



# **EUROPEAN MIGRATION NETWORK**

## **THE IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION ON EUROPE'S SOCIETIES: IRELAND**

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**AND**

**EMMA QUINN**

**2004**

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## Abbreviations and Irish Terms

Dáil Eireann	The Parliament of Ireland, Lower House
ECRI	European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
ERCOMER	European Research Centre on Migration
FLAC	Free Legal Advice Centre
Gardaí	Police
IOM	International Organisation of Migration
NCCRI	National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism
NUJ	National Union of Journalists
OIREACHTAS	The Parliament of Ireland
ORAC	Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner
RAT	Refugee Appeals Tribunal
RIA	Reception and Integration Agency

# 1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Ireland had an economic boom at the end of the 1990s which transformed it from being an emigration country during most of the twentieth century to being an immigration country. The consensus view is that both long-term and short-term factors contributed to the boom. Among the most important long-term factors were the gradual dismantling of barriers to foreign trade and encouragement of foreign direct investment, the introduction of free secondary education, and membership of the European Community. Among the short-term factors were membership of the European Monetary System and subsequent membership of the European Monetary Union (EMU), the strengthening of a partnership approach to wage bargaining in the early 1990s, and the growth of world demand for workers with the skills necessary to take advantage of technical innovations in the IT, pharmaceutical, medical and other sectors. Synchronisation of these long- and short-term influences with favourable demand conditions generated by external trading partners enabled Ireland to belatedly catch up with levels of employment and productivity typically enjoyed in other advanced developed countries. The boom resulted in an increase in employment of almost 30 per cent between 1996 and 2001 and the emergence of widespread labour shortages. This attracted large numbers of migrant workers and asylum seekers.

In 1991 the gross outflow and inflow of migrants were almost in balance so migration had very little impact on the population. By 2004 the net outflow had halved and the net inflow had increased by half. Consequently inward migration has become a significant component of population change. About a quarter of the gross inflow in 2004 consisted of Irish emigrants returning home and about two-fifths of it was made up of non-EU nationals. Population stock figures for 2002 show that about 5 per cent of the population, or 182,000 people, are foreign nationals. Non-EU nationals comprise the largest group of foreign nationals, around 80,000 or 45 per cent of all immigrants.

There is little or no information available on the payment of taxes or the receipt of welfare benefits by immigrants or on the creation of businesses, contributions to pension funds or impact on exports and imports by immigrants. Data on work permits issued to employers of immigrants show that the number issued increased nearly eight times from around 6,000 in 1999 to 48,000 in 2003. However, there is likely to be a substantial fall in the number issued in 2004 as nationals of the Accession States will not require work permits after 1 May 2004 and the government is strongly encouraging employers to source their migrant workers in the future from the enlarged EU.

Analysis of the educational qualifications of non-national immigrants in the labour force during the years 1994-96 shows that they had considerably better levels of education than the native labour force. The increase in the supply of highly qualified immigrants helped to reduce earnings inequality. Consequently, Ireland is likely to have benefited substantially from the inflow of immigrants in the mid-1990s. Although more recent research has not yet been carried out on the educational qualifications of immigrants, analysis of the available data for 2002 by occupation and sector shows that non-EU nationals are over represented in low paying sectors and occupations. Earnings data for 2002 for work permit holders suggests that they earn about 14 per cent less

than Irish workers. It is not known how much of this differential is due to differences in qualifications and work experience. Nevertheless, the data on employment and earnings of work permit holders suggest that the average recent immigrant may be less qualified than the average Irish worker. If this is the case it may reduce the advantage that Ireland derived from immigration in the mid-1990s.

Most community and voluntary organisations are active in working with new minority communities to help them to integrate into civic and cultural life. Many of the minority communities have set up their own organisations to represent their interests. A particular difficulty for immigrants to develop civic and cultural networks is that their contacts with Irish people are somewhat limited and they are thrown back on their own resources. Greater cultural diversity has been accompanied by the emergence of racism. Active measures have been taken to combat racism such as the establishment of the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism and the adoption of anti-racist codes of practice in the media and politics. An ethnic minority media has also begun to emerge and some parts of the domestic media have appointed special correspondents to report on racial affairs and to present news programmes aimed at promoting cultural diversity.

All resident non-nationals may vote in local elections and resident EU nationals may vote in European elections. A majority of black and ethnic minorities do not believe that local political representatives adequately represent their interests. In the local elections in June 2004 a number of non-nationals contested local elections and a small number of them were elected to local councils. Research shows that there is a need for the main political parties to take active steps to encourage immigrants to participate in politics.

Asylum seekers and refugees have better support than migrant workers to help them to integrate into the community. The government's direct provision system for asylum seekers provides their accommodation, food and other needs through the Reception and Integration Agency. Some aspects of direct provision have been criticised but the way in which support should be provided for asylum seekers and refugees leaves little room for manoeuvre as other disadvantaged groups claim that they do not receive the same level of official support.

## 2. INTRODUCTION

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### 2.1 Type of Material Collected and Analysed

Comparative information on the economic and social effects of immigration on Europe's societies is necessary to provide the European Community and its Member States with a better understanding of the impact of immigration at national and European level. The availability of comparable and reliable data on the situation of migrants in the Member States would provide policy makers with a basis for developing immigration and integration policies that satisfy national requirements and help them to develop a managed immigration policy for the European Union.

The provision of comparative information on migration has been facilitated by the development in recent years of the European Migration Network.<sup>1</sup> One of the first tasks undertaken by the members of this network was to prepare national inventories of relevant recent and current research and studies on immigration and asylum.<sup>2</sup> These inventories provide the basis for country reports on the economic and social impact of immigration and on the provision of support for immigrants. The country reports will facilitate the preparation of a synthesis report on the effects of immigration at national and EU levels and they will also highlight the problems of collecting and comparing information about the situation of migrants in the member states of the European Union.

This report is concerned with the economic, social and political impact of immigration in Ireland and the provision of support for immigrants. Where possible, the focus of the study is on legally resident third country nationals. Such nationals are defined as any person who was not a national of one of the 15 EU Member States before the accession of the 10 new Member States on 1 May 2004. Where it is not possible to implement this definition, because the data do not permit it, we specify whether we are considering non-EU nationals (up to that date) or non-Irish nationals. We consider mainly studies, research papers and other material published from the late 1990s onwards, when immigration began to emerge as a normal phenomenon in Ireland, but earlier material is also used where necessary. An annotated bibliography is provided for the studies included in this report.

A large amount of material was used in the preparation of this report. A selection was made of about 100 studies, research and media reports and Parliamentary Questions which were judged relevant for the purpose of evaluating the impact of immigration on Ireland's economy and society. In Chapter 3 of the report these studies are drawn on to provide an overview of the history of Irish emigration and immigration and in Section 4.1 they form the basis for our evaluation of the impact of immigrants on the economy, the

<sup>1</sup> The European Migration Network provides the European Community and its Member States with objective, reliable and comparable information on the migration and asylum situation under the general direction of DG Justice and Home Affairs. The countries participating in the network are Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> The inventory for Ireland by Quinn and Hughes (2004) provides a summary of legislation, case law and policy measures relating to migration and asylum and a directory of organisations, researchers and research in this field.

labour market and the skills profile of the labour force. They are used in Section 4.2 to evaluate the effects of immigration on civil society and on the cultural issues relating to citizenship and the treatment of immigration in the media. Newspaper reports and government websites provide the main basis for our evaluation of the impact of immigration on politics in Section 4.3. Chapter 5 uses research reports, press releases from government departments and answers to Parliamentary Questions to outline what supports are available for immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees and how some researchers evaluate the delivery of housing, health and education services. The report finishes with some conclusions in Chapter 6.

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## 2.2 Problems Concerning the Collection and Analysis of Material: Research Gaps

Much of the research on immigration in Ireland is written from the perspective of immigrants' organisations or advocacy groups rather than from that of government departments or official organisations responsible for implementing legislation or providing services to immigrants. This caused some problems as an uncritical reading of some of the reports could result in an unbalanced view of how immigrants and asylum seekers are treated. For example, part of the research on the recognition of immigrants' qualifications criticises the lack of recognition of some medical qualifications. Yet it is reasonable for professional bodies in Ireland to be cautious about granting recognition as serious consequences could flow from incorrect decisions. Where qualifications are not recognised the reasons for non-recognition should be made clear by the organisations responsible for evaluating qualifications. In our review of the research dealt with in this report we have tried to achieve some balance between different perspectives where there are research gaps and to ensure that the studies, research papers and other materials used meet reasonable standards of quality and are based on acceptable research approaches.

Another problem encountered in evaluating the impact of immigration is lack of research on some issues listed in the research co-ordinator's specification for the project.<sup>3</sup> The most obvious research gaps relate to the impact of immigrants on the tax and welfare systems, their impact on national consumption and international trade and on the competitiveness of the economy. The main reason for these gaps is that neither nationality nor ethnic origin is used as an identifying characteristic in the collection of economic statistics in Ireland. Given the nature of the data it is unlikely that such a distinction will be made in the future. Information on the effect of immigration on a particular part of the economy is likely to depend in the future on the availability of funding for sample surveys which are designed to answer specific questions. There are also research gaps relating to the effect of immigration on food, sport, fashion, culture and the arts in Ireland. There are two reasons for this. First, immigration in Ireland is a relatively recent phenomenon and it is a little early for immigrants to have discernible effects in some of these areas. Second, the priority areas for research on immigration relate to its economic and social effects rather than to its cultural aspects. With limited funding available for research they tend to take precedence over other dimensions of immigration.

<sup>3</sup> The scientific co-ordinator of the European Migration Network is the Berlin Institute for Comparative Social Research.

# 3. OVERVIEW OF IMMIGRATION HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

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## 3.1 Population and Migration Flows Since World War II

During the last half of the twentieth century Ireland's population increased by almost one million, or by about one-third, from 2.9 million in 1946 to 3.9 million in 2002. Table 3.1 shows that the demographic experience in the first half of this period from 1946 to 1971 was one of stagnation. The population in 1971 was almost identical with the population in 1946, about 2.9 million in both years. This was the outcome of very different trends in the components of population change in the intercensal periods 1946-51, 1951-61 and 1961-71. In the intercensal period immediately after World War II nearly all of the natural increase in population of around 25,000 per annum was offset by net emigration of about 24,000 per annum. Irish workers responded to poor domestic employment prospects by taking advantage of their free access to the British labour market to take jobs that were on offer in the postwar expansion then getting underway in Britain. As the postwar boom in Britain continued into the 1950s with no change in domestic employment opportunities, Irish workers continued to leave the country in such numbers that all of the natural increase in population was wiped out and the population fell by over 140,000 between 1951 and 1961.

The decline of the population in the immediate postwar period represented a continuation of the long decline which dated from the Great Famine of the 1840s when the population fell from 6.5 million in 1841 to just under 3.0 million in 1946. The mood of despondency which the continuation of population decline engendered in the 1950s led some commentators to talk of "the vanishing Irish" (see O'Brien, 1954). The Irish government responded to the threat posed by the lack of employment opportunities by introducing a number of measures to encourage foreign direct investment and initiating a series of economic plans to address the situation starting with the First Programme for Economic Expansion in 1957 (Ireland, 1958). In the event 1961 turned out to be the nadir of population decline. The 1971 Census revealed that the population had increased by about 16,000 per annum since 1961 due to a sharp decline in net emigration to around 13,000 per annum and a rise in the natural increase to 29,000 per annum.

The last half of the twentieth century reversed the secular decline in Ireland's population with increases in population being recorded in each of the periods 1971-81, 1981-91 and 1991-02.

**Table 3.1: Population of Ireland and Components of Population Change, 1946-2002**

Year	Population	Intercensal Period	Annual Average		
			Population Change	Natural Increase (Births less Deaths)	Net Migration
1946	2,955,107	1946-51	+1,119	25,503	-24,384
1951	2,960,593	1951-61	-14,226	26,652	-40,877
1961	2,818,341	1961-71	+15,991	29,442	-13,451
1971	2,978,248	1971-81	+46,516	36,127	+10,389
1981	3,443,405	1981-91	+8,231	28,837	-20,606
1991	3,525,719	1991-02	+35,590	23,539	+12,051
2002	3,917,203				

*Sources:* Sexton (2003); Census 2002, Principal Demographic Results.

In the final decade of the twentieth century Ireland experienced an unprecedented economic boom which attracted migrants to the country for the first time since the 1970s. The annual average natural increase in the population during the intercensal period 1991-02 fell to around 24,000, about two-thirds of the annual figure of 36,000 recorded in the period 1971-81. Nevertheless, it combined with an average net inflow of 12,000 per annum to give an increase in the population of nearly 36,000 per annum.

The economic boom at the end of the 1990s transformed Ireland from being an emigration country during most of the twentieth century to being an immigration country. There are different views about the factors underlying the growth which resulted in this transformation. Most Irish economists who have offered explanations agree that both long-term and short-term factors were involved (see Fitz Gerald, 2000; Honohan and Walsh, 2002; and Bergin, Cullen, Duffy, Fitz Gerald, Kearney, and McCoy, 2003). Synchronisation of these long- and short-term influences with favourable demand conditions generated by external trading partners enabled Ireland to belatedly catch up with levels of employment and productivity typically enjoyed in other advanced developed countries.

Among the most important long-term factors were the gradual dismantling of barriers to foreign trade with the adoption of policies at the end of the 1950s which encouraged foreign direct investment, the introduction of free secondary education in 1967 combined with increasing investment in education, membership of the European Community in 1973. Among the short-term factors were membership of the European Monetary System in the early 1990s and subsequent membership of the European Monetary Union (EMU), the strengthening of a partnership approach to wage bargaining in the early 1990s, the growth of world demand for workers with the skills necessary to take advantage of technical innovations in the IT, pharmaceutical, medical and other sectors.

It is now accepted that the boom, in what became known as the era of the "Celtic Tiger", resulted in real growth rates in excess of 8 per cent per annum during the second half of the 1990s and an increase of nearly 400,000 jobs, or almost 30 per cent, from 1.3 million in 1996 to 1.7 million in 2001. Output and employment growth has now slowed but they continue to grow at moderate rates. Employment, for example, grew by more than 100,000 between 2001 and 2004 from 1.7 million to 1.8 million.

