relation to obtaining or maintaining work. The reported negative employer attitudes encompassed a spectrum of behaviour that ranged from basic lack of sensitivity to workers from ‘different’ backgrounds, to the transferral of broader societal prejudices to the workplace. This leads to quite differential work conditions for different ethnic groups. Since the recession there have been varying degrees of attitudes towards migrants voiced, and it has particularly highlighted a certain confusion by politicians on what entitlements migrants have access to, in particular since the introduction of the habitual residence condition. Also, whilst the government has been careful to provide soundbytes highlighting that the state must protect immigrants, particularly in a period of recession, the actions of the state have been clearly contradictory (for example, in the introduction of the habitual residence condition). What is clear that status of an immigrant impacts on employment opportunities but the testimonies and fieldwork in county Clare again illustrates the difficulties in fitting immigrants into Schierup, Hansen & Castles (2006) three modes of incorporation. The next and final chapter will take the lessons from the three case studies and from the earlier conceptual and theoretical chapters to provide a summary and conclusions.
Chapter 7: Summary and Conclusions
7.1 Summary of the Main Findings

Chapter 1 concluded that central to the majority of the literature on welfare states has been a focus on classification. In particular, the literature has expanded the classifications of welfare regimes as typologised by Esping-Andersen (1999, 2007). Further to this, the literature focuses on debates regarding the impact of globalisation on welfare states, with associated claims about welfare states in ‘a race to the bottom’. What has been absent in the literature is a comprehensive reflection on the specific internal impacts of globalisation on welfare states, such as diversity of family structures and ageing populations. The movement of people across borders is perhaps one of the biggest elements of globalisation and the chapter found that the literature on the internal impacts of immigration on welfare states is only recently emerging. In particular, immigration results in particular challenges to states. This belief is reinforced by the experiences of European countries where immigration is at historically high levels and has provided an opportunity for right-wing attacks on welfare states (Taylor-Gooby, 2005), resulting more recently in radical rightist parties making gains in elections. The chapter then proceeded to examine the relationship between welfare states and outcomes for immigrants. The emerging conclusion in chapter 1 was developed from Schierup, Hansen and Castles’ (2006) ‘three modes of incorporation’ (differential exclusion, assimilation and multiculturalism) and found that, depending on an immigrant’s access/status, a person is entitled to different levels of social rights. What has been particularly absent from the literature is a further analysis of immigration regimes and how they impact on immigrants in accessing services and supports such as education, work and integration.

Chapter 2 moved to deepen the empirical realities by exploring the case of Ireland. In particular, the chapter demonstrated why Ireland is an interesting case to look at by demonstrating the debates around classifying the Irish welfare state and how Ireland has been considered a ‘showpiece of globalisation’ (Smith, 2005). However, chapter 2 also recognised from the literature that the benefits of globalisation have been disputed, pointing to growing inequalities within Irish society (Adshead et al., 2008b; Kirby, 2002; Sweeney, 1999). One significant
impact of globalisation was the labour shortages that occurred from the late 1990s onwards. As the economy boomed and labour shortages became more apparent, the Irish state responded to requests from employers by making it relatively easy to recruit and attract workers from outside Ireland. This resulted in the highly globalised Irish economy being sustained by a highly globalised workforce (Adshead et al., 2007). This has resulted in significant challenges and reference has been made in the literature to a conflict between this highly globalised economy and a traditional Irish culture and identity (Tracy, 2000; MacGréil, 1996). The chapter, by outlining this conflict, recognised that this poses a number of significant challenges for immigrants in accessing services, living, working and integrating in Ireland. The chapter then proceeded to catalogue how the Irish state responded to immigration by creating different rights and entitlements for immigrants, depending on their status. The chapter emerged with the conclusion that on analysis of policies of the Irish state, immigrants, depending on their status, can fit into all three of Schierup, Hansen and Castles’ (2006) ‘three modes of incorporation’. Migrants on Green Cards and work permits fit into the ‘differential exclusion’ classification; asylum seekers can be categorised into the ‘assimilation’ model; whilst immigrants from the European Economic Area and those who have refugee status, the chapter argued, can fit into the ‘multiculturalism’ model.

Chapter 3 outlined the methodology for empirical analysis in chapters 4, 5 and 6. The chapter outlined why the author undertook a testing of an emancipatory approach, highlighting in particular the four core principles as outlined by Baker et al. (2004). The chapter then proceeded to outline why County Clare was selected, outlining that the county had a higher than average percentage of immigrants and the fact that the researcher was invited by community groups and service providers to undertake research. The chapter outlined the two projects undertaken to gather empirical data testing an emancipatory methodology. Working within such a framework whilst providing a broader range of perspectives that would otherwise be unavailable to the researcher also posed a number of practical problems, such as increasing both the time and cost involved. The chapter also found that to institutionalise an emancipatory approach requires long-term investment and strategies within universities to embed the approach.
Having introduced the methodology for empirical analysis, chapters 4, 5 and 6 moved to look at how the Irish state responded to immigration, outlining government action and policy innovation and the experiences and testimonies of immigrants and service providers in county Clare.

7.2 Contribution To Knowledge

This thesis hypothesised that an immigrant’s status, as constructed by the host state, results in significantly different experiences in accessing welfare services and in integrating. To test this, the thesis argued that the literature looking at welfare states has been predominantly focused upon expanding welfare regimes and on the external impacts of globalisation resulting in the end of the welfare state. In an attempt to move away from such debates and to focus upon the internal impacts, the thesis set out to test whether Schierup, Hansen and Castles’ (2006) three ‘modes of incorporation’ model could be applied to understanding whether an immigrant’s status (as constructed by the host state) has an impact on integrating and accessing services. By outlining the different types of access the Irish state has constructed for immigrants, the thesis looked at how the three ‘modes of incorporation’ were visible from state responses at a national level. The thesis argued that all three were visible within the Irish case. Migrants on work permits and on Green Cards, it was argued, fit into the ‘differential exclusion’ mode due to the temporary nature of their status, whereby they are welcome as workers but not as settlers. The thesis argues that those in the asylum process fit into the ‘assimilation’ model due to the particular extremity of direct provision and the length it takes for asylum cases to be processed. Finally Schierup, Hansen & Castles’ multiculturalism model, with the caution about the discrepancies between the ideology and practice of multiculturalism, fits for those from the European Economic Area (EEA) and immigrants who have gained refugee status.

However, caution must be taken when applying Schierup, Hansen & Castles’ model, as the fieldwork in County Clare illustrated there are difficulties in attempting to measure immigrant experiences. For example, whilst looking at the Irish state’s immigration policy the case was made for fitting asylum seekers into the ‘assimilation’ model. However, the research in County Clare found that
certain cohorts of those who were in the asylum system had integrated well into the county and could be applied to the ‘multiculturalism’ mode. Chapter 1 of this thesis outlined how, within welfare state literature, the focus has been predominately on country classification within welfare regimes and on adding to or modifying these welfare regimes. The research in Ireland finds that all three ‘modes of incorporation’ can be found at a national level. However, the hybrid experiences of immigrants locally require us to question whether the application of Schierup, Hansen & Castles’ model leads us to the same route of welfare regime modelling. The fieldwork in County Clare could support the case to add to the three ‘modes of incorporation’. However, would this result in a preoccupation with ‘fitting in’ rather than a focus upon what is actually occurring? What can be concluded from this thesis is that Ireland can be classified as having a ‘hybrid system’ of immigration, which is clearly reflected in how it has responded during an economic period of boom to bust. Consideration should be given, therefore, to moving away from ‘fitting into’ regimes altogether and applying a hybrid focus to states. This moving from regimes could perhaps be a more applicable avenue of recording how European states are currently responding to immigration.

