

ORIGIN AND INTEGRATION: HOUSING AND FAMILY AMONG MIGRANTS IN THE 2016 IRISH CENSUS

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This report has been accepted for publication by the Institute, which does not itself take institutional policy positions. All ESRI Research Series reports are peer reviewed prior to publication. The authors are solely responsible for the content and the views expressed.

FOREWORD

I am very pleased to introduce this study on housing and family among migrants. The study has been funded by the Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth under its Equality and Integration Research Programme with the Economic and Social Research Institute. Integration research such as this is essential to the development of evidence-informed policy on integration, equality and inclusion. This is the ninth research study to be produced under the Research Programme, which commenced in 2017, and it makes an important contribution to what we know about outcomes for migrants to Ireland.

Using microdata from Census 2016, the study provides insights into the housing and family situation of migrants to Ireland. Housing is an important indicator of integration and can tell us much about the economic and social inclusion of migrant groups. A key message for policymakers is that migrants are far more likely than Irish-born residents to be living in private rented accommodation. This means that any pressures in this sector, and equally our policy responses to them, will have a disproportionate effect on migrants and their integration.

Migrants, like other individuals, are embedded in families. This study also uses Census 2016 microdata to compare the family situation of Irish-born and first-generation migrants. Family composition can influence integration outcomes, for example it can affect access to the labour market, which is a key measure of integration. This research illuminates differences in the family situation of migrants compared to Irish-born and thus can help us to develop effective policies to support integration, both of migrants and their Irish-born children.

My Department will shortly commence the development of a successor to the *Migrant Integration Strategy*. This study will be a useful guide to that process in relation to housing and family. It will also inform the *National Action Plan Against Racism* which is well advanced under the stewardship of an independent committee.

At the time of publication, Ireland is responding to the unfolding humanitarian and refugee crisis caused by the invasion of Ukraine by Russia in February 2022. Large numbers of refugees have arrived in Ireland from Ukraine and more will follow. All are being provided with essential supports, including accommodation for those who need it, as well as access to the labour market. Early integration has been shown to be very beneficial for refugees and asylum seekers. It is at the heart of the new policy for asylum seekers that I set out in a *White Paper to End Direct*

Provision and to Establish a New International Protection Support Service that I published last year and that is now being implemented on a phased basis.

Whatever the context in which people arrive here – whether it is in flight from war or persecution, as economic migrants, as international students, for family reunification, or other reasons – it is essential that the policy framework we have to support their integration is well informed by objective evidence and independent research. This study makes a valuable contribution to this, and I welcome its publication.

Roderic O’Gorman, TD., Minister for Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth

TABLE OF CONTENTS

GLOSSARY.....	VII
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	IX
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Motivation for the report	1
1.2 Migration policy and migration flows in Ireland.....	3
1.3 Housing in Ireland	10
1.4 Family in Ireland.....	17
1.5 Report outline	19
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	21
2.1 Introduction	21
2.2 Migrants and housing pathways.....	21
2.3 Migrants: household and family structures.....	32
2.4 Summary.....	39
CHAPTER 3 DATA AND METHODOLOGY.....	41
3.1 Introduction	41
3.2 Evidence base: 2016 Census microdata.....	41
3.3 Measurement	47
3.4 Modelling housing and family outcomes.....	52
3.5 Summary.....	54
CHAPTER 4 MIGRANTS AND HOUSING OUTCOMES.....	55
4.1 Introduction	55
4.2 Housing type and housing tenure.....	56
4.3 Overcrowding	65
4.4 Homelessness	72
4.5 Summary.....	79
CHAPTER 5 MIGRANTS’ FAMILY SITUATION	81
5.1 Introduction	81
5.2 Family composition of migrants	83
5.3 Mixed unions	96
5.4 Summary.....	99

CHAPTER 6	SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND RESEARCH.....	103
6.1	Summary of findings	103
6.2	Implications for policy.....	107
6.3	Limitations and implications for future research	110
REFERENCES	115
APPENDICES	126