### 3.2 Annual Emigration and Immigration Since 1991

Data on the destinations of emigrants and immigrants are available for the 1990s from the annual Labour Force Survey and they are presented in Table 3.2. The figures for emigrants show that the total outflow nearly halved from 35,000 in 1991 to 18,000 in 2004. This was largely a consequence of the booming labour market which was such a prominent feature of the second half of the 1990s. During the whole period 1991-2004 the UK remained the most favoured destination for Irish emigrants. About 41 per cent of all emigrants

went there, 24 per cent went to the Rest of the World, 18 per cent went to the Rest of the EU and 17 per cent went to the US.

**Table 3.2: Estimated Migration Classified by Country of Destination/Origin, 1991-2004**

Year Ending April	Emigrants					Immigrants					Net Mig.
	UK	Rest of EU	USA	Rest of World	Total	UK	Rest of EU	USA	Rest of World	Total	
1991	23.0	3.1	4.8	4.4	35.3	18.7	4.2	4.3	6.1	33.3	-2.0
1992	16.9	7.5	3.5	5.5	33.4	22.7	6.5	4.6	6.9	40.7	7.4
1993	16.4	7.3	5.6	5.8	35.1	17.5	6.6	5.0	5.7	34.7	-0.4
1994	14.8	5.5	9.6	4.9	34.8	15.2	5.8	4.3	4.8	30.1	-4.7
1995	13.3	5.1	8.2	6.6	33.1	15.6	6.3	3.8	5.5	31.2	-1.9
1996	14.1	5.1	5.2	6.8	31.2	17.6	7.2	6.4	8.0	39.2	8.0
1997	11.6	3.8	3.4	6.6	25.3	20.3	8.1	6.7	9.4	44.5	19.2
1998	11.8	5.9	5.3	5.6	28.6	22.1	9.1	5.1	9.7	46.0	17.4
1999	11.2	5.5	5.3	9.5	31.5	22.3	10.2	5.9	10.5	48.9	17.3
2000	7.2	5.5	4.0	10.0	26.6	20.8	11.7	5.5	14.5	52.6	26.0
2001	7.8	5.6	3.4	9.5	26.2	20.6	10.3	6.7	21.5	59.0	32.8
2002	7.4	4.8	4.8	8.5	25.6	19.1	11.3	6.6	29.9	66.9	41.3
2003*	6.3	4.3	2.5	7.6	20.7	13.5	9.7	4.7	22.5	50.5	29.8
2004*	4.9	3.4	2.8	7.4	18.5	13.0	12.6	4.8	19.7	50.1	31.6
	Percentage Distribution										
	UK	Rest of EU	USA	Rest of World	Total	UK	Rest of EU	USA	Rest of World	Total	
1991	65.2	8.8	13.6	12.5	100.0	56.2	12.6	12.9	18.3	100.0	
1992	50.6	22.5	10.5	16.5	100.0	55.8	16.0	11.3	17.0	100.0	
1993	46.7	20.8	16.0	16.5	100.0	50.4	19.0	14.4	16.4	100.0	
1994	42.5	15.8	27.6	14.1	100.0	50.5	19.3	14.3	15.9	100.0	
1995	40.2	15.4	24.8	19.9	100.0	50.0	20.2	12.2	17.6	100.0	
1996	45.2	16.3	16.7	21.8	100.0	44.9	18.4	16.3	20.4	100.0	
1997	45.8	15.0	13.4	26.1	100.0	45.6	18.2	15.1	21.1	100.0	
1998	41.3	20.6	18.5	19.6	100.0	48.0	19.8	11.1	21.1	100.0	
1999	35.6	17.5	16.8	30.2	100.0	45.6	20.9	12.1	21.5	100.0	
2000	27.1	20.7	15.0	37.6	100.0	39.5	22.2	10.5	27.6	100.0	
2001	29.8	21.4	13.0	36.3	100.0	34.9	17.5	11.4	36.4	100.0	
2002	28.9	18.8	18.8	33.2	100.0	28.6	16.9	9.9	44.7	100.0	
2003*	30.4	20.8	12.1	36.7	100.0	26.7	19.2	9.3	44.6	100.0	
2004*	26.5	18.4	15.1	40.0	100.0	25.9	25.1	9.6	39.3	100.0	

\* Preliminary.

Sources: CSO, Annual Population and Migration Estimates 1991-1996; CSO, Population and Migration Estimates, April 1997; CSO, Population and Migration Estimates, April 2004.

Nevertheless, the UK became much less important over time as a destination with the percentage going there falling from 65 per cent in 1991 to 26 per cent in 2004. The Rest of the EU came into increasing prominence as a destination during this period with the percentage of all emigrants going there doubling from 9 to 18 per cent. The US remained important as a destination with the figure increasing slightly from 14 per cent in 1991 to 15 per cent in 2004. However, the greater ease with which Irish people could go to destinations outside Europe and America during the 1990s is reflected in the Rest of the World becoming the most important destination for Irish emigrants with an increase from 12 per cent in 1991 to 40 per cent in 2004.

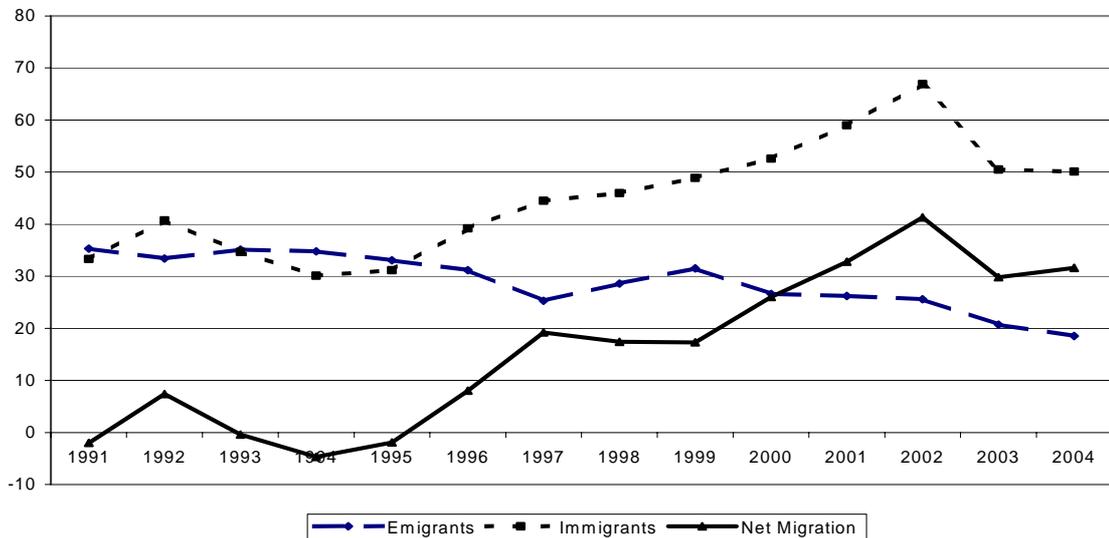
In contrast to the downward trend in the emigrant flow during the 1990s the flow of immigrants increased from 33,000 per annum in 1991 to a peak of

67,000 in 2002 before falling back to 50,000 in 2004. In 1991, 56 per cent of immigrants came from the UK, largely reflecting return migration of previous emigrants, and 13 per cent came from the US. Immigrants from the Rest of the EU and the Rest of the World amounted to 13 and 18 per cent of all immigrants in 1991 or 31 per cent in total. In 2004 immigrants from the Rest of the EU and the Rest of the World accounted for nearly two-thirds of the total inflow with about 25 per cent coming from the Rest of the EU and almost 40 per cent from the Rest of the World. The immigrant flows from the UK and the US amounted to about a quarter and a tenth of the total flow respectively in 2004.

Immigrants from the Rest of the EU increased from 13 per cent in 1991 to 25 per cent in 2004. The biggest increase occurred in the percentage of immigrants coming from the Rest of the World. In 1991, 18 per cent of all immigrants came from the Rest of the World and by 2004 the figure had increased to about 40 per cent. The inflow from outside the EU therefore rose from 10,000 in 1991, or 31 per cent of the total, to 24,000 in 2004, or approaching 50 per cent of all immigrants.

In addition to data on gross inflows and outflows Table 3.2 and Figure 3.1 also provide information on the balance of net migration. These data show that the remarkable transformation in Ireland's migration experience occurred in the second half of the 1990s. Up to and including 1995 the dominant pattern was for more people to leave the country than to enter it. From 1996 onwards this trend was reversed with more people entering than leaving to give a net migration balance of 8,000 in that year. Since then the net balance has continued to remain positive. The net inward flow peaked in 2002 when 41,000 more migrants entered than left. In 2004 the net migration balance fell back to about 32,000.

**Figure 3.1: Emigration, Immigration and Net Migration, 1991-2004 (000s)**



### 3.3 Nationality of Immigrants Since 1991

The data in Table 3.2 on the country of origin of immigrants can be used in conjunction with data on the nationality of immigrants to split the inflow into returning Irish migrants and other nationalities. In order to do this it is necessary to assume that all of those with a particular nationality migrated to Ireland from the country of which they are a national. Although not strictly correct it is a reasonable assumption for most immigrants. The results of making this assumption are shown in Table 3.3 for the period 1991-2004.

**Table 3.3: Estimated Immigration Classified by Country of Origin and Nationality, 1991-04**

Year Ending April	Country of Origin									
	UK		Rest of EU		USA		Rest of World		Total	
					Nationality					
	Irish	UK	Irish	Rest of EU	Irish	US	Irish	Rest of World	Irish	Other
1991	13.2	5.5	2.2	2.0	3.2	1.1	4.0	2.1	22.6	10.7
1992	16.3	6.4	2.4	4.1	2.9	1.7	3.9	3.0	25.5	15.2
1993	11.3	6.2	3.3	3.3	2.5	2.5	3.1	2.6	20.2	14.6
1994	8.9	6.3	2.5	3.3	2.3	2.0	3.1	1.7	16.8	13.3
1995	9.8	5.8	3.1	3.2	2.3	1.5	2.4	3.1	17.6	13.6
1996	9.3	8.3	2.2	5.0	2.4	4.0	3.8	4.2	17.7	21.5
1997	11.9	8.4	2.6	5.5	2.5	4.2	3.9	5.5	20.9	23.6
1998	13.5	8.6	3.0	6.1	2.8	2.3	5.0	4.7	24.3	21.7
1999	14.1	8.2	3.3	6.9	3.4	2.5	6.0	4.5	26.8	22.1
2000	12.4	8.4	3.5	8.2	3.0	2.5	5.9	8.6	24.8	27.7
2001	11.6	9.0	3.8	6.5	3.0	3.7	7.9	13.6	26.3	32.8
2002	11.7	7.4	3.2	8.1	3.9	2.7	8.2	21.7	27.0	39.9
2003	6.6	6.9	2.8	6.9	3.1	1.6	4.8	17.7	17.3	33.1
2004	5.1	7.9	4.7	7.9	2.2	2.6	1.0	18.7	13.0	37.1

Percentage with Irish and Other Nationality by Country of Origin										
Country of Origin										
UK		Rest of EU		USA		Rest of World		Total		
				Nationality						
Irish	UK	Irish	Rest of EU	Irish	US	Irish	Rest of World	Irish	Other	
1991	70.6	29.4	52.4	47.6	74.4	25.6	65.6	34.4	67.9	32.1
1992	71.8	28.2	36.9	63.1	63.0	37.0	56.5	43.5	62.7	37.3
1993	64.6	35.4	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	54.4	45.6	58.2	42.1
1994	58.6	41.4	43.1	56.9	53.5	46.5	64.6	35.4	55.8	44.2
1995	62.8	37.2	49.2	50.8	60.5	39.5	43.6	56.4	56.4	43.6
1996	52.8	47.2	30.6	69.4	37.5	62.5	47.5	52.5	45.2	54.8
1997	58.6	41.4	32.1	67.9	37.3	62.7	41.5	58.5	47.0	53.0
1998	61.1	38.9	33.0	67.0	54.9	45.1	51.5	48.5	52.8	47.2
1999	63.2	36.8	32.4	67.6	57.6	42.4	57.1	42.9	54.8	45.2
2000	59.6	40.4	29.9	70.1	54.5	45.5	40.7	59.3	47.1	52.7
2001	56.3	43.7	36.9	63.1	44.8	55.2	36.7	63.3	44.6	55.6
2002	61.3	38.7	28.3	71.7	59.1	40.9	27.4	72.6	40.4	59.6
2003	48.9	51.1	28.9	71.1	66.0	34.0	21.3	78.7	34.3	65.5
2004	39.2	60.8	37.3	62.7	45.8	54.2	5.1	94.9	25.9	74.1

Sources: CSO: Annual Population and Migration Estimates, 1991-1996; CSO: Population and Migration Estimates, April 1997; CSO: Population and Migration Estimates, April 2004.

The total column shows that in 1991 about two-thirds of the total number of immigrants, 22,600 out of 33,300, were Irish people returning home and the remaining one-third, 10,700, were non-Irish nationals. By 1996 the inflow of 39,200 was divided 45:55 between return migrants and non-Irish nationals. The importance of the return flow of people who had left Ireland continued to

diminish and by 2004 it had fallen to about one-quarter of the total flow. The number of immigrants who are non-EU nationals can be derived from the nationality data for immigrants from the United States and the Rest of the World. In 1991 the number of non-EU nationals who came to Ireland amounted to 3,200 or a little less than 10 per cent of all immigrants. By 1996 the number of non-EU immigrants had more than doubled in absolute and percentage terms to 8,200 and 21 per cent respectively. Since then these rising trends have continued. In 2004 the inflow of non-EU nationals amounted to 21,300 or 42 per cent of all immigrants.

Although it remains an important component of the inflow of immigrants, return migration by Irish people who have gone abroad has fallen from the high levels recorded for all countries of origin in 1991. In that year the inflow of 18,700 immigrants from the UK included 13,200 return migrants, or 71 per cent of the total, the inflow of 4,200 from the Rest of the EU included 2,200 return migrants, or 52.4 per cent of all migrants from this source, the inflow of 4,300 from the US included 3,200 return migrants or nearly three-quarters of the total, and the inflow of 6,100 from the Rest of the World included 4,000 Irish people returning home, or two-thirds of the total inflow from this source. The number of return migrants in the inflows from the Rest of the EU was higher in 2004 than in 1991 and lower for the US and the Rest of the World. However, the relative importance of return migration in the total inflow from all these sources declined from 52 per cent to 37 per cent of the inflow from the Rest of the EU, from 74 per cent to 46 per cent of the inflow from the US, and from 66 per cent to 5 per cent of the inflow from the Rest of the World. The number of return migrants coming from the UK more than halved from 13,200 in 1991 or 71 per cent of the total flow to 5,100 or 39 per cent of the total flow from this source in 2004.