The central research objective of this thesis was to reflect upon state responses to immigration and their impact at a local level on service providers and upon immigrants. The thesis posed six principal research questions through the focus of three case studies:

1. How have policy initiatives at national level impacted on a local level?

The research outlined that nationally, the Irish state responded proactively to the influx of immigrants by creating different rights and entitlements depending on the status of the immigrant. Locally, the thesis outlines how this has impacted on both immigrants and service providers. For example, the research found that the asylum process and the system of direct provision, in particular, were established by the state as so not to create an economic pull factor for migrants. Locally, the research found that service providers were highly critical of and frustrated with the system of direct provision in particular, as many were in the process for years.
Health and welfare workers spoke of the difficulties of trying to work with the management of direct provision centres in providing supports and services. Of particular concern was the lack of support or flexibility around providing children in direct provision with after school meals, play facilities, etc. The research in County Clare found that in many cases service providers and community groups were providing added supports that were not part of their normal services as a result of a lack of direction or policy support nationally.

2. What are the experiences of and challenges for service providers in working for and with immigrants?

The research was fortunate in having focus groups/interviews with a mixture of service providers. For the most part the research found that the majority were working beyond their normal job specifications in supporting immigrants. Many mentioned frustration at the lack of support from national government. Many of the frustrations expressed were simple practical problems such as health workers not having access to service users’ healthcare histories. Health and welfare workers spoke of the lack of cultural/ethnic information they had about service users, whilst others, in particular in the health and education systems, stressed frustration about the lack of translation support that was available. Mental health workers spoke of their unexpected stress and shock at dealing with victims of violent conflicts and also the realisation that this experience may have been shared by children.

3. What are the experiences of immigrants in accessing services in County Clare?

High proportions of the migrants and the asylum seekers/refugees who participated in the survey found service providers to be helpful and supportive. However, many migrants, in particular Eastern Europeans, spoke of returning home to access health and welfare services as they found the system was more efficient and cheaper. The research outlined the impact of the habitual residency condition (HRC), whereby in order to gain social assistance migrants must be habitually resident in the state or the rest of the Common Travel Area for a continuous period of two years. As a result of the HRC, and despite soundbytes from the state that migrants are being protected from the harshness of the recession, the research found that some migrants are unable
to access welfare support. Added to this, focus group and questionnaire data evidenced the impact of immigrants’ status on accessing services; for example, immigrant children must pay non-EU fees to access third-level education.

4. Does the status of an immigrant have an impact on their experiences?

The research repeatedly highlighted that the status of an immigrant greatly impacts on experiences in integrating and in accessing supports and services. The Irish state has legislated and categorised different types of access for immigrants, creating varying entitlements to opportunities and experiences. For example, a non-EU immigrant can enter the state via a work permit that is tied to an employer and granted for two years. If the immigrant were to find new employment they must re-apply for a new permit. However, a labour market needs test must be met beforehand, making sure every effort has been made to find an Irish candidate. If the migrant becomes redundant they must notify the Irish state and have up to three months to seek alternative employment. If they are unable to find work they are expected to leave the country. Under the work permit system, migrants are unable to bring spouses or dependents with them and spouses are required to apply for work permits in their own right. Therefore a migrant on a work permit is temporary, dependent on their employer, and for the most part here without their family. The thesis also found that an immigrant’s status impacts on accessing state services. For example, non-EU immigrant children who are living in the state accessing the education system are considered as being ‘non-EU’ when entering third level, resulting in many not continuing their education due to the prohibitive fees. Service providers expressed concern about immigrants who were illegal residents, either by entering the state illegally or who become illegal after their residence status becomes irregular. These people have no official entitlement to state supports and service providers spoke of their frustration at not being able to help.
5. Have immigrants integrated in County Clare? What have their experiences been?

The research in County Clare is clear in concluding that immigrants started to develop social connections through children, and in particular when the children began to attend school. Focus group and questionnaire data found that education and schools are a catalyst where immigrants were likely to form friendships as a consequence of their children’s experiences in school. This supports the argument that the best way of integrating is when families as a unit are allowed to immigrate into a country. Overall the research found that different groups of immigrants experienced varied levels of integration. Of interest, and despite some being in the asylum process, service providers testified that Nigerian Christians and West Africans enjoyed stable relationships with local people. Service providers acknowledged them to be well integrated socially because of their fluent English, having knowledge of their rights, and the fact that they embraced Irish sport and culture, some even converting to Catholicism. Added to this it was found that this group, and in particular Nigerian respondents, were more likely to make friends with Irish people than with other Nigerians or other immigrants. However, English immigrants, despite speaking the language and often being settled in the county for many years, spoke of having a feeling of never being fully accepted and often feeling like a ‘blow-in’. They pointed out that negative or hateful comments made by Irish people towards English people are never deemed to be racist. At the same time the evidence found that Roma families and older Polish migrant workers were more likely to be socially marginalised or wholly encapsulated by their indigenous networks and subcultures. For Polish immigrants there were clear divisions in who best integrates. In Kilrush, for example, it was found that Polish immigrants were divided between settled middle-class families and transient single men. For Roma families the research found that life in County Clare was on the margins and socially isolated. Czech Roma women are particularly marginalised socially, whilst as a result of their nomadic life Roma children are erratic school attendees, often dropping out at a very young age. All immigrant groups complained of racism, normally on the street and in shops. Rhetoric from central government has stressed the need to learn from the experiences of other European states and to support integration initiatives.
However, the practice of the state has been in conflict with these soundbytes as the research traced the abolishment of the NCCRI who had worked in the monitoring and recording of racist incidents, the cutting back of funding of the Equality Authority and the Human Rights Commission, and the scaling back of integration initiatives both nationally and locally.

6. **How important is English language acquisition?**

The research found that language support must be identified as a key factor in the successful integration of immigrants who lack proficiency in the language of the host country. The research found that language difficulties arose in three key areas: for children entering and progressing through the schools system; for adults in order to facilitate effective social and economic integration; and for many ‘front-line’ service providers dealing with immigrants. Despite all the rhetoric by policy makers and politicians resulting in various action plans stressing the need to enhance the provision of English language teaching, there have been significant funding cuts for language support resulting in a reduction in numbers of teachers and in contact hours for students. Focus group testimonies from teachers stressed that the policy of only providing language support for a maximum of two years for immigrant students is having an impact on learning, and in some cases on students dropping out. In relation to adult language acquisition it was noted by service providers that language learning difficulties impact on employment opportunities and were preventing some from mixing and socialising. The research also found that poor English language skills became evident for many immigrants in times of emergency, and often small numbers of community members act as group representatives by taking up the burden of translation. For service providers the research found that children were used in some cases by parents to translate, in particular when immigrants accessed health and welfare services, often withholding sensitive information to protect their children. Service providers expressed frustration at not being able to adequately communicate to service users. Of grave concern was the lack of translation support for service users, noting there was no flexibility given by central government.
7.3 Future Research

In the introduction to this thesis it was hypothesised that an immigrant’s status, as constructed by the host state, results in significantly different experiences in accessing welfare services and in integrating. Having reviewed the theoretical and empirical materials described above, it is argued that this thesis makes an important contribution to knowledge by supporting the proposition that Ireland can be classified as a hybrid model as outlined by NESC, with the state constructing a layered citizenship for immigrants. To date, criticisms of this approach have tended to regard it as a politically expedient way to characterise the Irish welfare model, whereas this research suggests that it is, in fact, an academic reality – and one whose implications need further investigation and research.