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1	2019 total fertility rates among the largest sending-countries to Ireland	19
Table 3.1	Country of birth groups (individual level).....	45
Table 3.2	Country of birth groups (household heads)	46
Table 3.3	Breakdown of household tenure (individuals)	48
Table 3.4	Household composition categories	50
Table 4.1	Factors influencing odds ratios of private renting versus all other housing tenures (individuals all ages)	60
Table 4.2	Housing tenure among migrants by duration of residence in Ireland.....	64
Table 4.3	Factors influencing odds ratios of overcrowding	67
Table 4.4	Number of new families accessing homelessness services in the Dublin region	78
Table 5.1	Factors influencing odds ratios of a household being a lone parent household versus a two-parent (married / cohabiting) household (heads of households; ages 20-54).....	86
Table 5.2	Factors influencing number of children in a family (heads of households; ages 20-54).....	94
Table A3.1	Country/region of birth classification based on Census 2016.....	126
Table A3.2	Characteristics of migrant country-of-origin groups	127
Table A4.1	Factors influencing odds ratios for local authority renting	128
Table A4.2	Does tenure type vary by gender across migrant groups?	130
Table A4.3	Mean number of rooms and mean number of people (usually resident).....	131
Table A5.1	Zero inflation component of Poisson regression.....	132

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1	Migrant population by region of birth, 2002-2016.....	4
Figure 1.2	Residence permissions (non-EEA nationals aged 16 and over), 2010-2019.....	5
Figure 1.3	Percentage of households by tenure, Ireland, 1960-2016	11
Figure 3.1	Census form tied to tenure.....	47
Figure 4.1	Housing type by country of birth (individuals)	57
Figure 4.2	Housing tenure by country of birth (individuals of all ages).....	59
Figure 4.3	Predicted probabilities of living in private rental housing by country of birth with (Model 3) and without (Model 1) controls	65
Figure 4.4	Proportion of individuals living in overcrowded accommodation by country of birth (individuals of all ages).....	66
Figure 4.5	Predicted probabilities of overcrowding	72
Figure 4.6	Breakdown of homeless persons by sex and nationality.....	74
Figure 4.7	Homeless persons by nationality relative to the proportion of that nationality within Ireland’s population.....	75
Figure 4.8	Homeless males by nationality relative to the proportion of males of that nationality within Ireland’s population	76
Figure 4.9	Homeless females by nationality relative to the proportion of females of that nationality within Ireland’s population	77
Figure 5.1	Household composition by head of household’s country of birth (ages 20-54)	83
Figure 5.2	Probability of being a lone parent household compared to being a two-parent household by country of birth of head of household before (Model 1) and after (Model 3) including control variables.....	89
Figure 5.3	Number of children in family by head of household country of birth.....	91
Figure 5.4	Predicted number of children in the household by country of birth of head of household before (Model 1) and after (Model 3) including control variables	96
Figure 5.5	Partnership characteristics by country of origin (HoH 25-54)	99

GLOSSARY

AHB	Approved Housing Body
Asyratio	A statistical estimate of the probability that an individual has arrived in Ireland through the protection system, based on country of origin
CSO	Central Statistics Office
CTA	Common Travel Area
Direct Provision	Direct Provision is Ireland’s reception system for asylum seekers; people are housed in communal settings as they await decisions on their applications for international protection
EEA	European Economic Area, which comprises the EU Member States plus Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway
Ethnicity	Self-defined ethnic group based on Irish Census classification of ethnicity
EU	European Union
FRP	Family Reference Person
HAP	Housing Assistance Payment
IHREC	Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission
LA	Local Authority
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
Mixed Unions	Marriages or partnerships between migrants and natives
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
Overcrowding	Overcrowded accommodation is defined as accommodation in which the number of people in the home outnumbers the number of rooms
PASS	Pathway Accommodation and Support Services
RPZ	Rent Pressure Zones, designated areas which incurred high rental prices within which restricted were placed on the frequency and amount by which rents could be raised over a specific period
RAS	Rental Accommodation Scheme
RS	Rent Supplement
TFR	Total Fertility Rate
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

To the extent that migrant integration involves migrants ‘finding a place for themselves’ in their host country, securing adequate housing for themselves and their families is an important component of integration (Penninx and Garcés-Masareñas, 2016). Migrants, like other individuals, are embedded in families. The structure and nature of migrants’ families also have implications for the integration outcomes of migrants and their children.