The information on the country of origin and nationality of immigrants show that a distinction needs to be made between Irish nationals returning home and foreign immigrants. A considerable, although diminishing, percentage of immigrants are return migrants coming back to Ireland after a spell of working and living abroad.

The scale of the recent inflows of different nationalities can be judged by considering them in relation to the total population of the country. This is shown in Table 3.4 for the period 1991-2002. The total population of Ireland in 2002 was 3,897,000. The foreign population amounted to 181,800 or 4.7 per cent of the total population. Non-EU nationals comprised the largest group of foreign nationals, 80,400 or nearly 45 per cent of all immigrants. The next largest group of immigrants came from the UK, 74,100 or 41 per cent of all immigrants. Other EU nationals amounted to 27,300 or 15 per cent of the stock of immigrants.

**Table 3.4: Total Population of Ireland (000s) Classified by Nationality, 1991-2002**

Nationality	1991	1996	2001	2002
Ireland	3,437.9	3,508.3	3,687.7	3,715.2
UK	56.7	71.3	74.0	74.1
Other EU	11.0	15.4	25.2	27.3
Non-EU	20.0	30.8	52.2	80.4
USA	7.7	12.7	10.2	10.2
Other	12.3	18.1	42.0	70.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,525.7</b>	<b>3,626.1</b>	<b>3,839.1</b>	<b>3,897.0</b>
<b>Foreign Population</b>				
Number	87.7	117.5	151.4	181.8
Per cent of population	2.5	3.2	3.9	4.7

Source: Sexton and Casey (2003), Table 1.

During the period 1991-2002 the Irish-born population grew by less than 1 per cent per year from 3.5 million to 3.9 million. The established immigrant stocks from the UK and the USA both grew by about 2.5 per cent per annum

from 56,700 to 74,100 in the case of the UK and from 7,700 to 10,200 in the case of the USA. The stock of other EU nationalities increased by about 8.5 per cent per annum from 11,000 to 27,300. The fastest growth rate of all occurred for other non-EU nationals. Their number increased by just over 17 per cent per year from 12,300 in 1991 to 70,200 in 2002.

# 4. THE IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION ON IRELAND'S ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

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## 4.1 The Economy

### 4.1.1 TAXES, PENSIONS AND IMPACT ON WELFARE SYSTEM

Neither the taxation or the welfare system use ethnic origin as an identifier in processing who pays taxes or who benefits from the welfare system. Consequently, there is no information available on the percentage of taxes paid by immigrants or ethnic businesses. There are no official statistics on the payment of contributions by employees to pension funds so it is not possible to say how much immigrants may be contributing to such funds. The Department of Social and Family Affairs may have data on welfare payments to asylum seekers but it has not yet been published. Data are available on foreign direct investment in Ireland but it is not linked to the immigration of foreign workers. In any case the bulk of foreign direct investment is made by multinational companies rather than being brought in by immigrants.

### 4.1.2 IMMIGRANTS AS CONSUMERS

The main source of information on consumption behaviour is the Household Budget Inquiry which is carried out every five years or so. The latest survey was undertaken in 1999/2000. The survey does not collect information on the nationality of respondents so we are unable to provide any data on the behaviour of immigrants as consumers.

### 4.1.3 IMMIGRANTS AND THE EMPLOYMENT SECTOR

There are two main sources of information on the employment of immigrants. The Work Permit Programme administered by the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment (DETE) provides detailed information on the employment of non-EU nationals. The Quarterly National Household Survey (formerly the Labour Force Survey) carried out by the Central Statistics Office (CSO) on behalf of Eurostat provides data on the characteristics of immigrants by nationality.

The Work Permit Programme exists to provide work permits to non-EU nationals who have been recruited to work in Ireland. The programme requires an employer to notify FÁS, the national Training and Employment Authority, that he or she has a vacancy which the employer is unable to fill with Irish or EU workers. The job is compared with a list of ineligible occupations for which the Department will not issue work permits as staff for the relevant occupations must be sourced from within the European Economic Area. After the job is registered with FÁS for a period of four weeks the employer can apply for two types of work permit for jobs which are not on the ineligible list.

The first is a new work permit for a specific non-EEA national and the second is a renewal work permit for an existing employee whose current permit is still valid. Work permits can be issued for a period of up to one year and the fee charged ranges from €65 for a one month permit to €500 for a permit for six months to one year.

A detailed analysis of data on work permits has been made by Ruhs (2003) to identify trends and patterns in the immigration and employment of non-EU nationals. His analysis reveals a discrepancy between the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment (DETE) work permit data and Central Statistics Office (CSO) data on the annual inflow of non-EU nationals. Since 1998 the sum of the number of work permits issued and applications for asylum has consistently exceeded the total inflow of non-EU nationals reported by the CSO. However, the total stock of outstanding work permits broadly agrees with the CSO figure on the stock of non-EU nationals. Information on the number of work permits issued annually is available from 1999 onwards. Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 show the total number and type of work permits issued over the period 1999-2003.

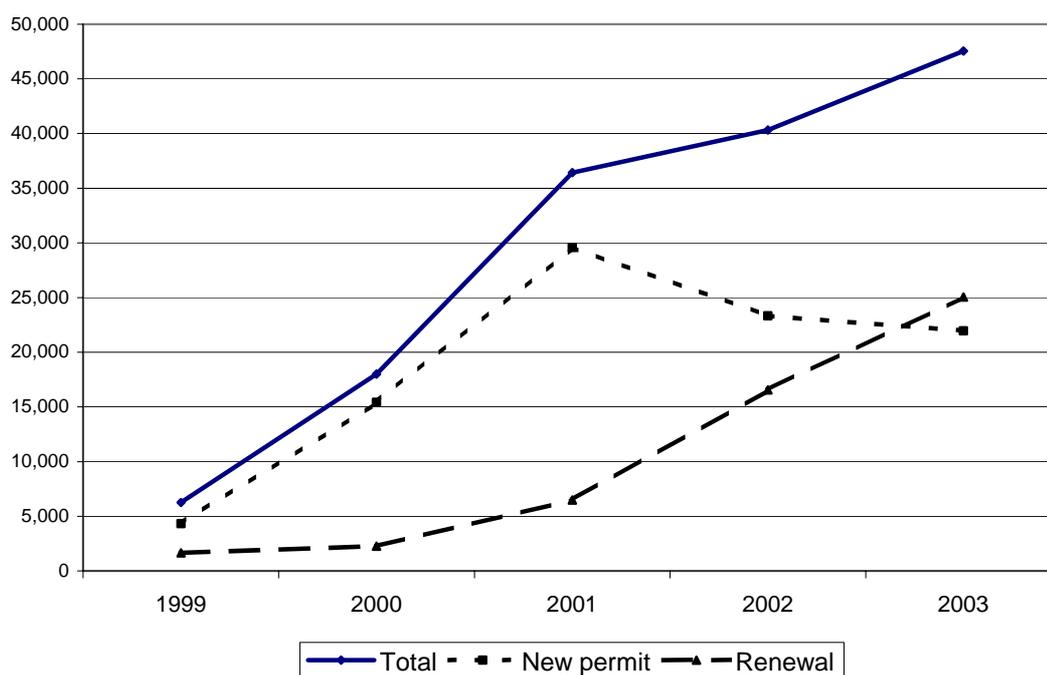
The total number of work permits issued increased phenomenally from 6,250 in 1999 to 47,551 in 2003 or by around 7.5 times from the beginning to the end of the period. In percentage terms the compound annual growth rate was 66 per cent per year. There were significant differences in the growth of the two components, new and renewal permits, which make up the total figure. New permits issued increased from 4,328 in 1999 to 21,965 in 2003, a fivefold increase over the whole period which resulted in a compound annual growth rate of 50 per cent per annum. Permit renewals increased over fifteen times from 1,653 in 1999 to 25,039 in 2003 to give a compound annual growth rate of 97 per cent. The issue of new permits peaked at 29,594 in 2001 and fell back to 21,965 in 2003 but the issue of renewal permits continued to grow very strongly over the whole period. Consequently, the renewal rate has increased from over one-third in 2000 to nearly two-thirds in 2003.

**Table 4.1: Work Permits Issued to Non-EU Nationals by Type, 1999-2003**

Type of Work Permit	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
New permit	4,328	15,434	29,594	23,326	21,965
Renewal	1,653	2,271	6,485	16,562	25,039
Group permit	269	301	357	453	547
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,250</b>	<b>18,006</b>	<b>36,436</b>	<b>40,321</b>	<b>47,551</b>
Renewal rate		36.3%	36.0%	45.5%	62.1%

*Source:* Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment, Work Permits Section: Yearly Statistical Tables ([www.entemp.ie/labour/workpermits/statistics.htm](http://www.entemp.ie/labour/workpermits/statistics.htm)).

- Notes:* (a) The figures for "new permits" also include about 2,000 to 3,000 transfers per year between employers.
- (b) The renewal rate is defined as the number of renewals in the current year divided by the total number of work permits issued in the previous year.
- (c) A group permit is issued for entertainment workers who are being brought in by an employer for a period of up to three months. As the permit is issued for an entertainment group the number of individuals covered by the permit may be greater than the number of group permits issued.

**Figure 4.1: Work Permits Issued to Non-EU Nationals, 1999-2003**

This suggests that once employers have recruited workers from outside the EU they want to hold on to them and that many non-EU employees wish to work in Ireland for a longer period than is covered by the work permit system. Mac Éinrí and Walley (2003, p. 64) have pointed out that limiting work permits to a maximum of one year may not serve the interests of responsible employers who wish to continue employing immigrant workers in whom they have invested to bring them to Ireland and to assess their skills and abilities. MacÉinrí and Walley suggest that work permits should be issued for a period up to two years with provision for renewal where the immigrant has a guarantee of employment.

Table 4.2 shows the shares of non-Irish and non-EU nationals in the total population of Ireland. In 1998 non-Irish immigrants made up 3 per cent of the Irish population. A strong inflow of immigrants pushed the figure up to nearly 5 per cent in 2002. Non-EU nationals accounted for less than a quarter of all immigrants in the population in 1998 but a rise in the inflow from outside the EU increased their share to nearly 44 per cent of the stock of immigrants. Many immigrants come without their families initially and this results in their share of the labour force being greater than their share of the population. Thus the non-Irish immigrants share of the labour force amounted to 3.3 per cent in 1998 compared with 3 per cent of the population. By 2002 the immigrants' share had increased to 5.6 per cent of the labour force compared with their share of 4.8 per cent of the population. Non-EU nationals in the labour force made up less than one-fifth of immigrants in the labour force in 1998 but the figure more than doubled to two-fifths in 2002. Figures for the foreign or foreign-born population in OECD member countries in 2000 show that the share of non-nationals in Ireland (3.3 per cent) was about the same as for Norway, the UK, Greece and Italy but substantially less than for Austria, Belgium and Germany.

**Table 4.2: Shares of Non-Irish and Non-EU Nationals in the Irish Population and Labour Force, 1998-2002**

Year and Category	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
<b>Immigrants as a Percentage of the Irish Population</b>					
	%	%	%	%	%
Non-Irish	3.0	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.8
Non-EU	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.4	2.1
<b>Immigrants in the Labour Force as a Percentage of the Irish Labour Force</b>					
Non-Irish	3.3	3.4	3.7	4.7	5.6
Non-EU	0.6	0.6	0.8	1.5	2.3

Sources: Ruhs (2003), Table A5; CSO, *Quarterly National Household Survey*, First Quarter 2003 and 2004.

Note: The non-Irish percentage of the population for 2001 in this table differs from the percentage in Table 3.4 due to data revisions.

Labour force participation rates of non-Irish residents were greater than those of Irish citizens in 2002 although the rate for non-EU nationals was lower as this group included many asylum seekers who are not permitted to work.

The number of work permits issued increased from 6,250 in 1999 to 47,551 in 2003. As work permits are issued for a maximum of one year they provide a good indication of the stock of legally employed non-EU workers. The work permit stock figures are roughly in line with the CSO stock figures for these workers. Work permits have been issued to nationals of 152 countries but a relatively small number of them account for the majority of all work permit holders. Five countries, Latvia, Lithuania, the Philippines, Poland and Romania, accounted for 41 per cent of all work permit holders in 2002. The EU applicant and accession countries accounted for 43 per cent of all permit holders in 2002. From 1 May 2004 onwards their share should fall to zero as after that date nationals from these countries will no longer require work permits. The average age of new work permit holders is just over 30 years. Males constituted 65 per cent of all work permit holders during the period January 1999-March 2003 but the male share has decreased from 72 per cent in 1999 to 63 per cent in 2002. About 40 per cent of work permit holders were employed in 2002 in companies in Dublin.

The labour market staged a recovery in 2004 from the slow down of the last few years so there should continue to be a demand in the medium term for migrant workers. The free access which migrants from the new accession states now have to the Irish labour market is likely to change the composition of migration flows with more expected to come from the accession states and much less from outside the enlarged EU. As the Government is strongly encouraging employers to find most of their migrant workers from within the enlarged EU the number of non-EU nationals entering the Irish labour force in the future will depend on how restrictive this policy becomes.

#### 4.1.4 IMMIGRANTS AS ETHNIC ENTREPRENEURS

There is no data yet available which would enable us to explore the number and structure of ethnic businesses in relation to the mainstream economy or to say in which sectors ethnic businesses have been created beyond noting that anecdotal evidence suggests a number of ethnic food shops and restaurants have been opened in Dublin and other major cities. Again there is no information available on how many people are employed in these businesses.

#### 4.1.5. HIGHLY QUALIFIED IMMIGRANTS

The data in Table 3.3 show that the inflow of immigrants consists of two streams: Irish nationals returning to their country of origin and non-Irish nationals coming to Ireland for the first time. Analysis of the qualifications of immigrants therefore requires that attention be paid to both streams rather

than to the aggregate of the two flows. Barrett and Trace (1998) averaged data from the Labour Force Surveys for 1994, 1995 and 1996 on the highest level of education completed to compare the educational qualifications of returning migrants and other immigrants with those of non-migrants. Their results for return migrants and non-migrants are presented in Table 4.3.