The research found visibility of all three of Schierup, Hansen & Castles’ (2006: 41) modes of incorporation, resulting in varying experience for immigrants depending on status. Further follow-on research into Schierup, Hansen and Castles’ (2006) three modes of incorporation is required to test whether all three models are visible in other European welfare states, or to see if such a model is worth applying further. Perhaps one focus for further research could be to pursue the finding of this research that more than just an immigrant’s status needs to be considered. As the focus group testimonies and questionnaire data illustrated, there is a need to also consider colour, religion and perceptions of Irishness. In many cases, the ways that these interact with status are largely predictable. For example, chapter 6 finds that in relation to employment, refugees, and in particular black Africans, experience great difficulty in finding employment opportunities due to skin colour, status and problems having qualifications recognised. A further area of research resulting from this, and in relation to the asylum process, would be to carry out an audit of the skills and qualifications asylum seekers hold when they enter the system. It is clear from this thesis that delays in the asylum process can result in a de-skilling as the process drags on for a number of years. An audit could contribute to a deeper analysis of the contributions asylum seekers bring to the workforce.
A comparative European study should be considered on the impacts and costs of allowing asylum seekers to access the workforce. Further research is required on how immigrants and immigration are viewed in a period of economic recession. Focusing in particular on Ireland, it would be of interest to assess the impact of the scaling back that has occurred by the state in promoting integration and mechanisms to monitor and document racist incidents. This is a matter of urgency in light of the abolishment of the NCCRI. A particular gap that was highlighted in this thesis was the lack of information which service providers had about the Roma community. Further research should be undertaken to gain an understanding of Roma experiences (also a matter of urgency in the context of the French government’s expulsion of the Roma in August 2010). This thesis also outlined the impact of the habitual residency condition (HRC) on immigrants. Further research is necessary to look at the consequences of the HRC. It is also clear from this thesis that the majority of money spent on asylum seekers is to private accommodation providers, and an audit of alternative accommodation should be looked at. Finally, care was taken to move this thesis away from trying to fit empirical work into defined welfare state classifications. This was done by utilising and testing an emancipatory approach and setting out a research framework for future university community collaborations. Of perhaps greater interest for this researcher would be the potential to embed an emancipatory research partnership between a third-level institution and relevant groups. Such a partnership would require support from a third-level institution and a willingness and openness from both service providers and community participants to be involved for the long haul.
Annex 1 Country Breakdown of Immigrants Participating in Focus Groups

**Clare VEC Students Focus Group 15/5/07 Ennis VEC**

1. Bangladesh-Male
2. Paraguay-Female
3. French- Female
4. Lithuania- Male
5. German-Female
6. Germany- Female
7. Croatia-Male
8. Latvia-Female
9. Russia-Female
10. Slovakia- Female
11. Bangladesh- Female
12. Moroccan -Female

**Ennis Ethnic Minorities Focus Group 28/05/07, Temple Gate**

1. Burundi -Male
2. Ghana-Female
3. Algeria-Male
4. Nigeria-Female
5. Nigeria-Female
6. Nigeria-Male
7. Nigeria-Male

**Clare VEC Students Focus Group 15/5/07 Ennis VEC**

13. Bangladesh-Male
14. Paraguay-Female
15. French- Female
16. Lithuania- Male
17. German-Female
18. Germany- Female
19. Coratia-Male-
20. Latvia-Female
21. Russia-Female
22. Slovakia- Female-
23. Bangladesh- Female
24. Moroccan -Female

**Ennis Ethnic Minorities Focus Group 28/05/07, Temple Gate, Ennis**

8. Burundi -Male
9. Ghana-Female
10. Algeria-Male
11. Nigeria-Female
12. Nigeria-Female
13. Nigeria-Male
14. Nigeria-Male

Migrant Focus Group 28/5/07 Falls Hotel Ennistymon
1. Canada-Female
2. Polish-Female
3. Polish-Male
4. Polish-Male
5. Polish-Female
6. Polish-Female
7. German-Female

Migrant Focus Group 1/6/07, Derg House Scarriff
1. English-Female
2. United States-Male
3. Polish-Female
4. Pakistan-Male
5. Pakistan-Male

Migrant Focus Group 7/6/07 Family Resource Centre/Community centre
Toler Street, Kilrush
1. Polish-Male
2. Polish-Male
3. Polish-Male
4. Polish-Female
5. Polish-Female
6. Polish-Female
7. Polish-Male
8. Polish-Male
9. Polish-Male
10. Polish-Female
11. Polish-Male
12. Polish-Male
13. Polish-Male
14. Polish-Female
15. Polish-Male

Focus Group Knockalisheen Residents, 13-6-2007 University of Limerick
1. Sierra Leone – Female
2. Guinea – Female
3. Nigeria – Female
4. Somalia – Male
5. Central African Republic – Female
6. Zimbabwe – Female
7. Nigeria – Female
8. Nigeria-Female
9. Nigeria-Female
10. Cameroon – Female
11. Sudan – Female
Annex 2 Service Providers Breakdown of Positions

Clare VEC Tutors Focus Group 15/5/07, Ennis VEC
1. Adult Literacy Organiser, Co. Clare VEC
2. Development Worker, Co. Clare VEC
3. Development Worker, Co. Clare VEC
4. VEC Tutor, Co. Clare VEC
5. VEC Tutor, Co. Clare VEC
6. Education Co-ordinator, National Adult Literacy Agency Based in the Mid-West
7. Tutor, Irish Refugee Council
8. Tutor, Irish Refugee Council 065-6822026
9. Co-ordinator, Clare Adult Learner's Guidance Service

Housing & Accommodation Focus Group 17/5/07 Ennis Town Council Civic Office
1. Staff Officer in Ennis Town Council
2. Housing Section Ennis County Council
3. Senior Community Welfare Officer HSE Ennis
4. Case Worker with Clare Haven,
5. Client Care Coordinator Clare Haven
6. Staff Officer in Ennis Town Council.