This report uses Census 2016 microdata to compare the housing and family situation of people born in Ireland and first-generation migrants. The objective of this report is to explore housing and family outcomes for migrants, examining what this means for the integration of migrants in Ireland. Housing situation indicators include: housing tenure (homeownership or renting); housing type (house, apartment, other); living in overcrowded accommodation and homelessness. Indicators to assess household and family situation include: household composition (the measure combines partnership status, presence of children and other unrelated adults); number of children in the household; and mixed unions (or intermarriage). Our assessment of the family situation focuses on comparing households headed by migrant adults with households headed by Irish adults, as well as their housing needs.

Using Census data permits a much more detailed distinction of migrant groups than is typical in Irish integration research. Most migrants living in Ireland were born in the European Economic Area (EEA), which in 2016 included the UK. The following migrant groups are distinguished: UK, including Northern Ireland; Poland; Other West EEA countries; Other East EEA countries; Other Europe (non-EEA); North America plus Oceania; Central and South America; Middle East and North Africa (MENA); Sub-Saharan and Other Africa; South Asia; and East Asia. All first-generation migrants are included, regardless of their reason for coming to live in Ireland.

The study draws out implications for policy, particularly housing policy, as well as actions for the successor to the *Migrant Integration Strategy 2017-2021* and the *National Action Plan Against Racism* currently being developed (Department of Justice and Equality, 2017; Anti-Racism Committee, 2021). The main findings of this report can be summarised as:

Housing situation

- Migrants are much less likely to live in owner-occupied accommodation than Irish-born; whereas 77 per cent of Irish-born individuals live in owner-occupied housing in 2016, only 33 per cent of migrants do.
- Related to this, over half (56 per cent) of all migrants were living in private rented housing in 2016, compared to 13 per cent of Irish-born. Patterns vary across migrant groups, but even after accounting for age, family situation, employment and English-language skills, Polish migrants, for example, are still much more likely to live in private rented accommodation than Irish born.
- Accommodation quality in the private rented sector varies, and it is likely to be the tenure of choice for some, but recent challenges with supply and housing cost mean that overall the sector is much more expensive and offers much less security of tenure than owner occupation. Rented accommodation is also more likely to be overcrowded than owner-occupied accommodation.
- Overcrowding, defined in Census 2016 as households containing more than one person per room, is used as an indicator of housing quality or habitability. Compared to 8 per cent of Irish-born individuals who live in overcrowded accommodation in 2016, a relatively low proportion in international terms, almost 20 per cent of migrants do.
- Rates of overcrowding are particularly high among some groups: over 30 per cent of East Europeans (excluding Polish nationals) and Central and South Americans live in overcrowded accommodation. Overcrowding rates are also particularly high among some non-EEA migrants, including MENA (37 per cent), Sub-Saharan and Other African (39 per cent), South Asian (41 per cent) and East Asian (37 per cent), though estimates of overcrowding using this measure are slightly higher than alternative measures using different sources. Ethnicity also plays a role here, with Black migrants twice as likely to live in overcrowded accommodation as White migrants, even after accounting for factors associated with overcrowding.
- By contrast some migrant groups have low rates of overcrowding: these include West Europeans and UK-born, and especially migrants born in North America plus Oceania.
- The report presents published figures from Census 2016 on homelessness, an extreme indicator of problems accessing housing. Compared to comprising only 11 per cent of the total population, non-Irish nationals make up one-quarter of homeless persons.
- Duration of residence plays a role in housing outcomes, with those who have lived in Ireland longer being less likely to live in rented accommodation and less likely to live in overcrowded accommodation. Yet for the substantial number of migrants who came in the period 2000-2009, private renting and overcrowding rates are still much higher than for Irish born.