Focusing on the first three age categories, which contain 80 per cent of the return migrants, it is evident that smaller proportions of return migrants than non-migrants have completed primary or secondary schooling while larger proportions of return migrants than of non-migrants have completed third level education. In the age groups 20-24, 25-29 and 30-39 years about 35 to 40 per cent of return migrants had secondary school qualifications compared with around two-thirds of non-migrants. Conversely, the proportion of return migrants in these age groups with third level non-university qualifications was at least 50 per cent greater than the proportion of non-migrants with such qualifications and at least double the proportion of non-migrants with university degrees. Similar, though less pronounced, differences in educational qualifications between return and non-migrants exist for the age categories 40-49 years and upwards. Recently returned migrants in the mid-1990s, therefore, had higher level qualifications than members of the labour force who never emigrated. This could be due to emigrants during the 1980s, from whom the return flow is most likely to have come, having better educational qualifications than workers who stayed at home. Barrett and Trace (1998) show that these emigrants did have better qualifications but they cite a comparison by Fahey and Maitre (1998) which suggests that a selection process was at work in the first half of the 1990s which resulted in much higher proportions of the more highly educated emigrants returning to work in Ireland than would have occurred randomly from the relevant stock of emigrants.

**Table 4.3: Educational Profile by Age of Return Migrants and Non-Migrants who were in the Labour Force in 1994, 1995 and 1996 (Row Percentages)**

Age	Category	Primary/ No. Qualifications	Secondary	Third Level/ Non- University	Third Level/ University
20-24	R	3.9	41.0	26.7	28.4
	N-M	5.5	68.7	17.7	8.1
25-29	R	4.4	34.5	31.7	29.4
	N-M	5.7	62.3	18.0	14.0
30-39	R	6.7	42.3	22.6	28.4
	N-M	10.5	62.4	14.4	12.7
40-49	R	24.5	44.2	11.2	20.3
	N-M	26.7	50.8	10.7	11.8
50-59	R	33.4	36.1	10.7	19.8
	N-M	40.7	40.7	8.8	9.9
60-69	R	17.7	54.3	15.6	12.4
	N-M	56.4	29.9	5.6	7.6
70+	R	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	N-M	69.3	21.8	2.2	6.7

Source: Barrett and Trace (1998), Table 3.

Note: R = return migrants, defined as Irish nationals who were born in Ireland but who were not resident in Ireland 12 months previously; N-M = non-migrants, defined as Irish nationals who were born in Ireland who were resident in Ireland 12 months previously; The percentages are based on 1,400 return migrants and 265,655 non-migrants.

Primary/No. qualifications = completed primary school or left school with no qualifications; Secondary = completed either the Junior/Intermediate Certificate exam taken approximately half way through second level schooling; Third level/Non-university = typically diploma and certificate courses in Regional Technical Colleges and Institutes of Technology; Third level university = primary and higher level university degrees. Almost 80 per cent of return migrants are in the first three age categories.

The economic “pull” factors which attracted highly educated return migrants during the era of the Celtic Tiger in the 1990s, should also have attracted non-Irish immigrants with high level qualifications. Data in Table 4.4

on the educational qualifications of immigrants during the years 1994-96 shows that they did have better levels of education than the native population. In the three age categories in which most immigrants are found, 20-24, 25-29 and 30-39, from 25 to 40 per cent of immigrants had secondary school qualifications compared with 60 to 70 per cent of non-migrants. The corollary of this is that the proportion of immigrants in the period 1991-96 in these age groups with third level qualifications was greater than the proportion of non-migrants with such qualifications.

The difference is particularly noticeable in the case of third level university education. Compared with non-migrants the percentage of immigrants in the three age groups who had university degrees was at least three times greater than the percentage of non-migrants who had such degrees. Similar, and in some cases more pronounced, differences exist for the older age categories in educational qualifications between immigrants and non-migrants. For example, in the age group 50-59 just over 8 per cent of immigrants had only basic education compared with 41 per cent of non-migrants but the position was reversed for degree level qualifications with 49 per cent of immigrants but only 10 per cent of non-migrants having university degrees.

**Table 4.4: Educational Profile by Age of Immigrants and Non-Migrants who were in the Labour Force in 1994, 1995 and 1996 (Row Percentages)**

Age	Category	Primary/ No Qualifications	Secondary	Third Level/ Non- University	Third Level/ University
20-24	I	1.9	43.7	18.1	34.4
	N-M	5.5	68.7	17.7	9.6
25-29	I	4.8	25.9	23.1	46.3
	N-M	5.7	62.3	18.0	14.0
30-39	I	3.6	31.8	21.4	43.2
	N-M	10.5	62.4	14.4	12.7
40-49	I	6.4	27.4	18.6	47.5
	N-M	26.7	50.8	10.7	11.8
50-59	I	8.4	39.0	3.9	48.7
	N-M	40.7	40.7	8.8	9.9
60-69	I	77.8	14.2	0.0	8.0
	N-M	56.9	29.9	5.6	7.6
70+	I	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
	N-M	69.3	21.8	2.2	6.7

Source: Barrett and Trace (1998), Table 6.

Note: I = immigrants, defined as non-Irish nationals who were born outside Ireland and who were not resident in Ireland twelve months previously. N-M = non-migrants, defined as Irish nationals who were born in Ireland, who were resident in Ireland twelve months previously; the percentages are based on 531 immigrants and 132,942 non-migrants.

The increased inflow of immigrants during the 1990s had a number of important implications for the Irish labour market. The tightening of the labour market led some commentators to fear that skill shortages would choke off economic growth due to the drying up of domestic sources of labour supply. However, the change from emigration to immigration during this decade showed that the migration mechanism worked well for flows in both directions with net outflows when the economy was weak and net inflows when it was strong. The skill profile of immigrants, as reflected in their educational qualifications, broadly corresponded through a process of self-selection with the profile which employers required for the jobs that they had to offer.

#### 4.1.6 IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION ON SPECIFIC ECONOMIC SECTORS

The distribution of work permit holders by sector in 2002 was agriculture 15 per cent, industry 8 per cent and services 77 per cent. Within services, catering, medical and nursing were the most important groups. The distribution of

employment of non-EU nationals by sector in 1998 and 2002 is shown in Table 4.5. The number of non-EU nationals employed in all sectors grew from about 9,000 in 1998 to nearly 40,000 in 2002. However, the distribution by broad economic sector has not changed greatly over that period with about three-quarters of all non-EU nationals working in services in both years. Within the services sector there have been some changes with the percentage working in wholesale and retail trade increasing from 8 to 11 per cent and the percentage employed in hotels and restaurants rising from 18 to 21 per cent. Over the same period the percentage of all non-EU nationals working in the health sector fell from 19 to under 15 per cent.

**Table 4.5: Estimated Number and Distribution of Employment (ILO) of Non-EU Nationals Aged 15 Years and Over by Economic Sector (NACE) in 1998 and 2002**

Sector	1998			2002		
	No. 000s	Col. %	% in Sector	No. 000s	Col. %	% in Sector
Agric., forestry & fishing	*	*	*	1.8	4.5	1.5
Industry	2.0	22.5		8.2	20.6	
Other production industries	1.7	19.1	0.6	6.7	16.8	2.2
Construction	0.3	3.4	0.2	1.5	3.8	0.8
Services	6.8	76.4		29.9	74.9	
Wholesale & retail trade	0.7	7.9	0.3	4.3	10.8	1.7
Hotels & restaurants	1.6	18.0	1.6	8.5	21.3	8.1
Transport, storage & comm.	0.3	3.4	0.3	1.2	3.0	1.1
Financial & other bus. svcs.	1.2	13.5	0.7	6.5	16.3	2.8
Public admin. & defence	*	*	*	*	*	*
Education	0.4	4.5	0.4	1.1	2.8	1.0
Health	1.7	19.1	1.5	5.8	14.5	3.7
Other services	0.8	9.0	0.9	2.3	5.8	2.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>8.9</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>0.6</b>	<b>39.9</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2.3</b>

\*Sample size too small for estimation.

Sources: Ruhs (2003), Table A6.

Relative to their representation in the labour force (2.3 per cent) non-EU nationals are over represented in hotels and restaurants and health, where they account for 8.1 per cent and 3.7 per cent respectively of total employment and under represented in education and construction where they account for about 1 per cent of employment in each case.

There are significant differences between the work permit and CSO stock data on the occupations in which non-EU nationals work. The work permit occupation data suggest that 14 per cent of all work permit holders were employed as managers, professionals, associate professionals and technicians in the period February-December 2002 whereas the CSO data for the second quarter of 2002 show that almost 35 per cent of non-EU nationals worked in these highly skilled occupations (see Table 4.6). As the reasons for the differences between the two data sources are not yet known, the work permit data will be used as the best indicator of the jobs in which non-EU nationals work and the CSO data will be used to examine trends over time in employment by occupation. The CSO data suggest that the share of non-EU nationals in highly skilled occupations has fallen from 54.4 per cent in 1998 to 34.7 per cent in 2002. During the same period the share of non-EU nationals working as plant and machine operatives and in other unskilled occupations increased from 10 per cent to 24 per cent. Work permit holders from EU accession countries work mainly in unskilled occupations. Work permit holders from other countries are employed in both low and high skilled occupations.

Table 4.6 shows the occupational distribution of non-EU nationals in 1998 and 2002. In 2002 non-EU nationals were over represented, relative to their share of total employment (2.3 per cent), in personal and protective service occupations (4.5 per cent), other unskilled occupations (3.8 per cent), associate professional and technical occupations (3.6 per cent) and professional occupations (2.8 per cent). Non-EU nationals were under represented in the remaining occupational groups and particularly in craft related occupations (1.5

per cent), clerical and secretarial occupations (1.3 per cent) and managerial and administrative occupations (1 per cent).

**Table 4.6: Estimated Number and Distribution of Employment (ILO) of Non-EU Nationals Aged 15 Years and Over in 1998 and 2002**

Occupational Group	1998			2002		
	No. (000s)	Col. %	% in Occ.	No. (000s)	Col. %	% in Occ.
Managers and administrators	1.6	17.8	0.6	3.1	7.7	1.0
Professional	2.1	23.3	1.4	5.3	13.2	2.8
Associate prof. & technical	1.2	13.3	1.0	5.5	13.7	3.6
Clerical & secretarial	0.7	7.8	0.4	3.0	7.5	1.3
Craft & related	0.6	6.7	0.3	3.4	8.5	1.5
Personal & protective service	1.4	15.6	1.0	7.6	19.0	4.5
Sales	0.5	5.6	0.4	2.3	5.7	1.6
Plant & machine operatives	0.3	3.3	0.2	3.9	9.7	2.1
Other	0.6	6.7	0.4	5.9	14.7	3.8
Total	8.9	100.0	0.6	39.9	100.0	2.3

Source: Ruhs (2003), Table A8.

The most significant changes between 1998 and 2002 in terms of the occupations of non-EU nationals are the very big increases in the numbers working as plant and machine operatives and in other unskilled occupations. Over this four year period the number of plant and machine operatives increased thirteen times from 300 to 3,900 and the number of other unskilled workers increased ten times from 600 to 5,900. These increases resulted in significant rises in the shares of non-EU nationals in relatively unskilled occupations. Non-EU nationals accounted for less than 0.2 and 0.4 per cent of those working in plant and machine operative and other unskilled occupations in 1998. By 2002 their shares had increased to 2.1 and 3.8 per cent respectively.

The average weekly gross pay offered to work permit holders in 2002 was €423.61 (see Table 4.7). This compares with national average industrial earnings of €494.58 per week in June 2002. It is not possible to investigate to what extent the difference of 14 per cent between the earnings of Irish and foreign born workers is due to differences in education and work experience as the work permit data do not include information on these variables. The lowest pay offered was for clerical and secretarial jobs in the agriculture sector` (€265 per week which is around the minimum wage) and the highest was for associate professional and technical jobs in services (€1,064 per week). The pay offered in the agricultural sector in 2002 was lower for every occupation group than the pay offered in either industry or services. Managers and administrators, craft and related and sales jobs in the industry sector paid more than jobs in the same occupations in services but the pay offered for the remaining occupations in industry was lower than in services.

**Table 4.7: Average Pay Per Week (€) Offered to Non-EU National Work Permit Holders by Sector and Occupation in 2002**

Sector and Occupation	Agriculture	Industry	Services	Total
Managers & administrators	558.72	728.49	545.12	555.72
Professional	601.17	757.68	943.66	933.07
Assoc. professional & technical	316.52	713.93	1,063.93	1,032.68
Clerical & secretarial	265.34	330.68	412.08	405.82
Craft & related	297.51	366.32	359.20	351.44
Personal & protective service	270.43	298.00	383.80	382.59
Sales	265.38	319.35	304.02	304.20
Plant & machinery	293.80	349.35	406.65	384.44
Other occupations	286.49	327.66	361.81	336.16
<b>Total</b>	<b>288.93</b>	<b>377.78</b>	<b>456.36</b>	<b>423.61</b>
Memorandum item: national average gross industrial earnings June 2002				494.58

Source: Ruhs (2003), Table B15.

The estimated hours of work of non-EU nationals and of all persons in employment averaged over the period 1998-2002 are shown by broad economic sector in Table 4.8. Non-EU nationals worked 3.5 hours more per week than Irish and other EU workers. Assuming that both groups worked the

standard five day week the non-EU workers worked half an hour a day more on average than other workers. In some sectors the difference was much greater than this. The health and agricultural sectors stand out in particularly sharp relief. In agriculture non-EU nationals worked 13.5 hours less per week than other workers while in the health sector they worked nearly 16 hours more per week. The hours of work of non-EU nationals were around an hour a day more than for other workers in the wholesale and retail and hotels and restaurant sectors. Average hours of work over the five year period 1998-2002 were about the same for non-EU and other workers in the construction, transport, public administration and education sectors. The annual data show that the gap between the hours of work of non-EU and other workers has been partially closed since 1998, the first year for which it is available. In 1998 non-EU nationals worked nearly 6 hours more per week on average than other workers, 44.6 hours per week compared with 38.8 for all workers. The gap had narrowed to about 2 hours more per week by 2002. The decreases were particularly marked in the hotels and restaurant, health, and other services sectors.

The occupations in which non-EU nationals worked greater hours than other workers are shown in Table 4.8. The biggest difference was for professional workers. Non-EU professionals worked 10 hours more per week than Irish or other EU professionals. Non-EU nationals in personal and protective service occupations and in other occupations worked from 5 to 6 hours more per week than other workers. The hours of work for both non-EU and other workers were about the same in associate professional, clerical, craft and plant and machinery occupations.