Social Integration Organisation Focus Group-17-5-07-Temple Gate Hotel
Ennis
1. Clare Women’s Network
2. Refugee Support Group
3. Clare County Childcare Committee
4. Irish Refugee Council
5. Clare Immigrant Support Centre
6. Ennis CDP
7. Clare County Development Social Inclusion Programme
8. North West Clare FRC
9. Clarecare
10. Irish Refugee Council
11. Clare Youth Service
12. Principal Community Development Officer, HSE Western Area
13. East Clare Community Support
14. Clare Youth Service

Health and Welfare Focus Group 21/5/07 HSE Tobertaoiscain Physiotherapy Department, Ennis
1. Social Worker Shannon Day Hospital,
2. Clare Mental Health Services,
4. Community Development Worker, HSE West
5. Ennis General Hospital Staff Nurse
6. Public Health Nurse County Clinic
Clarecare Focus Group, 29/5/07 Clarecare, Ennis
1. Social Worker
2. Social Worker
3. Social Worker
4. Childcare Worker
5. Adolescent Worker
6. After-Care Worker
7. After-Care Worker
8. General Manager

Primary Education Primary Focus Group 5/6/07 Venue Clare Education Centre
1. Principal, Gaelscoil Mhíchíl Ciosóg, Ennis
2. Principal, Ennis Educate Together National School,
3. Home-School Liaison Officer/Teacher-Scóil Chríost Rí, Cloughleigh,
4. Language Support, Holy Family Senior, Ennis
5. HSE Community Development Worker HSE West

Focus Group Knockalisheen Service Providers (HSE) 19/6/07, River House, Ennis
1. Social Worker Limerick Maternity Hospital
2. Superintendent Community Welfare Officer, Clare
3. Social Worker Shannon Day Hospital
4. HSE Project Worker,
5. HSE Child Protection and Welfare Service
6. Public Health Nurse
7. HSE Medical Screening
8. HSE Registered General Nurse
9. Development Worker HSE West
10. Principal Community Development Officer, HSE Western Area
11. Child Care Manager, HSE Western Area
Thank you for giving your time to complete this questionnaire. The information you will be giving us will be treated with absolute confidentiality. Our own code of professional conduct as researchers obliges us to ensure nobody will be recognised in anything we publish. Nor will we talk about our research in public in a way that would reveal your identity. These questionnaires are for a research project that is being organised for the Clare Health Services Executive by the Department of Politics and Public Administration at the University of Limerick. The information we are gathering will enable us to assess the quality of the public services and the other kinds of support that are available to you during this period. We hope that our findings will help to identify ways in which services and support structures may be made better. We will provide a report in our findings to you. We will also be publishing our findings in local media. In any reports or publications about this research we will keep your identity confidential.

Section 1: Background

1.1 Gender (tick correct box):

☐ Male
☐ Female

1.2 How old are you?

☐ 18-25
☐ 25-30
☐ 30-40
☐ 40-65
☐ 65+

1.3 Are you married or living with a partner? (tick correct box):

☐ Yes
☐ No

1.4 Do you have children and if so how many?

1.5 Do you have members of your family living with you in Clare?
1.6 If so, please could you give us details about the family members living with you?

- Wife/husband/partner
- One child
- Two children
- Three Children
- More than three children
- Other (specify) ______________________

1.8 Have you left behind in your home country members of your family with whom you were living, in the same household, at the time of your departure?

- Wife/husband/partner
- Children Number _________
- No

1.9 Would you like to bring other members of your family to Ireland?

- Yes
- No

1.10 What is your religion? (tick correct box)

- Roman Catholic
- Anglican/Methodist/Presbyterian
- Evangelical/Pentecostal
- Other Christian
- Muslim
- Buddhist
- Hindu
- Jewish
- Orthodox Christian
- Other
- No religion

1.11 Which language do you use at home when you are speaking to members of your family?

_________________________________________________________________

1.12 In your home country, which language did you use at work?

_________________________________________________________________
1.13 What is your nationality?

Nationality: _________________________________________________________

1.14 Can you tell me about your educational experience? *(Tick correct box)*

- No formal education.
- Completed less than six years of school.
- Matriculated from secondary school
- Attended third level institution
- Completed third level education
- Trade/technical qualification
- Adult learning qualification

1.15 What is your highest educational qualification?

____________________________________________________________________

1.18 Before you left your home country were you working? If so what was your last occupation at home? *(Tick correct box)*

- At school or college
- Unemployed
- Housewife
- Manual labourer
- Machinist
- Farmer
- Craftsman/woman
- Self employed businessman/woman
- Clerical/sales
- Professional (specify)
- Other (specify)

1.19 What kind of work are you doing in Ireland?

____________________________________________________________________

**Section 2: Rights and entitlements**

2.1 When did you first come to Clare?

____________________________________________________________________

2.2 Where you are living in Clare?

____________________________________________________________________

2.3 At the place where you live how far is it to the nearest useful shops?
2.4 If you have children, how far do they have to travel to school?

- Very close/ easy to walk, just a few minutes
- Very far/ difficult to get to

2.5 Do you have a car or easy access to a car?

- No
- Have a car
- Easy access to a car (owned by a family member, neighbour or co resident)

2.6 What kind of accommodation do you live in?

- Self-owned house
- Single family house rented from private landlord
- Single family house owned by local council
- Shared house
- Staying with friend in one of above
- Apartment
- Shared apartment
- Hostel
- Bed and breakfast

2.7 At the place where you live do you have your own bedroom?

- Own bedroom
- Shared with members of my family
- Shared with non family members

2.8 How many people live in the house where you are staying?

_________________________________________________________________

2.9 If you are sharing your accommodation with non-family members how many people have to share the kitchen?

_________________________________________________________________

2.10 If you are sharing your accommodation with non-family members how many people share the bathroom and toilet?

_________________________________________________________________

2.11 If you are sharing your accommodation with non-family members how many people share the lounge/dayroom?
2.12 Do you cook your own food or are your meals provided?

- Own cooking
- Meals provided

2.13 If the food is provided is it adequate?

- Badly cooked
- Dull but adequate
- Sometimes good
- Usually appetising and nutritious
- Objectionable on religious or other ethical grounds
- Culturally appropriate
- Took some time to get used to because it was new to me

2.14 Is your accommodation warm enough in winter?

- Yes
- No

2.15 If you live in a hostel is there a curfew and do you have to sign yourself in and out?

- Don’t live in a hostel
- Live in a hostel no curfew no signing
- Live in a hostel with curfew and/or signing

2.16 How would you describe your accommodation with respect to space, comfort and security?

- Accommodation is spacious, comfortable and safe
- Accommodation is spacious and comfortable but does not feel very safe
- Accommodation is safe but crowded and/or uncomfortable
- Accommodation is unsafe, crowded and uncomfortable

2.17 What ages are your children?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child 1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Child 2</td>
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<td>Child 3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Child 4</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Child 5</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2.18 Are your children going to school here in County Clare?

- No
- Yes at primary school
Yes at primary school and secondary school
Yes at secondary school

2.19 If your children attend school have you met their teachers?
Yes
No

2.20 How often have you met them?
Once only
Quite often
Every term

2.21 How would you describe your children’s experience at school?
Unhappy/unsettled/upset
Seem to be settled/okay
Fairly settled and happy and making friends
Very settled and happy and making friends

2.22 How are they doing in their classes?
Completely bewildered
Find it difficult to keep up with the other children
Language difficulties
Difficult at first but are making progress
They are doing well

2.23 Is their teacher helpful? Do your children like him/her?
Teacher is helpful and supportive
Children seem to like him/her
Teacher pays them no attention
Children are nervous of their teacher

2.24 Have your children made friends at school?
They don’t seem to have made friends
Yes, though mainly with the children of other immigrant workers
Yes, and with Irish children as well.
Yes, with our neighbours

2.25 If your children have made friends have they been invited to their friends’ homes

Have not made friends
Have made friends but not been invited
Have been invited
Provide example of such an occasion

2.26 Do your children have special educational needs?
Yes (specify)
No
Don’t know
2.27 If the answer to the last question is yes, are these needs being met?
  □ Yes
  □ No

2.28 Do your children attend homework club?
  □ Yes
  □ No

2.29 Do your children attend crèche or preschool?
  □ Yes
  □ No

2.30 Have you or members of your family seen a doctor or a nurse since arriving in County Clare?
  □ No, but I and/or they don’t need to.
  □ We would like to but we haven’t been able to
  □ Yes, when we have needed to.