Family situation

- The family indicators reveal, overall, greater similarity between migrants and Irish-born than the housing indicators, although some key differences emerge between migrant groups. UK and North America plus Oceania tend to be more similar to the Irish-born group than to other migrants, with similar numbers of children and similar lone parent proportions.
- Households with children headed by migrants from Eastern Europe and migrants from Asian groups (South Asia, East Asia, also MENA) are less likely to be lone parent households than Irish households with children. Sub-Saharan and Other African-headed households are most likely to be lone parent headed households of all the groups considered.
- With the exception of UK-born migrants, European migrant groups tend to have fewer children, on average, than Irish-born. This is salient as most migrants living in Ireland were born in other EEA countries
- Non-EEA migrant households tend to have slightly more children than Irish headed households, particularly after accounting for socio-demographic differences between the groups, though this varies between non-EEA groups. The Sub-Saharan and Other African group has the largest family size.
- The extent of mixed unions (i.e. partnerships or marriages between migrants and natives) is often used as an indicator of integration in its own right and is associated with other positive integration outcomes. In housing, having an Irish partner is associated with lower rates of private renting / higher rates of homeownership, and migrants with an Irish partner are only half as likely to live in overcrowded accommodation than other migrants.
- Among migrant groups, the highest rates of mixed unions are among household heads born in the UK and US/Oceania; among both groups around 70 per cent of all partnerships are with Irish born.
- For other migrants, intermarriage/cohabitation with an Irish partner is very low, particularly among East Europeans (including Polish) and Asian groups (South Asians, East Asians, MENA countries). For example, of all Polish household heads with a partner, only 3 per cent have an Irish-born partner.

Implications for policy

This report concentrates on first generation migrants only. However, as we examine issues of housing and family, our findings have clear implications for the second generation (i.e. the children of first generation migrants) who grow up in these contexts. The report is based on census microdata from 2016. Since then, there has been considerable inflation in the housing market, both price inflation in rental markets, but also purchase price inflation, so no indication that the situation has changed for the better.

This report shows that overall migrants face greater challenges in the Irish housing market than Irish born, and face difficulties integrating in this domain. Many migrants are concentrated in the private rented sector and many migrant groups have a much higher risk of overcrowding and homelessness than Irish-born. The evidence in this report indicates that housing should be a priority area for migrant integration policy. In particular, given that housing is not included in the *Migrant Integration Strategy 2017-2020*, housing should be incorporated into the successor to this strategy as a matter of urgency.

Clearly, addressing major current challenges in the Irish housing market will benefit migrants, as they are disproportionately found in the private rented sector, in overcrowded accommodation and in homeless shelters. For a range of reasons it is likely that migrants will continue to live in rented accommodation, like in many other countries – they may view their stay as temporary or be on a temporary residence permission (Borchgrevink and Birkvad, 2021). Addressing general tenants’ rights issues such as security of tenure in the private rental market; protection from rising rents and adequate standards and effective enforcement of same will benefit all those in the private rented sector, including many migrants.

As the rental sector grows, it is likely that many migrants will continue to rent privately. Either because of a lack of English language skills or local knowledge, or because landlords discriminate against them, they may lose out in a highly competitive rental market. All of this underlines the importance of effective measures to combat discrimination against migrants and ethnic minorities in the Irish housing market, highly relevant given the current development of a *National Action Plan Against Racism in Ireland* (Anti-Racism Committee, 2021). Greater provision of and access to local authority housing would provide security and durable solutions for low-income vulnerable groups, including low-income migrants, and help protect these groups against the risk of homelessness.

Given specific challenges faced by protection applicants in accessing housing and the recent major policy shift in accommodation policy for this group (Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration, and Youth, 2021), initiatives to follow up and monitor the housing situation of protection applicants and refugees in Ireland could help evaluate the effectiveness of the reform.