**Table 4.8: Estimated Average Hours of Work Per Week (ILO) for Non-EU Nationals and All Workers by Economic Sector (NACE), 1998-2002**

NACE Sector	Non-EU Nationals	All Workers	Non-EU minus All Workers
Agriculture, forestry & fishing	40.6	54.1	-13.5
Other production industries	41.9	39.7	2.2
Construction	41.6	42.1	-0.5
Wholesale & retail	41.2	36.2	5.0
Hotels & restaurants	41.5	34.6	6.9
Transport, storage & communications	41.1	40.6	0.5
Financial & other business services	40.6	38.0	2.6
Public administration & defence	38.7	37.6	1.1
Education	28.0	28.9	-0.9
Health	49.5	33.8	15.7
Other services	37.1	33.8	3.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>41.6</b>	<b>38.1</b>	<b>3.5</b>

Source: Ruhs (2003), Table A9.

**Table 4.9: Estimated Average Hours of Work Per Week (ILO) for Non-EU Nationals and All Workers by Occupation, 1998-2002**

Sector and Occupation	Non-EU Nationals	All Workers	Non-EU minus All Workers
Managers & administrators	48.6	48.2	0.4
Professional	46.2	36.1	10.1
Assoc. professional & technical	39.0	36.7	2.3
Clerical & secretarial	36.5	34.7	1.8
Craft & related	41.5	41.1	0.4
Personal & protective service	39.3	33.2	6.1
Sales	35.0	32.3	2.7
Plant & machinery	39.8	40.3	-0.5
Other occupations	38.0	33.2	4.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>41.6</b>	<b>38.1</b>	<b>3.5</b>

Source: Ruhs (2003), Table A10.

Part of the reason for the longer hours that non-EU nationals work may be due to a higher concentration of them in particular sectors, such as health, or occupations, such as caring, where the hours of work are greater than the average. However, it is unlikely that differences in the sectoral or occupational composition of jobs in which non-EU nationals work could account for all of the excess hours worked by immigrants. Further research is needed on the reasons for the significant differences in hours between non-EU nationals and other workers. Ruhs (2003, p. 28) argues that work permit holders' lower reservation wages makes them attractive to profit maximising employers who can discriminate between workers of different nationalities "based on differences between the real wages prevailing in the workers' countries of origin." A greater willingness on the part of workers of different nationality to work long hours could also be an important part of the package of characteristics of such workers which increases their attractiveness to employers.

Now that the economic boom which stimulated inflows of migrants during the 1990s on a scale rarely seen in the past is over, some commentators are arguing that the slackening of demand for labour will lead to a decline in immigration. Ruhs (2003, p. 32) suggests this argument is mistaken for two reasons. The first is that the growth in the number of work permits issued has continued in recent years despite lower rates of economic growth and moderate increases in unemployment between the third quarter of 2001 and the third quarter of 2003. The second is that the international literature on migration, and incidentally the evidence from emigration from Ireland, show that once migration has got under way factors come into play which tend to perpetuate it. Kinship ties between migrants in the receiving country and their relatives and friends in the sending country result in networks which reduce the cost of migration and make it easier for new immigrants to find jobs, as they did in the case of Irish emigration. Employers may acquire a preference for foreign workers because of their willingness to accept lower wages and poorer working conditions. If this happens a slackening in the labour market may have very little effect on employers' demand for foreign workers. While these questions remain to be investigated Ruhs (2003, p. 34) believes that immigration into Ireland is likely to continue in the short-to medium-term unless there is a fundamental policy change which discourages foreign workers.

Research on the economic effects of immigration has begun to emerge within a relatively short period since Ireland became an immigration country. In view of the importance of immigration for labour market behaviour one of the first questions to be investigated was the effect of immigration on earnings inequality. Barrett, FitzGerald and Nolan (2000) show that there was a rising trend in earnings inequality between 1987 and 1994 which did not continue between 1994 and 1997. Increased inequality in the earlier period occurred due to a widening dispersion at the top, rather than at the bottom, of the earnings distribution as Table 4.10 shows. In the later period the reduction in inequality was due to a narrowing of differentials at the top of the distribution and no change at the bottom. A simple model of the Irish labour market and earnings functions for 1984, 1994 and 1997 are used to explain widening inequality in the earlier period by an increase in demand for skilled labour while narrowing inequality in the later period is explained by immigration which increased the supply of skilled labour more than the demand for such labour. Barrett *et al.* (2000) point out that decreasing earnings dispersion in Ireland due to the immigration of skilled labour contrasts with studies for a similar period for the United States which found that increasing earnings dispersion was due to immigration of unskilled labour.

**Table 4.10: Distribution of Hourly Earnings in 1987, 1994 and 1997, All Employees**

As Proportion of Median	1987	1994	1997
Bottom decile	0.47	0.47	0.48
Bottom quartile	0.73	0.68	0.69
Top quartile	1.37	1.50	1.53
Top decile	1.96	2.24	2.33
Top decile/bottom decile	4.16	4.77	4.81

Research by Barrett and O'Connell (2001) on the earnings of returning migrants relative to non-migrants provides an important piece of evidence on how immigration can be beneficial for individuals themselves and for the country as a whole. Using the hypothesis that migration is part of the process of forming human capital they argue that individuals may decide to work abroad to acquire or increase skills which may be in short supply domestically. Coming back some years later with higher level skills may mean that return migrants can command higher earnings than non-migrants. They test this hypothesis by focusing on third level graduates who were interviewed in 1992 and re-interviewed in 1998. The sample contained about 800 individuals, of which 650 were non-migrants and 150 were return migrants. Separate wage equations were estimated for men and women. These equations used a dummy variable to identify return migrants and included control variables for education, work experience and personal characteristics. The coefficient on the variable for return migrants showed that male returners earned a wage premium which was 10 per cent more than the wages of non-migrants. Further investigation of the reasons male return migrants gave for leaving Ireland showed that those who had left with an explicit intention of getting a job, finding a better job or undertaking further education rather than for "adventure" or "to see the world" earned 15 per cent more than non-migrants whereas there was no wage advantage for those leaving for adventure-related reasons.

#### 4.1.7 IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION ON EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

The trade statistics use descriptions of exports and imports by product and sector rather than nationality to classify the data. Consequently, there is no information available which would enable us to say what effect immigration has had on exports and imports beyond noting that the increase in the number of immigrants will probably have resulted in an increase in the volume of imports. It may also have led to some change in the composition of food imports. However, in view of the openness of the Irish economy to trade, any changes caused by increased immigration are unlikely to have had a major impact on exports and imports.

#### 4.1.8 CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND COMPETITIVENESS

Greater cultural diversity could improve Ireland's competitiveness as the inflow of immigrants from all over the World is likely to lead to trade with new countries and to an intensification of trade with countries with which Ireland already has trading relationships. Entrepreneurs in the immigrant community are likely to identify opportunities for mutually beneficial trade between Ireland and their own countries. Their language skills and knowledge of how business is done in Ireland and their own countries give them a comparative advantage which they can use to exploit opportunities for trade. Greater access to capital in Ireland, which they may not have had in their own countries, may also stimulate the development of new trading relationships. Unfortunately, no research has yet been done in Ireland on how increased immigration may help to improve competitiveness.

## 4.2 Civil Society and the Cultural Context

### 4.2.1 CIVIL SOCIETY

Research on the impact of immigration on Ireland's civil society is limited to work on the community and voluntary sector and a small amount of analysis of immigrant social networks. Substantial immigration is such a recent development that immigrants have only recently become involved in the activities and institutions of Irish everyday life.

#### *Immigrants and the community and voluntary sector in Ireland*

By its non-statutory nature the community and voluntary sector can be expected to have responded particularly quickly to the impact of immigration. The community and voluntary sector is potentially more flexible in a changed environment. According to the White Paper on supporting voluntary activity published in 2000<sup>4</sup> "the Community and Voluntary sector has a special role and potential to ...respond to pressing social needs quickly, directly and effectively" (Department of Education and Science, 2000). In addition Fanning (2001) comments on the particular capacity of the voluntary sector to respond to the needs of non-citizens: "Access to voluntary provision is not necessarily based upon rights, and therefore dis-aggregated from citizenship. The barriers which prevent state agencies from offering a service to non-citizens do not apply to voluntary organisations."

There is no consensus however on the remit of state versus voluntary service providers. Many commentators argue that voluntary organisations in Ireland address a void left by inadequate state services (Fanning, Loyal and Staunton: 2000, Feldman, Frese and Yousif, 2002; Fanning, 2001). The results of a survey by Faughan and O'Donovan (2002) of Community Welfare Service<sup>5</sup> (CWS) employees in 2001 showed a different perspective. Two-thirds of CWS personnel claimed there were gaps in voluntary sector service provision for refugees. There is a need for further research on what services are being provided for immigrants and asylum seekers by state and voluntary organisations, what services are required to take account of their special needs and what the costs and benefits of providing services are.

Faughnan and O'Donovan (2002) conducted a survey of community and voluntary organisations. Almost three-quarters of organisations surveyed were working with new minority communities.<sup>6</sup> Most however had only developed that function quite recently; at the time of the study two-thirds of organisations were working with non-nationals for three years or less and 40 per cent had been working in the area for less than one year.

Faughnan and O'Donovan found that 44 per cent of the groups they surveyed were working with asylum seekers or asylum seekers and refugees. Regarding the nature of the work undertaken with refugees and/or asylum seekers it was found that most was by way of offering a resource or service to the target group or by undertaking an advocacy/intermediary role. The advocacy/intermediary work is clearly significant in relation to asylum seekers in particular. This fact underlines the significance of Faughnan and O'Donovan's finding that a considerable number of organisations in the sector are experiencing frustration around the effectiveness of their work, particularly

<sup>4</sup> A White paper is a type of policy discussion document published by the Irish government. The publication of a White paper often follows a Green paper, on which the public is asked for submissions.

<sup>5</sup> Community Welfare Services include state schemes such as the Supplementary Welfare Allowance, medical cards etc. Personnel are generally based within the health boards.

<sup>6</sup> The researchers do not make a distinction between the types of new minority communities beyond distinguishing refugees and asylum seekers from immigrants in general and this distinction is made sporadically. It is not possible therefore to specifically identify non-EU nationals though it can be assumed that the majority of non-national users of these services would originate from outside the EEA.

partnership companies.<sup>7</sup> The researchers found that only 36 per cent of organisations could confidently assert that their work with non-nationals is effective: “Of all the groupings in the study, service providing organisations working exclusively with new minority communities were most likely to assess their work as effective while Partnership Companies were the least likely. Less than one-fifth of the Partnership Companies assessed their work as effective in this field.”

Organisations were questioned on what they considered to be the main challenges in relation to their work with non-nationals. The majority named availability of resources (28 per cent), public attitudes including racism (13 per cent) and government policies such as dispersal and direct provision (13 per cent) see Section 5.1.

Organisations were asked by Faughnan and O’Donovan to identify the additional resources they considered necessary in order to work more effectively. Only 4 per cent of respondents identify the employment of refugees and/or asylum seekers as a requirement for the future. At the time of the survey only 10 per cent of the organisations employed asylum seekers/refugees as staff members. Just over a quarter of the organisations surveyed involved refugees and asylum seekers as committee members. They also worked as volunteers in a small number of organisations. As Faughnan and O’Donovan observe this situation is not ideal. In its integration policy document the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform has underlined the importance of direct involvement of refugees, in particular “The public service and the voluntary sector must be at the forefront in terms of creating equal opportunities and recruiting a diverse workforce” (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, 2000).

Refugees and asylum seekers should also be involved in development initiatives and research projects. Feldman, Frese and Yousif (2002) suggest that even where they are involved in these activities a small number of easily accessible immigrants are often asked to participate to lend them credibility. Efforts should, therefore, be made to attract representatives from as wide a range of people as possible.

### ***Immigrant Social Networks in Ireland***

Research into the degree to which immigrants are impacting on social networks in Ireland is very limited. There has been some work completed in basic contacts between non-nationals and Irish people. Research commissioned by the state funded Know Racism campaign shows that 62 per cent of Irish respondents said they had no experience of minority groups<sup>8</sup> (Millward Brown IMS, 2004). Older rural respondents were more likely to answer in the negative. Begley, Garavan, Condon, Kelly, Holland and Staines (1999, p. 68) found significant isolation among asylum seekers and persons granted leave to remain. Only 23 per cent said they had weekly contact with Irish people while 29 per cent of respondents claimed to have no regular social outlet and 33 per cent visited friends in their homes. This suggests that minorities are operating in separate social networks.

Only a very small number of research studies have specifically investigated immigrant communities in Ireland. The focus of these has been on African communities (Ugba, 2004; Mutwarasibo and Smith, 2000; Dibelius, 2001). More broadly based research would be interesting at two levels: in order to

<sup>7</sup> There are 38 area-based Partnerships in Ireland, who work to promote social inclusion through the development of disadvantaged areas and communities. The Partnerships are funded via the National Development Plan through the Department of Tourism, Sport and Recreation, Area Development Management and other sources.

<sup>8</sup> The meaning of ‘minority groups’ is not defined but can be assumed to include both immigrants and Travellers.

understand the social situation of immigrants within Ireland and to understand the role social networks in the destination country play in making the decision to migrate. As Dibelius comments immigrants have left their support network behind and the emergence of a new network in the destination country is indicative of quality of life. Mutwarasibo and Smith found that Africans in Ireland do not experience a sense of community 'belonging' in the African sense i.e. a community based on kinship and shared mutual responsibility for each other. There does, however, appear to be an effective African network in place which provides some support and solidarity for immigrants. Dibelius conducted in depth interviews with just nine refugee single mothers of African descent. A number of practical barriers to the formation of networks were identified. These included finances, transport, childcare a lack of information and poor English skills. Dibelius' research suggests, however, that the women do locate each other and maintain contact in Ireland.