2.31 If the answer to the last question was yes, when did you last see a doctor or a nurse?

2.34 If you have seen a doctor or a nurse where did you visit them?
  □ At his or her surgery
  □ They came to my home/where I live
  □ In the local health centre
  □ Other (specify)

2.35 Have you or your wife/partner had children here?
  □ Yes
  □ No

2.36 If so what kind of support did you receive before and after the birth?
  □ Attentive care by GP
  □ Inadequate care by GP
  □ Short-term care for other children while in hospital
  □ Vaccinations
  □ Visits from public health nurse

2.37 Do you have a health condition that requires regular care from a doctor or a nurse or that needs regular medication?
  □ Yes
  □ No

2.38 If the answer to the last question was yes, do you receive the care and the medicine?
2.39 Do you find it difficult or is it easy to communicate with doctors and other HSE/Health board medical people in Clare or Limerick? For example, is it easy or hard for you to make them understand your health problems?

- Yes
- No

At first it was difficult but now it is better
- No problems in making the doctor understand my health needs
- They don’t seem to believe me
- Yes, because they ask me questions that I find embarrassing to answer
- Yes, this is very difficult, mainly because of language problems

2.40 When you last attended Limerick or Ennis hospital how long did you have to wait until you received attention (specify which hospital in answer).

- Have not attended

At Ennis/Limerick (delete what is inapplicable) waited for (hours and minutes)

2.41 Have you or a member of your family visited a dentist since your arrival in Clare?

- Don’t need to.
- Would like to but have not been able to.
- Yes.

2.42 Have you or a member of your family visited an optician/opthalmist/eye doctor since your arrival in Clare?

- Don’t need to.
- Would like to but have not been able to.
- Yes.

2.43 Have you or a member of your family visited a speech and hearing therapist?

- Don’t need to.
- Would like to but have not been able to.
- Yes.

2.44 Do you have any kind of disability?

- No
- Partially sighted
- Hearing disability
- Movement impaired (eg. need to use wheelchair)
- Other (specify)

2.45 Since arriving in Ireland, have you received any support with respect to your disability? (specify)
2.46 Do you or members of your family need counselling or psychological support? For example, have you or members of your family had an appointment with a psychiatrist or a mental health nurse since arriving in Ireland?

- Don’t need it.
- Would like to try such services but they don’t seem to be available
- Would like to try such services but don’t know how to obtain them
- Yes, have received such support

2.47 Generally, how well have you and your family been treated in Clare (and Limerick) by doctors and other health workers?

- Very helpful and supportive
- Generally helpful and supportive
- They have tried hard but they don’t understand our needs
- Not very helpful
- Unhelpful

2.48 Do you receive any of the following?

- Social Welfare allowance
- Job seekers allowance
- Rent allowance
- Child benefit
- Other (specify)

2.49 Do you have television in your accommodation?

- Yes
- No

2.51 If your answer to the question is yes, what type of programmes do you watch?

- RTE
- Satellite Sky/Chorus
- Satellite programmes from home country

2.52 Do you have access to any other kinds of entertainment than television?

- Nearby or on-site sporting facilities (including table tennis)
- Public library
- Pub/bar
- Community centre
2.53 Do you attend a local church or mosque or temple?

☐ Yes
☐ No

2.54 Have you got to know local residents through attending religious services?

☐ Yes
☐ No

2.55 Does a minister of your faith regularly visit where you live?

☐ Yes
☐ No

2.56 Do you feel safe in the place where you live?

☐ Yes, all the time
☐ No, not at weekends
☐ No, most days I feel unsafe

2.57 If not, what are the main threats to your security that you perceive?

☐ Other people who share my accommodation and threaten my personal safety
☐ Local residents seem hostile when I encounter them in street or in shops
☐ Other (specify)

__________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________

2.58 If you were the victim of an assault or any other kind of crime would you report it to the police?

☐ Yes
☐ No

2.59 If the answer to the last question is no, why would you not report such a crime? *(Tick the answer(s) that are closest to being correct)*

☐ Other people who share my accommodation and threaten my personal safety
☐ Local residents seem hostile when I encounter them in street or in shops
☐ Other (specify)
Because the police would not bother about a crime committed against a non-Irish person
Because I do not want to draw attention to myself
Because I do not want to get my community into trouble
Because I am frightened that I will be assaulted again
Because I do not trust the police
Because I am frightened of the police
In my home country I am frightened of police and this makes me reluctant
Other, specify

2.60 Are there particular kinds of help that you need that you have not received?

☐ No
☐ Yes (Open answer)

2.61 If you need information about how to obtain any kind of help (health, educational, etc.) who would you ask for advice?

(Open answer)

Section 3: Encounters with Officials and with Service Providers

3.1 Have you had any contact with any other officials in government agencies including health services, social welfare, or the county council?

☐ Yes
☐ No

3.2 If yes, briefly, please tell with whom you have had contact and for what purpose.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of official</th>
<th>Purpose of contact</th>
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</table>

3.3 With social workers/family support workers
3.4 Do you find the services supplied by family support workers useful?

- Yes
- No

3.5 If your answer is yes, could you tell us what sort of services have been especially helpful?

(Open answer)

3.6 Have you had any serious disagreements with people who have offered services or support?

- No
- Yes. Specify

3.7 Have you received any legal advice or any other kind of legal assistance?

- Yes
- No

3.8 If your answer to the above is yes, from whom have you received legal help?

(open answer)
3.9 Have you had any encounters with the gardai (police)?

- [ ] No
- [ ] Yes

3.18 *In general how helpful have been the various officials and service providers whom you have encountered since arriving in Ireland*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very helpful and Reassuring</th>
<th>Helpful</th>
<th>Unhelpful</th>
<th>Very unhelpful and hostile or intimidating</th>
<th>Have not accessed or encountered</th>
<th>Have tried to access but not succeeded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gardaí</td>
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<tr>
<td>FAS/Dept of Social and Family Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Public Health Nurse</td>
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<td>Community Welfare Officers</td>
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<td>Social Workers/Family Support</td>
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<td>Dentists</td>
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<td>Disability Services</td>
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<td>Mental Health Services</td>
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<td>Other health</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local Housing Authority</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education or teachers</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Other services providers (specify)

Section 4: Social Relationships

4.1 Since arriving in Clare have you made friends? (Tick whichever is applicable)

- Not really
- Only social contact with immigrant workers with whom I am living
- Have made friends more widely within immigrant community
- With parents of children’s friends at school
- With local Irish people
- Have made friends with compatriots who live in Clare
- Have made friends with people in the immigrant community who are not compatriots (specify nationality) __________________________

4.2 What was the last social event you attended? (This can be quite casual – a cup of tea with a friend or a night out at the pub or more elaborate, a shared meal, a party, a Christening or similar celebration)

__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________

4.3 Are there groups of people within the immigrant community to which you belong that provide organised social activities?