Previous research has shown that English language skills are important for migrants to secure decent work; this report shows that poor English language skills are associated with negative housing outcomes, such as overcrowding. This further underscores the need for English language training provision to be prominent in the successor to the *Migrant Integration Strategy 2017-2021*.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 MOTIVATION FOR THE REPORT

To the extent that migrant integration involves migrants ‘finding a place for themselves’ in their host country, securing adequate housing for themselves and their families is an important component of integration (Penninx and Garcés-Mascreñas, 2016).¹ Adequate housing provides safety and shelter, and allows people to work, participate in education and in society more broadly. Conversely, housing insecurity and deprivation are associated with poor mental and physical health, precarity and homelessness (Russell et al., 2021). Set against a backdrop of what some have called a ‘housing crisis’ in Ireland, given affordability and availability challenges (see Section 1.3), this report considers in detail the housing situation of migrants – all those born outside the Republic of Ireland – as a key component of how they are integrating into Irish society and the challenges they face.

Homeownership is one of the integration indicators included in the Zaragoza declaration² and reported in the Monitoring Report on Integration series (e.g. McGinnity et al., 2018; 2020a). Yet, as Gilmartin and Dagg (2021) point out, housing tenure is a limited indicator of the quality of housing, and this report expands the focus of the monitoring reports on integration to consider other important indicators like overcrowding and homelessness. As housing is a pressing policy issue in Ireland, this analysis could potentially inform any actions on housing in the successor to the *Migrant Integration Strategy 2017-2021* (Department of Justice and Equality, 2017). The housing situation of migrants and ethnic minorities, in particular overcrowding, has arisen as an issue in terms of vulnerability to COVID-19, and highlighted the dearth of detailed information on this issue in Ireland. As a recent advisory group report headed by Catherine Day highlighted, the housing situation of applicants for international protection is of particular policy concern (Government of Ireland, 2020). The census data used in this report include all migrants, including groups not covered by the *Migrant Integration Strategy 2017-2021*, such as applicants for international protection and irregularly staying migrants.³

¹ In their understanding of migrants ‘finding a place for themselves’, Penninx and Garcés-Mascreñas (2016) also include migrants’ finding a job, securing income, schools for their children, access to healthcare, as well as fitting into the social and cultural fabric of their destination. The authors note integration as a concept is contested (for further discussion see McGinnity et al., 2020a, Chapter 1).

² <https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/librarydoc/declaration-of-the-european-ministerial-conference-on-integration-zaragoza-15-16-april-2010>.

³ Though we cannot rule out some non-response among irregularly staying migrants.

Migrants, like other individuals, are embedded in families, and the structure of these families is important for understanding the integration outcomes of migrants and their children. The migration process itself can be disruptive for families and family patterns may differ in important ways from the native population (Andersson, 2021). Household and family structures can be closely associated with several integration outcomes. Family composition is also associated with housing needs and outcomes, and family size and structure are also closely linked to living conditions such as poverty and deprivation (Watson et al., 2018; Maître et al., 2021). Studies have also highlighted the impact of family structure on children's developmental outcomes: for example, that growing up with one parent rather than two may impact on socio-emotional, cognitive and health outcomes for children (Hannan and Halpin, 2014; Nixon and Swords, 2016). Thus if migrant families are more (or less) likely to be one-parent families than Irish families, this may have implications for the outcomes of migrant children. Mixed unions can be an important component of family structure for migrants, and indeed the extent to which migrants and the native population form unions has been heralded by some as an important indicator of migrant integration in its own right (Song, 2009). Inter-marriage is likely to have an influence on migrants' socio-cultural integration, intentions to stay and English language skills, for example, and the potential for their children to integrate (Rodríguez-García, 2015).

This report contributes to the literature in Ireland in a number of ways. Firstly, it enhances what we know about the housing and family situation of first-generation migrants in Ireland using census microdata, which contain information on the whole population living in Ireland in 2016. Secondly, the report exploits the census microdata to considerably expand the number of migrant groups to 11, distinguishing non-EEA regions of origin to an extent not possible in previous research in Ireland, given the diverse range of countries of origin. In keeping with other studies of integration, outcomes for first-generation migrants are compared with those of the Irish-born population, and the focus is on how these outcomes differ and possible explanations for this (see McGinnity et al., 2020a for a discussion of the strengths and limitations of this approach). This report was produced as part of a programme of research on Integration and Equality, funded by the Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth in line with the *Migrant Integration Strategy 2017-2021*. It complements both the Monitoring Report on Integration series (McGinnity et al., 2020a) and the *Origin and Integration* report (McGinnity et al., 2020b), which used census microdata to examine the labour market outcomes of migrants in Ireland.