#### 4.2.2 IMMIGRANTS AND THE CULTURAL CONTEXT

##### *Refugees and asylum seekers*

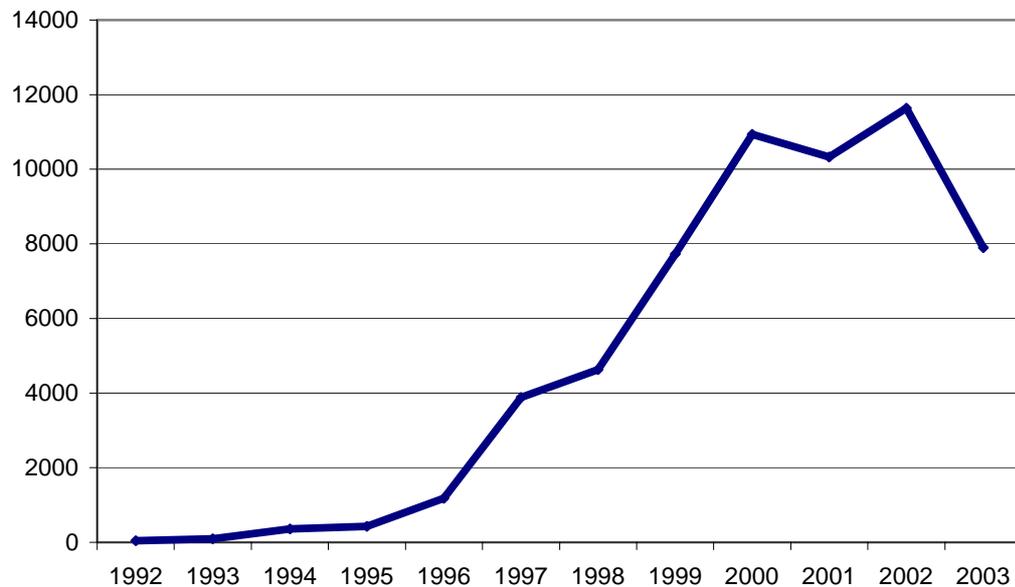
Consideration of the effect of immigration in its cultural context should have regard to the scale of the inflows of refugees and asylum seekers, the other component of the population inflows experienced over the last decade or so. Table 4.11 and Figure 4.2 provide statistics on the number of applications for asylum during the period 1992 to 2003. In 1992 there were less than 50 applications from asylum seekers. Consequently there was very little public discussion at this time of issues relating to refugees and asylum seekers. Public concern began to emerge towards the end of the 1990s as the scale of applications for asylum began to build up from a very low base to about 4,000 applications in 1997 and to around 8,000 by the end of the decade. The increase in the number of applications continued into the new century and reached a peak of 11,600 in 2002. In line with a general fall in asylum applications in industrialised countries the number of applications in Ireland fell by almost a third to around 8,000 in 2003 (UNHCR, 2003). In addition the Immigration Act 2003 included a number of provisions designed to make the lodging of unfounded applications more difficult. The rapid build up in the number of applications for asylum necessitated the recruitment of additional staff. The Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform announced in October 2000 that the Government had approved the recruitment of 370 additional staff to deal with asylum cases.<sup>9</sup> Processing these cases required significant public expenditure. In the year in which the number of applications peaked, 2002, public expenditure on the provision of services for asylum seekers amounted to about €340 million.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Parliamentary Question No. 129, 5th October, 2000.

<sup>10</sup> Parliamentary Question No. 17, 29th January, 2004.

**Table 4.11: Asylum Seekers 1993-2003**

Year	Number of Applications
1992	39
1993	91
1994	362
1995	424
1996	1,179
1997	3,883
1998	4,626
1999	7,724
2000	10,938
2001	10,325
2002	11,634
2003	7,900
Total 1993-2003	59,086

**Figure 4.2: Number of Applications for Asylum, 1992-2003 (000s)**

### *Immigration, citizenship and culture*

Complex debate is ongoing around the changing perceptions of Irish identity and culture, which have been prompted by increased immigration (Burke, 2003; Lentin, 2000; Fanning, 2001; Ugba, 2004; Ingram, 2003a, b; MacLachlan: 2000). Central to this discourse is the concept of citizenship. Recent policy developments around the criteria for acquiring Irish citizenship are indicative of how current the discussion on the relationship between Irish culture and immigration is at present.

Until recently Ireland was the only country in the EU to grant citizenship on the principle of *jus soli* (place of birth) alone. In practice citizenship has been granted to all Irish-born since the inception of the state. As a result of the Belfast Agreement, the Constitution was amended by way of a referendum to give a guarantee of citizenship to all persons born on the island of Ireland. This involved deleting the Republic's territorial claim to Northern Ireland and replacing it with the broader conceptualisation of the Irish nation. Until

recently, therefore, the acquisition of citizenship was placed beyond the remit of the legislature.

Concerns that the *jus soli* system was attracting people to travel to Ireland in order to gain Irish citizenship for their children led the government to hold a referendum on the question of a Constitutional amendment. The amendment was passed by a large majority in June 2004. As a result the power of the Oireachtas (parliament) to legislate on the acquisition of citizenship is reinstated. Now only children who are born in Ireland before 24<sup>th</sup> June 2004 or children born after that date who have an Irish parent have a constitutional entitlement to Irish citizenship. Other Irish born children are dependent on legislation passed by the Oireachtas for that entitlement. (However, the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Acts have yet to be amended therefore these latter children continue to enjoy entitlement to citizenship). The fact that the referendum has effected such changes to the Constitution may have implications for our understanding of Irish identity and culture. As Ingram (2003a) comments “Although it [citizenship] is a legal status it also contains an implicit normative element – an ideal of what citizenship should be as an institution, an internal standard against which we measure existing practice.”

Much of the research on changing Irish culture addresses the issue of racism. The general perception of pre-1996 Ireland is of a culturally homogenous society characterised by emigration.<sup>11</sup> Researchers agree however that in recent years Irish society has become more obviously diverse. National culture has become less homogenous and national identity has become pluralised (Ingram, 2003; Alibhai-Brown, 2003). Increased awareness of diversity has been accompanied by increasingly visible racism. McVeigh and Lentin argue that racism against asylum seekers and refugees has “...developed out of older manifestations of Irish racism such as anti-Semitism, and Traveller racism and racism against Black-Irish people.” McVeigh and Lentin, (2002) argue that Ireland has altered markedly in the last decade as: “New migrants and refugees mean that Ireland is now definitely multi-ethnic, multi-faith and multi-cultural. It is also sadly multi racist. It is also more promisingly, increasingly intercultural and anti racist. New ethnic interfaces are creating their own exciting dynamic in new varieties of Irishness.”

In a survey of 1,200 Irish adults commissioned by the Know Racism campaign it was found that 18 per cent of respondents had personally witnessed a racist incident. When asked if Ireland was a racist society 48 per cent agreed. Urban, particularly Dublin, dwellers were most likely to agree (see Milward Brown IMS, 2004). According to an Amnesty International press release in 2004, 56 per cent of Irish people believe that racism is a serious problem in the country. This finding is supported by the results of an earlier survey commissioned by Amnesty International in which it was found that 78 per cent of black and ethnic minority respondents had experienced racism (see Loyal and Mulcahy, 2001).

Increased awareness of racism has resulted in the establishment of the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism in 1998. Legislation such as the Equal Status Act, 2000 the Employment Equality Act 1998 and the Equality Act, 2004 provided important protections for immigrants in the labour market and in access to goods and services and facilities. The Equality Authority was established in 1999 under the Employment Equality Act 1998 to enforce the equality legislation.<sup>12</sup> Lentin

<sup>11</sup> However, Lentin (2000) and McVeigh and Lentin (2002) argue that this assessment ignores a number of culturally distinct groups such as Travellers and Jews who have long been a part of Irish society. In addition Lentin (2000) argues that historical sectarianism in Ireland precludes monoculturalism since “...religion is one of the cultural characteristics of an ethnic group.”

<sup>12</sup> The Equality Authority replaced the Employment Equality Agency, which was established under the Employment Equality Act 1977. It has a much expanded range of functions.

(2000) observes that anti-racism campaigns and activities in Ireland are orchestrated and controlled by the Irish population in partnership with the state, for example through the Know Racism campaign. It is argued that there is a need for the 'racialised' minority groups to become the dominant partners in the anti racism process. Robinson (2003) also stresses the importance of "...accurate portrayals of the reality of diversity in Ireland today" emanating from immigrants themselves. Such an approach, it is claimed, counteracts the "tendency to homogenise the *other*, the tendency that sees *us* as individuals and *them* as a homogenous and terrifying mass."

### ***Immigration and food, sports, fashion, arts***

There has been no research to date on the impact of immigration on Irish food, sport, fashion or the arts.

### ***Immigration and the media***

Research into the relationship between the media and immigration in Ireland has tended to focus on the negative impact the media has had on immigrants and on the indigenous population's perception of immigrants rather than on immigrants' effect on the media. Although increased immigration into Ireland has clearly had an impact on the national media there has been no research study to date looking at the issue from that particular perspective. It should also be noted that the majority of research to date has been conducted on print media, apparently because print journalists are more disposed to commenting on their profession.

*Impact of Immigration on the Indigenous Media:* Before 1996 immigration into Ireland was limited and the media tended to be supportive of non-nationals. In 1992 two hundred Bosnian refugees came to Ireland. Journalists generally adopted a measured and responsible approach to their arrival. At a conference organised by the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) and the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) it was noted that "...the overall media response was largely positive, attempting to demystify the origins of this population and attempting to create a stronger political understanding of their situation" (1998, quoted in ERCOMER, 2002).

McGee (2003) argues that as immigration flows began to increase the media played an important role in highlighting inadequacies in the Irish administrative structures. In the absence of a clear policy there were some apparently arbitrary decisions made to detain people, to refuse asylum and in some cases to prevent people from making asylum applications. Long queues outside the asylum application centre were well publicised. The media were quick to draw comparisons between the treatment of immigrants to Ireland and the experience of the Irish diaspora abroad. Researchers agree that media exposure of state shortcomings hastened the formation of immigration and asylum policy in Ireland, most notably in the form of the Refugee Act, 1996 (McGee, 2003; Haughey, 2001).

It was when the numbers of immigrants, and in particular the number of asylum seekers, began to grow around 1996 that sections of the media in Ireland started to develop a new xenophobic quality. This is perhaps the most thoroughly documented 'impact' of immigration on Irish media (Mc Gee, 2003; Haughey, 2001; ERCOMER, 2002; Ugba, 2002; Fanning, 2002). Irresponsible journalism was widespread. Headlines described 'floods' of 'bogus asylum seekers', 'scroungers' and 'economic migrants'. The EU-wide study conducted for the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (ERCOMER, 2002), found that: "A common feature for all countries facing new immigration is the stereotypical language used, in particular the metaphors comparing arrivals of asylum seekers to a natural disaster and military invasions in headlines, to represent immigration as a major

threat. This was a common trend registered in Austria, Italy, Ireland, Finland, Sweden and Spain.”

McGee (2003) suggests that this new xenophobic lexicon in Ireland was influenced by the UK tabloid press. A number of studies, including the ERCOMER report, drew attention to a less than rigorous attitude towards sources that emerged in the reporting of immigration into Ireland after 1996. This is particularly a feature of tabloid newspapers and late night radio talk shows. In the 2002 Ireland report ECRI (2002) comments on radio phone in shows as “...a platform for airing prejudices and racist views, which apparently are not sufficiently countered by the programme presenters.”

In his 1999 study of racism in Irish media Pollack (1999) is particularly critical of the Independent Newspaper Group in this regard.<sup>13</sup> The security correspondent of *The Irish Independent* was responsible for coverage of asylum seeking issues and Pollack argues that the perspective of the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform tended to be over represented.

It is apparent therefore that increased immigration resulted in the emergence of a new racist dimension to reporting in Ireland. In some sections of the media this approach was fostered in order to appeal to a perceived popular fear regarding non-nationals. The ultimate aim is obviously to increase market share. Haughey (2001) draws attention to the danger of market forces being allowed to dictate news coverage, in particular “...the seemingly unrestrainable drive to satisfy the lowest common denominator in terms of populist sensationalism.” She quotes Seamus Dooley, Irish organiser of the NUJ:

The NUJ is firmly opposed to the treatment of news and current affairs as just another marketable product which can be bent and shaped to fit the demands of a consumer society. Indeed if there is a responsibility on individual journalists to educate themselves on the handling of race related stories, there is an even greater responsibility on media owners to resist the temptations of market share to sensationalise.

Certain sections of the media have sought some balance in the way they report immigration. McGee (2003) notes that “...influx stories on the news pages have often been balanced by countervailing context stories on the analysis and opinion pages.” He suggests that a similar approach is taken by RTE in radio and television coverage. In a study of the coverage of immigration in *The Irish Times* during 2001 Mac Éinrí (2001b) found that relatively few immigration stories occupied the front pages and those that did tended to be concerned with asylum seekers. Mac Éinrí also makes the point that coverage was disproportionately concerned with asylum seekers despite the much higher numbers of labour immigrants in the country. However, this could be expected in view of the greater newsworthiness of asylum stories.

Increased immigration has also impacted on journalism in Ireland in a number of positive ways. The media have begun to interrogate its role and responsibilities in this regard. For example an industry response against racism has been included in the journalist's code of practice. The NUJ Code of Conduct cautions journalists against mentioning a person's race, colour or creed unless the information is “strictly relevant” (Haughey, 2001).

A number of research studies have drawn attention to the limited direct impact immigrants have had on media reports in terms of direct input and quotations. The increased rates of immigration led to sections of the media depicting non-nationals as a de-humanised and homogenous mass in which the individual voice of the immigrant was absent. Nevertheless, McGee notes that

<sup>13</sup> The Independent News and Media Group dominates the Irish newspaper market. The group owns the following national newspapers: *The Irish Independent*; *Evening Herald*; *Sunday Independent* and *Sunday World*. The group also has a partial share in the *Irish Daily Star*, *Irish Daily Star Sunday* and *Sunday Tribune*.

where individual immigrants are given an opportunity to impact directly on a media report they are usually portrayed sympathetically, for example as the victim of racist abuse (McGee, 2003).

*Impact in the form of immigrant media.* There has been limited research conducted on the emergence of media from the immigrant community, reflecting the fact that developments in this area are recent. Ugba (2002) states that often the motivation behind the emergence of ethnic minority media is to redress the sensationalism in mainstream media described above. Ugba was one of the founders of *Metro Eireann* a monthly multi-cultural newspaper launched in April 2000. *Metro Eireann* began as a free news-sheet and now has a cover price and website.<sup>14</sup> Ugba (2002) discusses the factors which limit the capacity of immigrants to impact directly on the Irish national media. There are obvious practical difficulties particularly a lack of dedicated premises. He suggests that many immigrants turn to internet publishing as a way to communicate with other migrants in Ireland and in their country of origin.