- Faith congregation
- Sports team
- Charitable association
- National association
- Other (specify)________________________________________________

4.4 Are there people that you used to know at home who have now settled permanently in Ireland?

- No
- Yes, friends
- Yes, family
- Yes, both

4.5 Have you been in touch with them?

- Yes
- No
4.7 Do you feel that you or your family members have experienced any discrimination or unfair treatment because you are not Irish since your arrival in Clare? (Tick whichever are applicable)

- No, not at all.
- Not very often
- Some hostility in everyday encounters with local people, in shops and suchlike
- From other children at school
- From teachers
- From officials

4.8 Can you give me an example of your own experience of such discrimination in Clare?

(Open answer)

_________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________

Section 5: Aims and Aspirations

5.1 Would you like to live in Ireland permanently?

- Yes
- No
- Don’t know

5.2 If yes, would you like to remain here in Clare?

- Yes
- No

5.3 Would you like to obtain more education?

- Yes
- No

5.5 If your answer to the last question is yes, what sort of education would you like?

- English language training
- Basic/elementary/secondary
- Diploma/vocational
- University
5.6 Would you like to do different work from your job at present and if yes what kind of work would you like to do?

☐ No
☐ Yes. Specify________________________________________________

Thank you for helping us. If you would like more information about this research project please contact:
Éidín Ní Shé 087-9352503  Eidin.NiShe@ul.ie
Annex 4 Questionnaire for People with experience of the Asylum process

Rights and Discrimination among the Asylum Seeker and Traveller Communities in Ennis

Questionnaire for People with experience of the Asylum process

Note for Fieldworker

Interview should not be longer than one hour and a half. Some of these questions can be answered through a simple yes/no or through a single word or through a multiple-choice range of answers. Several of the more important issues need to be explored through more conversational exchanges and might need to be probed with careful follow-up questions. If the interviewee is evidently uncomfortable with a question, the researcher should proceed to the next question and return to the omitted issues later if the interviewee becomes more relaxed. At no stage should the interview become interrogatory.

Before the interview begins, the researcher should thank the interviewee and remind them that their identity will be kept confidential. They should also explain the purpose of the interview. They should inform interviewees how the information they will be giving us will be used, even if we have explained this before. We should also undertake to provide information to all those we interview about our findings when the research is concluded.

Use phraseology similar to the following:

“Thank you for giving your time to speak with us - or - having us to your home and letting us speak to you. I want to assure you that our conversation will be treated with absolute confidentiality. Our own code of professional conduct as researchers obliges us to ensure nobody will be recognised in anything we publish. Nor will we talk about our research in public in a way that would reveal your identity. We are doing these interviews for a research project that is being organised by the Department of Politics and Public Administration at the University of Limerick. The project has the support of the Ennis Community Development Project. The project aims to collect information about the experiences of asylum seekers as well as the experiences of members of other minority communities in Ennis. With your help we hope to develop a better understanding of the process of seeking asylum. In particular we want to find out more about your life. We would like to understand the difficulties you faced and/or the support you received during the period when you are waiting for the outcome of your application for asylum. We are interested in the quality of the public services and the other kinds of support that are available to you during this period. We hope that our findings will help to identify ways in which services and support structures may be made better. We will provide a report in our findings to you and members of your community. We will also be publishing our findings in local media. In any reports or publications about this research we will keep your identity confidential”.

Names of interviewers:
Date of interview: 

Interview number 

Section 1: Background 

1.1 Language of interview 

1.2 If in English try and ascertain level of English language comprehension and speech fluency: 

- Generally fluent 
- Occasional difficulties in comprehension, possibly due to accent, etc. 
- Basic comprehension and speaking ability: questions need to be explained 

1.3 Gender (tick correct box): 

- Male 
- Female 

1.4 How old are you? 

- 18-25 
- 25-30 
- 30-40 
- 40-65 
- 65+ 

1.5 Are you married or living with a partner? (tick correct box): 

- Yes 
- No 

1.6 Do you have children and if so how many? 

1.7 Do you have members of your family living with you in Ennis? If so, please could you give us details about the family members living with you? (Interviewer: try and establish the respondent’s position in the family structure) 

(Open answer)
1.8 Have you left behind in your home country members of your family with whom you were living, in the same household, at the time of your departure?

(Open answer)

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

1.9 If your application is successful would you like to bring other members of your family to Ireland?

☐ Yes – immediate family
☐ Yes – extended family
☐ No

1.10 What is your religion? (tick correct box)

☐ Roman Catholic
☐ Anglican/Methodist/Presbyterian
☐ Evangelical/Pentecostal
☐ Other Christian
☐ Muslim
☐ Buddhist
☐ Hindu
☐ Jewish
☐ Orthodox Christian
☐ Other
☐ No religion

1.11 Which language do you use at home when you are speaking to members of your family?

________________________________________________________________________

1.12 In your home country, which language did you use at work?

________________________________________________________________________

1.13 What is your nationality? If you prefer not to tell us your nationality from which region of the world have you come?

Nationality: ____________________________________________________________

☐ North America
☐ Central America
☐ South America
☐ West Africa
☐ Central Africa
☐ East Africa
☐ North Africa
1.14 Did you bring a passport or an identity document from your home country?

- Passport
- ID document
- No documentation
- Prefer not to say

1.15 Can you tell me about your educational experience? *(Tick correct box)*

- No formal education.
- Completed less than six years of school.
- Matriculated from secondary school
- Attended third level institution
- Completed third level education
- Trade/technical qualification
- Adult learning qualification

1.16 What is your highest educational qualification?

________________________________________________

1.17 Do you have in your possession your educational certificates?

- Yes
- No

1.18 Before you left your home country were you working? If so what was your last occupation at home? *(Tick correct box)*

- At school or college
- Unemployed
- Housewife
- Manual labourer
- Machinist
- Farmer
- Craftsman/woman
- Self employed businessman/woman
- Clerical/sales
- Professional (specify)
- Other (specify)

1.19 What is your legal residential status?

- Stage 1
- Refused asylum awaiting appeal outcome
- Refused asylum subsidiary status
- Received deportation letter
- Irish born children
- Leave to remain
- Refugee status
Section 2: Rights and entitlements

2.1 What part of Ennis are you living in?

________________________________________________________________________

2.2 At the place where you live how far is it to the nearest useful shops?

☐ Very close/ easy to walk, just a few minutes
☐ Very far/ difficult to get to

2.3 If you have children, how far do they have to travel to school?

☐ Very close/ easy to walk, just a few minutes
☐ Very far/ difficult to get to

2.4 Do you have a car or easy access to a car?

☐ No
☐ Have a car
☐ Easy access to a car (owned by a family member, neighbour or co resident)

2.5 What kind of accommodation do you live in?

☐ Single family house rented from private landlord
☐ Single family house owned by local council
☐ Shared house
☐ Staying with friend in one of above
☐ Apartment
☐ Shared apartment
☐ Hostel
☐ Bed and breakfast

2.6 At the place where you live do you have your own bedroom? (Ask this question only if the interviewee is living in accommodation that is shared by different families or in a hostel)

☐ Own bedroom
☐ Shared with members of my family
☐ Shared with non family members

2.7 Does your family live together in a single room or more than one room?

☐ One room
☐ More than one room
☐ Not applicable: single

2.8 How many people live in the house where you are staying?

________________________________________________________________________
2.9 How many people have to share the kitchen? *(Ask this question only if interviewee is living in accommodation shared by different families or in a hostel)*

_________________________________________________________________

2.10 How many people share the bathroom and toilet? *(Ask this question only if interviewee is living in accommodation shared by different families or in a hostel)*

_________________________________________________________________

2.11 How many people share the lounge/dayroom? *(Ask this question only of interviewee is living in accommodation shared by different families or in a hostel)*

_________________________________________________________________

2.12 Do you cook your own food or are your meals provided?

- Own cooking
- Meals provided

2.13 If the food is provided is it adequate? *(Tick all the boxes which the interviewee agrees with)*

- Badly cooked
- Dull but adequate
- Sometimes good
- Usually appetising and nutritious
- Objectionable on religious or other ethical grounds
- Culturally appropriate
- Took some time to get used to because it was new to me

2.14 Is your accommodation warm enough in winter?

- Yes
- No

2.15 If you live in a hostel is there a curfew and do you have to sign your self in and out?

- Don’t live in a hostel
- Live in a hostel no curfew no signing
- Live in a hostel with curfew and/or signing

2.16 How would you describe your accommodation with respect to space, comfort and security?

- Accommodation is spacious, comfortable and safe
- Accommodation is spacious and comfortable but does not feel very safe
- Accommodation is safe but crowded and/or uncomfortable
- Accommodation is unsafe, crowded and uncomfortable

2.17 What ages are your children *(ask this question if the children are here in Ennis)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.18 Are your children going to school?

- No
- Yes at primary school
- Yes at primary school and secondary school
- Yes at secondary school

2.19 If your children attend school have you met their teachers?

- Yes
- No

2.20 How often have you met them?

- Once only
- Quite often
- Every term

2.21 How would you describe your children’s experience at school?

- Unhappy/unsettled/upset
- Seem to be settled/okay
- Fairly settled and happy and making friends
- Very settled and happy and making friends

2.22 How are they doing in their classes?

- Completely bewildered
- Find it difficult to keep up with the other children
- Language difficulties
- Difficult at first but are making progress
- They are doing well

2.23 Is their teacher helpful? Do your children like him/her?

- Teacher is helpful and supportive
- Children seem to like him/her
- Teacher pays them no attention
- Children are nervous of their teacher

2.24 Have your children made friends at school?

- They don’t seem to have made friends
- Yes, though mainly with the children of other asylum seekers
- Yes, and with Irish children as well.
- Yes, with our neighbours

2.25 If your children have made friends have they been invited to their friends’ homes

- Have not made friends
- Have made friends but not been invited
- Have been invited
- Provide example of such an occasion
2.26 Do your children have special educational needs?
- Yes (specify)
- No
- Don’t know

2.27 If the answer to the last question is yes, are these needs being met?
- Yes
- No

2.28 Do your children attend homework club?
- Yes
- No

2.29 Do your children attend crèche or preschool?
- Yes
- No

2.30 Have you attended any adult education classes?
- Yes
- No
- Not available
- Would like to but can’t because I must look after children
- Would like to but can’t for other reasons (specify)

2.31 Have you or members of your family attended any English language classes?
- Would like to but have been unable to
- Classes are not available
- Don’t need to
- Have attended
- Members of my family have attended
- Would like to but can’t because I must look after children
- Would like to but can’t for other reasons (specify)

2.32 Have you or members of your family seen a doctor or a nurse since arriving in Ennis?
- No, but I and/or they don’t need to.
- We would like to but we haven’t been able to
- Yes, when we have needed to.

2.33 If the answer to the last question was yes, when did you last see a doctor or a nurse?

2.34 If you have seen a doctor or a nurse where did you visit them?
- At his or her surgery
- They came to my home/where I live
- In the local health centre
- Other (specify)

2.35 Have you or your wife/partner had children here?

2.36 If so what kind of support did you receive before and after the birth?
- Attentive care by GP
2.37 Do you have a health condition that requires regular care from a doctor or a nurse or that needs regular medication?

- Yes
- No

2.38 If the answer to the last question was yes, do you receive the care and the medicine?

- Yes
- No

2.39 Do you find it difficult or is it easy to communicate with doctors and other HSE/Health board medical people in Ennis or Limerick? For example, is it easy or hard for you to make them understand your health problems?

- At first it was difficult but now it is better
- No problems in making the doctor understand my health needs
- They don’t seem to believe me
- Yes, because they ask me questions that I find embarrassing to answer
- Yes, this is very difficult, mainly because of language problems

2.40 When you last attended Limerick or Ennis hospital how long did you have to wait until you received attention (specify which hospital in answer).

- Have not attended

Waited for ________________________________

2.41 Have you or a member of your family visited a dentist since your arrival in Ennis?

- Don’t need to.
- Would like to but have not been able to.
- Yes.

2.42 Have you or a member of your family visited an optician/ophthalmist/ eye doctor since your arrival in Ennis?

- Don’t need to.
- Would like to but have not been able to.
- Yes.

2.43 Have you or a member of your family visited a speech and hearing therapist?

- Don’t need to
- Would like to but have not been able to
- Yes

2.44 Do you have any kind of disability?

- No
- Partially sighted
2.45 Since arriving in Ireland, have you received any support with respect to your disability? (specify)

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

2.46 Do you or members of your family need counselling or psychological support as a consequence of the experiences that compelled you to leave your home country? For example, have you or members of your family had an appointment with a psychiatrist or a mental health nurse.

- Don’t need it.
- Would like to try such services but they don’t seem to be available
- Would like to try such services but don’t know how to obtain them
- Yes, have received such support

2.47 Generally, how well have you and your family been treated in Ennis (and Limerick) by doctors and other health workers?

- Very helpful and supportive
- Generally helpful and supportive
- They have tried hard but they don’t understand our needs
- Not very helpful
- Unhelpful

2.48 Do you receive any of the following?

- €19.10 weekly personal allowance?
- Social Welfare allowance
- Job seekers allowance
- Rent allowance
- Child benefit
- Other (specify)

2.49 Roughly, can you tell me how you spend this money?

(Open answer)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item (Food/recreation/clothes/transport etc)</th>
<th>Cost</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.50 Is television available in your accommodation?

- Yes
- No

2.51 If your answer to the question is yes, what type of programmes do you watch?

- RTE
- Satellite Sky/Chorus
- Satellite programmes from home

2.52 Do you have access to any other kinds of entertainment than television?

- Nearby or on-site sporting facilities (including table tennis)
- Public library
- Pub/bar
- Community centre
- Youth club
- Internet
- Cinema
- Theatre/Arts Centre
- Watching Sport
- GAA
- Other

2.53 Do you attend a local church or mosque or temple?

- Yes
- No

2.54 Have you got to know local residents through attending religious services?

- Yes
- No

2.55 Does a minister of your faith regularly visit where you live?

- Yes
- No

2.56 Do you feel safe in the place where you live?

- Yes, all the time
- No, not at weekends
- No, most days I feel unsafe

2.57 If not, what are the main threats to your security that you perceive?

- Other asylum seekers who live in my residence threaten my personal safety
- Local residents seem hostile when I encounter them in street or in shops
- Other (specify)
2.58 If you were the victim of an assault or any other kind of crime would you report it to the police?