Some parts of the media have taken positive steps to cater for minority interests. Early in 2001, *The Irish Times*, a daily national broadsheet newspaper, added racial affairs to the responsibilities of its Social Affairs Correspondent to create the post of Racial and Social Affairs Correspondent. In the same year RTE began broadcasting 'Mono', a news magazine programme aimed at reporting and promoting cultural diversity. Significantly, the two presenters of this programme were members of ethnic minority groups (Ugba, 2002). RTE has continued to develop cultural diversity initiatives. In partnership with *Metro Eireann* RTE runs the MAMA Awards (Metro Éireann Media and Multicultural Awards). These are awards for outstanding contributions of media individuals and groups who promote cultural diversity and create cross-cultural understanding and co-operation in Ireland.

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### 4.3 The Political Context

The most recent local and European elections were held in June 2004. All resident non-nationals may vote in local elections in Ireland (including those on work permits or visas, asylum seekers and students). Resident EU citizens may also vote in European elections. Due to the fact that up to the mid-1990s immigration flows and the size of the non-national community in Ireland were traditionally small, the political involvement of non-nationals was limited. Research commissioned by Amnesty International on the views of black and ethnic minorities (including Irish persons and Travellers) showed that 60 per cent stated that local political representatives do not represent them or their community (see Loyal and Mulcahy, 2001). The situation has changed in recent years. The last census showed that there were over 220,000 non-Irish citizens usually resident in Ireland in 2002. Table A and B in Appendix 1 illustrate the regional distribution of non-nationals in Ireland. Nevertheless, political parties actively canvassed this substantial non-national vote ahead of the June 2004 elections.

There has been little research on political involvement of resident non-nationals in Ireland to date. Our sources of information are, therefore, limited to press media and relevant government departments.

*Non-national electorate:* Local elections<sup>15</sup> in Ireland take place every five years in the month of June. The City and County Councils compile a register of

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.metroeireann.com/>.

<sup>15</sup> The local government structure in Ireland comprises 29 county councils, five city councils, five borough councils and 75 town councils. Local government is responsible for a variety of services including housing, water supply, local development incentives and controls, environmental protection, recreation and amenities. Recent legislative changes have meant that public representatives, who hold a seat in the national parliament, may no longer run for election to local government. The 2004 elections are the first since this change, which means that a number of new seats were considered 'available' to contest. (Integrating Ireland, 2004).

electors every year. In order to be included in the register a person has to provide proof of identity. This has been a controversial issue due to the fact that many non-nationals, particularly refugees and asylum seekers, hold no formal identification. On registering with ORAC, an asylum seeker is given a Temporary Residence Card (TRC). If a non-national registers with the Garda National Immigration Bureau (GNIB) they receive a GNIB card. Asylum seekers are required to submit all other forms of identification to the authorities to support their asylum claim. The fact that the GNIB cards state "this is not an ID" has led to some non-nationals being refused permission to register as an elector. Following representations on the issue by the Irish Refugee Council, Integrating Ireland and other groups the Department of the Environment stated in April 2004 that the Garda National Immigration Bureau cards are acceptable forms of ID for the purposes of registering as an elector. NGOs working in the sector criticised the delay in making this announcement and expressed disappointment at the lack of a public awareness campaign to inform non-nationals of the policy change ahead of the deadline for registering to vote.<sup>16</sup>

It is not known exactly how many non-nationals registered to vote in the local election. Newspaper reports suggest that increased numbers of non-nationals applied in the final weeks.<sup>17</sup> The electoral register contains the following breakdown of nationality: Irish, British, One of other 23 EU States and Non-EU. Research into the level of non-national registration in the forthcoming elections is therefore possible but has not been conducted to date.

*Non-nationals contesting local elections:* Non-nationals are also entitled to stand for local government office in Ireland. An individual who wishes to contest a local election must submit a nomination form. This form does not require the person to indicate their nationality. For the purposes of research it would be possible to use the breakdown included in the electoral register to identify to which category a candidate belongs (assuming they also registered to vote). Such research has not yet been undertaken in Ireland. Press reports indicate that 19 non-national candidates contested the local elections. Independent candidates (not aligned to a political party) included six Nigerians. The Green Party ran eleven foreign born candidates: three from the US, six from the UK, one from Tanzania, and one from the Cayman Islands. The Labour Party fielded two foreign candidates from Colombia and Nigeria.<sup>18</sup> Two Nigerian independent candidates were elected to Portlaoise and Ennis Town Councils.

*Relevant Policy:* An Anti-Racism Protocol was endorsed by all the political parties in Ireland and was launched in June 2001 following an initiative of the Irish National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI). The June 2004 local elections were the second nation wide elections since then (a general election was held in 2002). The Protocol commits its signatories to ensuring that election campaigns are conducted in such a way that they do not incite hatred or prejudice on the grounds of 'race', colour, nationality or ethnic or national origins, religious belief or membership of the Traveller Community.

The authors of one of the few research studies conducted in the area of political participation of non-nationals welcome the endorsement of the protocol. They interpret it as an important first step in the promotion of a positive approach to ethnic diversity on the part of political parties (Fanning, Mutwarasibo and Chadamoyo, 2003). Their survey of six of the main political parties in Ireland<sup>19</sup> found an absence of measures aimed at encouraging immigrants and ethnic minorities to become involved in Irish politics.

<sup>16</sup> *The Irish Times*, May 1st 2004.

<sup>17</sup> *The Irish Times*, June 2nd 2004.

<sup>18</sup> *The Irish Times*, June 2nd 2004.

<sup>19</sup> Fianna Fail, Progressive Democrats, Labour, Fine Gael, Green Party and Sinn Fein.

# 5. FACTORS IMPACTING ON IMMIGRANTS: PROVISION OF SUPPORT AND RESTRICTIONS

In general Irish social welfare legislation does not distinguish between nationals and legally resident non-nationals. The habitual residency test introduced shortly before the accession of the Central and Eastern European states in May 2004 is the main difference in this regard.<sup>20</sup> Much of the research into factors affecting the impact of immigrants on Irish society emanates from non-governmental organisations. Where information is available from the relevant state authorities it is taken into account in this report.

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## 5.1 Accommodation

Accommodation and welfare supports offered to asylum seekers are very specific (see below). The access of other non-EU nationals to accommodation support is dependent on their economic status. They are therefore assessed in much the same way as Irish citizens.

*Asylum seekers, direct provision and dispersal:* Since early 2000 almost 35,300 asylum seekers have been accommodated within the direct provision and dispersal systems. The systems were introduced in response to a shortage of accommodation in Dublin and to concerns that since Britain has introduced direct provision Ireland's welfare system could act as a 'pull' factor to asylum seekers.<sup>21</sup> Under the system of direct provision asylum seekers have all their accommodation costs paid by the state. They are provided with food and a weekly payment of €19.10 per adult and €9.60 per child per week. Asylum seekers are initially accommodated in a short-stay reception centre in the Dublin area for a period of assessment. They are then 'dispersed' to accommodation at a regional centre. The Reception and Integration Agency (RIA) is the body responsible for co-ordinating statutory and non-statutory supports for asylum seekers. The RIA currently has a portfolio of 73 centres comprising three reception centres, eight self-catering centres and sixty-two accommodation centres (Reception and Integration Agency, 2004). Asylum seekers may live in the community only in exceptional cases.

The introduction of the direct provision and dispersal systems generated a large amount of research mainly from NGOs working with asylum seekers. Researchers draw attention to the enforced boredom associated with not being

<sup>20</sup> A habitual residency test has recently been introduced in the Social Welfare Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 2004 which restricts access to social welfare. The basic requirement for a person to be deemed 'habitually resident' is to have been resident in Ireland or the UK for a continuous period of two years before making an application for social welfare.

<sup>21</sup> *The Irish Times*, 13th December 1999.

able to cook coupled with insufficient funds to socialise. A number of studies conclude that the direct provision system may contribute to anxiety and depression among asylum seekers (Irish Refugee Council, 2001; FLAC, 2003; Fanning, Loyal and Staunton, 2000; North Eastern Health Board, 2004). The RIA works with voluntary groups to provide support such as English and computers classes while asylum seekers await a decision on their case. Fanning, Veale and O'Connor (2001) argued that the allowance is insufficient especially in regard to the needs of young children. The Reception and Integration Agency however make the point that the proprietors of accommodation centres are required to have reasonable regard to the needs of infant children. It is also maintained that the weekly allowances paid to asylum seekers in full board accommodation in Ireland compares favourably in an EU context. In relation to dispersal researchers draw attention to problems with access to appropriate services for asylum seekers housed outside Dublin. The RIA has attempted to address these problems by developing regional centres for the delivery of services on site to asylum seekers by the various agencies (including health boards, Refugee Legal Service,<sup>22</sup> Vocational Educational Committee, GPs, psychologists etc.)

*Non-nationals and social housing:* Non-nationals (other than asylum seekers) are entitled to apply for state owned social housing. There were almost 2,700 such non-EU nationals on local authority housing waiting lists in 2002 (730 applicants with refugee status, 1,800 with permission to stay and 135 applicants with work permits). However, it is claimed that such waiting lists may understate the housing needs of non-nationals due to the fact that some may not be fully aware of their entitlements (Kenna and MacNeela, 2004).

*Non-EU nationals and the private rented sector.* While there is no national survey of the housing tenure status of non-EU nationals, local surveys suggest that their housing tenure status is the opposite of the Irish population in that the overwhelming majority of the specific groups surveyed live in private rented accommodation.<sup>23</sup> (See Portlaoise Ethnic Minority Support Group, 2004). Research has shown that non-EU nationals searching for accommodation may face quite a serious problem with racism (Begley *et al.*, 1999; Kenna and MacNeela, 2004; Focus Ireland and Clann Housing, 2002). The indications are that once accommodation is secured relations between tenant and landlord are good (Ugba, 2004).

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## 5.2 Health

Provided that non-nationals qualify for a medical card issued by a local health board they are entitled to free medical care. Medical cards are issued to all persons who fulfil a means test undertaken by a CWO and are *ordinarily resident*<sup>24</sup> in Ireland. If a person does not qualify for a medical card they can access the public health care system for a nominal fee. Generally the income of migrant workers exceeds the test limit (Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2003b). All women in Ireland are entitled to maternity care, even if they do not hold a medical card. The Department of Health and Children introduced an infectious diseases screening and vaccination programme for asylum seekers in 1999. The programme is voluntary and screens for TB and hepatitis B for all and HIV for those who, by reason of high prevalence rates in their country of origin, are at increased risk.

<sup>22</sup> The state funded Refugee Legal Service provides independent legal assistance to applicants at all stages of the asylum procedure. The service is means-tested.

<sup>23</sup> Refugees and other persons with leave to remain may receive a rent supplement from the state to help them live in the private rented sector if their income falls below a certain level. Persons in full time employment are excluded from this allowance.

<sup>24</sup> A non-national is regarded as ordinarily resident in Ireland if their intention is to remain in Ireland for a minimum of one year. Asylum seekers may not be considered ordinarily resident therefore local GPs will apply for a medical card on their behalf.

There have been a number of research studies conducted in Ireland which point to the potential vulnerability of immigrants to poor mental health. (Begley *et al.*, 1999; Foley, Sheahan and Cahill, 2002) Again the focus is on asylum seekers and refugees who may suffer from depression and adjustment problems. Asylum seekers are not allowed to enter the labour market and some researchers argue that this may contribute to depression. (Fanning, Loyal and Staunton, 2000).<sup>25</sup> All medical card holders may seek mental health support through their GP. Sansani (2003) is generally critical of dedicated state supports to torture survivors in Ireland but welcomes the establishment of the first specialised centre in 2001. The Reception and Integration Agency are engaged in encouraging the development of psychological support services for asylum seekers in each Health Board region.

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### 5.3 Education

The educational entitlements of a range of non-EU nationals are summarised in Appendix 2. All children in Ireland are entitled to free primary and post primary education and are required to stay in school until they are at least 15 years old. Most research into the educational profile and needs of non-nationals in Ireland tends to be concentrated on asylum seekers, and the focus lies on language skills. In 1999 the Refugee Language Support Unit (RLSU) was established to ensure that all refugees were offered appropriate English language training. The RLSU has since become Integrate Ireland Language and Training (IILT) and its remit has been broadened to include adult asylum seekers who now have free access to adult literacy and English language classes.<sup>26</sup>

A number of research studies make reference to the difficult problem of non-recognition of qualifications (Fanning *et al.*, 2000; Conroy and Brennan, 2003; and O'Brien, 2004). Establishing the comparability of qualifications in different countries is a complex and time consuming task which falls under the remit of the National Qualifications Authority of Ireland. Many non-nationals students come to Ireland specifically to study English as a Foreign Language (EFL). During 2003 Fáilte Ireland estimate that approximately 6,000 students from outside 'Continental Europe' came to study English as a foreign language in Ireland.<sup>27</sup> When students from Continental Europe are included the figure rises to 126,000.

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### 5.4 Irish Immigration Law and Policy

Until recently the basic legislation governing the entry and residence of non-nationals in Ireland was the Aliens Act, 1935 and the Aliens Order, 1946 as amended. The government gave a commitment to new immigration and residency legislation under the *Programme for Government, 2002*; the public consultation stage of which has been published. As part of the process the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) was commissioned to compile an overview of international immigration legislation and practice (IOM, 2002).

*Asylum seekers and refugees:* The first major piece of legislation designed to create a structure for processing asylum applications was the Refugee Act,

<sup>25</sup> The government has stressed that asylum seekers only have temporary permission to remain in the state. It is argued that a right to work would undermine efforts to produce speedier decisions could act as a 'pull' factor. Parliamentary Question No. 501, 1st July 2003, No. 154, 16th October 2003.

<sup>26</sup> Linguistic diversity among asylum seekers can be immense. In a survey of over 760 asylum seekers Ward (2003) recorded 63 mother tongues. Romanian was the largest minority linguistic group with almost 28 per cent of respondents speaking it as a first language.

<sup>27</sup> Fáilte Ireland: Survey of Overseas Travellers. Over 16s only are questioned. There have been concerns voiced about non-EU nationals coming to Ireland to work after enrolling in educational courses in order to gain entry to the state. Overseas students in Ireland may work for 20 hours per week without a work permit and more during vacation periods.

1996. This Act (as amended<sup>28</sup>) is the law governing the processing of applications for refugee status in Ireland. The Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform commissioned a study in 1999 comparing the, then new, Irish legislation to refugee legislation in Europe (Egan and Costello, 1999). A number of the recommendations have influenced future legislative developments. The Immigration Act, 2003 contained significant amendments to the 1996 Refugee Act. The amendments are designed to speed up the processing of asylum applications.<sup>29</sup> See Appendix 3 for a brief outline of the basic Irish asylum procedure.