- Yes
- No

2.59 If the answer to the last question is no, why would you not report such a crime? *(Tick the answer(s) that are closest to being correct)*

- Because the police would not bother about a crime committed against an asylum seeker
- Because I do not want to draw attention to myself
- Because I do not want to get the community into trouble
- Because I am frightened that I will be assaulted again
- Because I do not trust the police
- Because I am frightened of the police
- In my home country I was frightened of police and this makes me reluctant
- Other, specify

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

2.60 Are there particular kinds of help that you need that you have not received? *(Open answer)*

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

2.61 Briefly, describe for me a typical day. To make this easier, just tell me what you might be doing at the following times.

Morning ________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

lunchtime __________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

afternoon __________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

evening __________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

2.62 If you need information about how to obtain any kind of help (health, educational, etc.) who would you ask for advice? *(Open answer)*
3.6 In an emergency, if for example you needed to visit the doctor urgently, is there somebody whom you can rely on to look after the children during your absence? (Interviewer: in this question we are trying to identify whether the respondent has developed a supportive social network, so try ascertain the details of any such arrangements, if the answer is positive).

(Open answer)

Section 3: Encounters with Officials and with Service Providers

3.1 When did you last meet the Refugee Applications Commissioner?

3.2 When you were completing your application for asylum did you receive help in filling in the form and lodging the application?

☐ Yes
☐ No

3.3. From whom did you receive help?

☐ From a solicitor/lawyer provided by the Refugee legal service
☐ From a solicitor/lawyer which I/we or a friend paid
☐ From a friend
☐ Other

3.4 Did you need help from an interpreter when lodging your application?

☐ Did not need such help.
☐ Did need it but interpreter was not available
☐ Was helped by an interpreter

3.5 Do you have to report to an immigration officer? Or a Police Station?

☐ Yes, here in Ennis
☐ Yes, in Dublin
☐ No

3.6 How often must you go to report?

3.7 How many times have you reported to the immigration officer?
3.8 Are these officers polite and helpful?

- Yes
- No

3.9 Have you had any contact with the Refugee Appeals Tribunal?

- Yes
- No

3.10 Have you received any legal advice or any other kind of legal assistance?

- Yes
- No

3.11 If your answer to the above is yes, from whom have you received legal help?

(open answer)

________________________________________________________________________

3.12 Have you had any contact with any other officials in government agencies including health services, social welfare, or the county council?

- No

Specify (Interviewer: follow up and ask what kind of contact with whom and for what purpose)

________________________________________________________________________

3.13 Have you had any encounters with the gardai (police)?

- No

Specify

________________________________________________________________________

3.14 With social workers/family support workers

- No

Specify
3.15 Do you find the services supplied by family support workers useful?

☐ Yes
☐ No

3.16 If your answer is yes, could you tell us what sort of services have been especially helpful?

(Open answer)

3.17 Have you had any serious disagreements with people who have offered services or support?

☐ No
Specify

3.18 In general how helpful have been the various officials and service providers whom you have encountered since arriving in Ireland (Fieldworker: explain that you are going to ask some questions to get an idea of what these meetings have been like. Use the following table)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very helpful and Reassuring</th>
<th>Helpful</th>
<th>Unhelpful</th>
<th>Very unhelpful and hostile or intimidating</th>
<th>Have not accessed or encountered</th>
<th>Have tried to access but not succeeded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Refugee Applications Commissioner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Officer</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Refugee Appeals</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Section 4: Social Relationships

4.1 Since arriving in Ennis have you made friends? *(Tick whichever is applicable)*

- [ ] Not really
- [ ] Only social contact with other asylum seekers with whom I am living
- [ ] Have made friends more widely within the asylum seeker community
- [ ] With parents of children’s friends at school
- [ ] With local Irish people
- [ ] Have made friends with compatriots who live in Ennis
- [ ] Have made friends with people in the immigrant community who are not compatriots (specify nationality)
4.2 What was the last social event you attended? *(This can be quite casual – a cup of tea with a friend or a night out at the pub or more elaborate, a shared meal, a party, a Christening or similar celebration)*

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

4.3 Are there groups of people within the asylum community to which you belong that provide organised social activities?

- Faith congregation
- Sports team
- Charitable association
- National association
- Other (specify)

4.4 Do you have family members or people that you used to know at home who are now living in Ireland as legal residents with refugee status or as full Irish citizens?

- No
- Yes, friends
- Yes, family
- Yes, both

4.5 Have you been in touch with them?

- Yes
- No

4.6 Have you met any members of the refugee community in Ennis who come from your country and who have already obtained refugee status?

- No
- Yes, but not very often
- Yes, frequently

4.7 Do you feel that you or your family members have experienced any racism or discrimination since your arrival in Ennis? *(Tick whichever are applicable)*

- No, not at all.
- Not very often
- Some hostility in everyday encounters with local people, in shops and suchlike
- From other children at school
- From teachers
- From officials

4.8 Can you give me an example of your own experience of racism in Ennis?

(Open answer)
Section 5: Aims and Aspirations

5.1 If your application is successful would you stay in Ennis if you could?

☐ Yes – if I could find work
☐ No
☐ Don’t know

5.2 If not, where in Ireland would you prefer to live?

(Open answer)

5.3 Why would you like to move there?

(Open answer)

5.4 Would you like to obtain more education?

☐ Yes
☐ No

5.5 If your answer to the last question was yes, what sort of education would you like?

☐ English
☐ Basic/elementary
☐ Diploma/vocational
☐ University

5.6 What kind of work would you like to do?

(Open answer)

Section 6: Experience as an asylum seeker

6.1 Can you tell us a little bit about your recent experience of leaving home and your journey to Ireland? If you would rather not we can skip this question but it would help our research if we knew why you decided to leave your home country

(Fieldworker: approach this question gently and if it is clear that the interviewee is reluctant to speak about their experience note this on the form and proceed to the next
question. This is an open question. Try and capture the essentials of the interviewee’s answer in notes. If you can reproduce his/her own words so much the better.)

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

6.2 What was the date of your arrival in Ireland?

________________________________________________________________________

6.3 How long did you spend at the Dublin Reception Centre?

________________________________________________________________________

6.4 When were you sent to Ennis?

________________________________________________________________________

6.5 Did you come to Ennis straight from Dublin or did you stay in other places as well?

________________________________________________________________________

6.6 Did you or members of your family who were accompanying you need medical attention at the time of your arrival in Dublin? If so, what kind of attention did you or they need?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

6.7 If you need information about the progress of your asylum application who would you ask?

________________________________________________________________________

6.8 Do you believe that the asylum procedure is fair?

☐ No
☐ Not very
☐ Fair
Fieldworker:

At the end of the interview:

- Ask them if we have missed out anything important – if there is anything concerning their experience in Ireland that we have not asked them and that they think we should know. If they do write down what they tell you in the space below.

- Thank your interviewee. Remind them that their identity will remain confidential.

- Remind them that the information they have given you will be used in a report that will be published in Ennis by the Community Development Project. They will receive a copy of this report.

- If they would like to know about the progress of the research or if any questions come to mind later they can contact (Contact name, telephone number and email to be supplied).

- Thank you interview again.
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