Particular parts of the process have attracted substantial research and commentary. Almirall and Lawton (2001) and Kenny (2003) investigated the first instance and appeal stage respectively. Mullally (2001; 2002; 2003) warns of the increased risk of *refoulement*<sup>30</sup> inherent in accelerated procedures. The provisions of the Illegal Immigrants (Trafficking) Act 2000 have generated much commentary as some researchers believe the asylum seeker's access to the court has been infringed upon by the provisions of the Act.<sup>31</sup> The Constitutionality of the 2000 Act has been upheld by the Supreme Court.

*Labour migration:* The main way to enter Ireland to work is with a work permit. The Irish work permit system is employer based and the employer must apply for a permit before an individual enters the state. The application must relate to a specific job and individual. In addition the Department of Enterprise Trade and Employment introduced a work visa/authorisation scheme in 2000 to facilitate the entry of skilled workers in various specific skills areas, notably the medical sector. A variety of researchers and interest groups have made calls for a more strategic, long-term immigration policy for the labour market in Ireland (National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism: 2002; Mac Éinrí: 2001a; Immigrant Council of Ireland: 2003a; Kelly: 2004; Mac Éinrí and Walley: 2003; Irish Human Rights Commission and National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism: 2004). It is argued that formal family reunification rights should be incorporated in such a policy. However, Ireland and the UK have opted out of the EU Council Directive on the right to family reunification.

<sup>28</sup> The Refugee Act, 1996 has been amended by the Immigration Act, 1999 and 2003 and the Illegal Immigrants (Trafficking) Act, 2000.

<sup>29</sup> Safe countries of origin have been designated in the 2003 Act. An increased duty to cooperate has been placed on asylum seekers. Provisions were also included to give effect to the Dublin II regulation (which succeeds the Dublin Convention as the instrument which provides the legal basis for determining which EU member state is responsible for examining an asylum application).

<sup>30</sup> The principle of non-refoulement is one fundamental to refugee protection whereby a person will not be returned to a place where their life or liberty may be threatened.

<sup>31</sup> The 2000 Act introduced a number of measures relating to judicial review in asylum/immigration cases. Section 5 of the Act mandates that certain key decisions or actions taken in the asylum and deportation process may only be appealed to the High Court by way of judicial review. An application for judicial review of an asylum/immigration decision must be brought within 14 days – a shorter time than is usually the case. The 2000 Act also provides that a decision of the High Court may not be appealed to the Supreme Court except in certain exceptional cases.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

Much of the research into factors affecting the impact of immigrants on Irish society emanates from non-governmental organisations and immigrants rights groups. Some of these organisations exist to lobby for change and their reports are often critical of the provision of state supports for immigrants. Similarly most research and commentary on the legal factors affecting immigrants and asylum seekers often has the objective of instigating change. Consequently it tends to focus on the negative impact of the legislation on some immigrants and asylum seekers. The state authorities generally do not publish research on the legislation or programmes they administer and this inhibits the formation of a balanced view by independent observers of the strengths and weaknesses of support programmes. Where published and other information is available from the relevant public authorities it has been taken into account in this report. Where it is not available, we have tried to present different views fairly and to point out the need for programme administrators and policy makers to make public the reasons for their decisions and for the delays in processing claims for asylum.

Our review of the impact of immigration on Irish society has identified a number of areas where further research could make an important contribution to the development of immigration policy. Among the most important of these areas are the following:

*Migration and Work Permits:* Emigration has been replaced by immigration. Acceptance of the fact that immigration is likely to continue in the future, and that it is necessary if Ireland is to avoid shortages in certain occupations, would create a better climate for the development of a more managed immigration policy geared to the needs of the economy and society. Such a policy would be primarily geared to meeting the long-term needs of the labour market. Comparative research on how points based, family reunification and other systems for selecting immigrants operate in other countries could make a useful contribution to the development of a managed immigration policy for Ireland.

*Social Networks:* Non-nationals resident in Ireland appear to be somewhat isolated from the local communities in which they are living. Research is however limited to a small number of studies principally on African communities in Ireland. Research encompassing a broader range of immigrant groups would be necessary to understand the social situation of immigrants and the role which their social networks, in the source and destination countries, play in influencing migration decisions.

*Politics:* The primary source of information on the effect of immigration on the political arena in Ireland is the media as the main political parties have not yet begun to investigate their non-national membership. A comprehensive picture of the involvement of immigrants and asylum seekers in politics in Ireland requires detailed research on the representation of non-nationals in the Electoral Register, their participation in political parties, voting intentions and experiences in trying to get elected at local and national levels.

*Provision of Supports for Immigrants:* The balance of government support for asylum seekers has changed from cash payments to direct provision of accommodation and food, and a means tested weekly financial payment.

Community Welfare Officers, NGOs and researchers identify some weaknesses in the direct provision scheme. Further research is needed to establish if asylum seekers should receive support within the main social welfare system, as some researchers recommend, and to determine what changes to social welfare legislation would be required to do this. Research is needed on immigrants' use of state services and on how much it costs to provide them. For example, no figures have been produced at national level on immigrants' use of maternity and other health services despite the importance of this issue in the recent referendum on citizenship. So far there has been no research into the language skills of work permit holders. A number of surveys have suggested that poor language skills are a barrier to employment of non-nationals. Further research on this issue could make a useful contribution to the development of policies for integrating immigrants into Irish society.

In addition to these specific research gaps there are three general points that are worth making. First, much of the research on immigration in Ireland is focused on asylum seekers rather than on migrant workers. The research emphasis on asylum seekers is unusual as Cotter (2004) notes. However, as she says, it is understandable in view of the very rapid increase in the number of applications for asylum in the 1990s and Ireland's lack of experience in dealing with large numbers of asylum seekers. While there will continue to be a need in the future for research on issues relating to asylum the bulk of immigrants in Ireland are migrant workers and their dependants. Consequently, there is a need for more research in the future on such issues as the education and skills of migrant workers, the difficulties they have in integrating into Irish society, the effectiveness of the services which are provided for them by state and voluntary organisations, and the costs and benefits of immigration.

Second, some reports do not draw a clear enough distinction between the categories of non-nationals being discussed. The legal status of non-nationals is fundamental to their experience in Ireland. In general research which treats all non-nationals as the same, particularly research that equates refugees and asylum seekers, is of less value to users.

Third many of the reports on immigration issues are published by immigrant groups and their lobbying organisations rather than service providers or government departments. Again, this is understandable since the immigrants' organisations have direct experience of the negative aspects of immigration law and policy and they are most concerned about making changes in these areas. Nevertheless, the public authorities rather than advisory bodies are in the best position to explain the positive aspects of the legislation or services which they are responsible for and it is necessary that they should do so to ensure that the public know what action is taken to balance the needs of the local and immigrant populations.

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# APPENDIX 1: COUNTIES IN IRELAND WITH HIGHEST NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NON-NATIONALS\*

**Table A: Ten Counties in Ireland with Highest Number of Resident Non-Nationals**

Usual Residence	Total	Total Irish	Total Non - Irish**	No nationality/Not stated
Dublin Co. and City	1,105,134	1,004,958	79,234	20,942
Cork Co. and City	442,444	414,840	22,859	4,745
Galway Co. and City	202,958	188,037	12,526	2,395
Kildare	162,554	151,915	9,095	1,544
Kerry	127,477	117,730	8,668	1,079
Donegal	135,756	126,887	7,642	1,227
Limerick Co. and City	171,112	162,240	7,212	1,660
Mayo	115,583	107,286	7,206	1,091
Clare	101,255	93,131	6,912	1,212
Wicklow	113,436	105,397	6,777	1,262

Source: Census of Population of Ireland, 2002.

**Table B: Counties in Ireland with Highest Proportion of Resident Non-Nationals**

Nationality	Total Irish	Total Non - Irish**	No nationality/Not Stated
	%	%	%
Dublin Co. and City	90.9	7.2	1.9
Clare	92.0	6.8	1.2
Kerry	92.4	6.8	0.8
Leitrim	92.4	6.6	1.0
Mayo	92.8	6.2	0.9
Galway Co. and City	92.6	6.2	1.2
Wicklow	92.9	6.0	1.1
Roscommon	93.6	5.6	0.8
Donegal	93.5	5.6	0.9
Kildare	93.5	5.6	0.9

\* Defined by nationality

\*\* (Incl. multi nationality)

Source: CSO: Census of Population of Ireland (2002).

# APPENDIX 2: EDUCATIONAL ENTITLEMENTS IN IRELAND

**Table C: Educational Entitlements in Ireland**

Legal Category	Access to Primary, Post Primary Education and Other Educational Services	Access to Adult and Further Education	Access to Third Level Education
All Children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Primary and post primary education</li> <li>- Youth Services and Youth Information Centres</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Youthreach</li> <li>- Community Training Workshops</li> </ul>	Not applicable
Separated Children (asylum seeking children in Ireland without their parents or legal caregivers)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Primary and post primary education</li> <li>- Youth Services and Youth Information Centres</li> <li>- Separated children Education Service</li> <li>- Summer Schools and 'Access Programmes'</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Youthreach</li> <li>- Community training workshops</li> </ul>	No access
Asylum Seekers	Refer to section on children above	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Free Access to Adult Literacy Service</li> <li>- Free Access to ESOL* programmes</li> <li>- Fee required for adult education programmes</li> </ul>	No access
Convention/ Programme Refugees	Refer to section on children above	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Free access to Adult Literacy Service</li> <li>- Free access to ESOL programmes</li> <li>- Adult education programmes (fee required)</li> <li>- Vocational Training Opportunities Scheme</li> <li>- Post Leaving Certificate</li> <li>- Community Training Workshops (Convention refugees only)</li> <li>- FÁS** Training Courses/ Community Employment Scheme</li> <li>- Free access to Integrate Ireland Language and Training programmes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Access on the same basis as an EU citizen</li> <li>- Eligible for local authority/VEC† higher education and maintenance grants with three years legal residency</li> <li>- Eligible for higher education grant for fees even though residency requirement may not be satisfied</li> </ul>
Work permit holders	Refer to section on children above	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Free access to Adult Literacy Service</li> <li>- Adult education (including ESOL) programmes fee required</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Must pay international fee</li> <li>- Not eligible for local authority/ VEC higher education and maintenance grant</li> </ul>

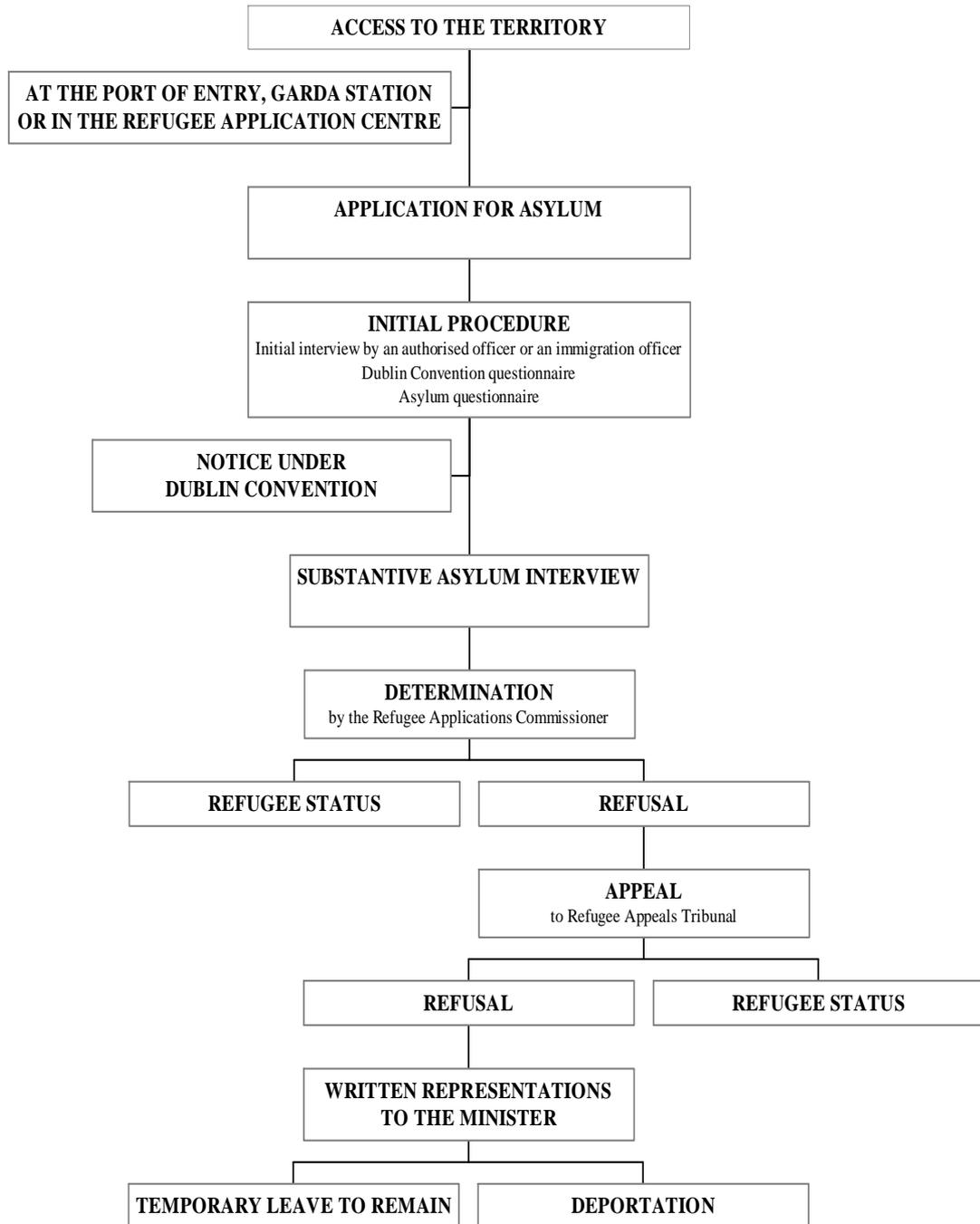
\* ESOL – English for Speakers of Other Languages.

\*\* FÁS – National Training and Employment Authority.

† VEC – Vocational Education Committee.

Source: Adapted from Ward (2003).

# APPENDIX 3: THE ASYLUM APPLICATION PROCEDURE IN IRELAND



Source: Adapted from Mutwarasibo and McCarthy (2002).