The policy context plays an important part in understanding migrant integration outcomes (Penninx and Garcés-Masareñas, 2016) and is the subject of the next section. Migration policy influences who can come to Ireland, under what conditions, how long they can stay and whether or not their family can join

(Section 1.2.1). Influenced by migration policy, migration flows are important for understanding both the number and region of origin of migrants. Integration policy, such as the *Migrant Integration Strategy 2017-2021* (Department of Justice and Equality, 2017), is important, but given migration policy is mainstreamed in Ireland, the inclusion or exclusion of migrants from mainstream policy provision is also important for understanding their situation (Section 1.2.2) (see also McGinnity et al., 2020a). As the evidence from this report is from the 2016 Census of population, the focus in the policy discussion is on policy provision at that time, though where there have been particularly relevant policy developments in the interim – for example significant inflation in the rental market – this is signalled in the text.

1.2 MIGRATION POLICY AND MIGRATION FLOWS IN IRELAND

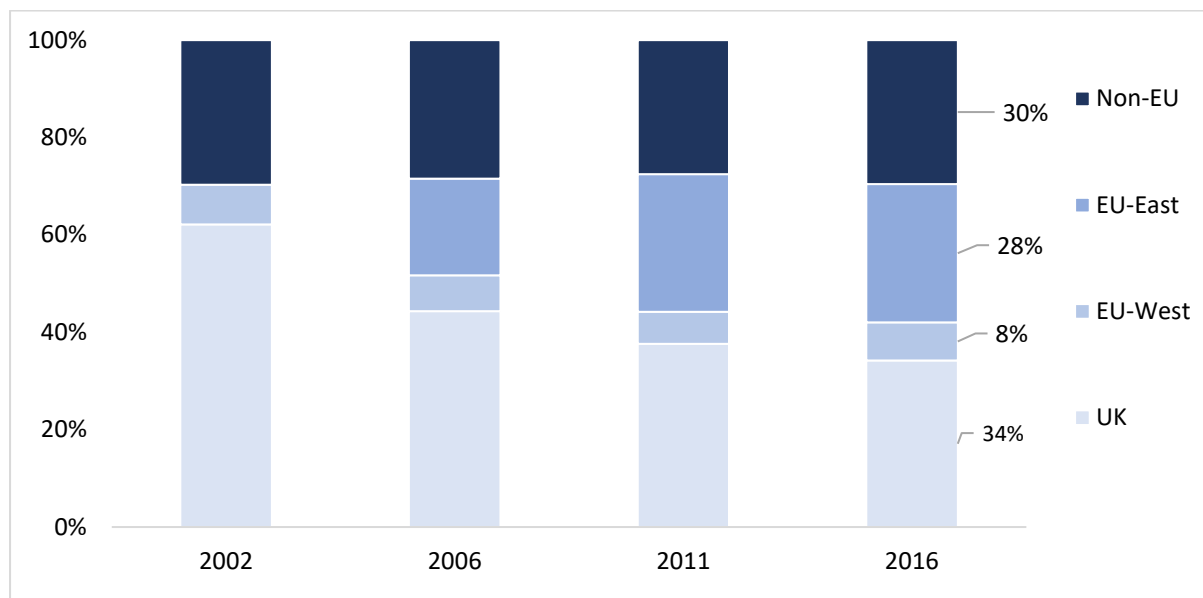
Ireland is typically characterised as a ‘new country of immigration’ (OECD, 2018). Indeed, for most of the 20th century, Ireland was a country of net emigration, until the economic boom known as the ‘Celtic Tiger’ from the mid-1990s until 2007, which first brought a rapid increase in return migration of Irish nationals who had previously emigrated. Non-Irish nationals came to Ireland in this period too, and overall immigration peaked just after the eastward expansion of the European Union in 2004 (McGinnity et al., 2020a). While immigration collapsed in the wake of the Great Recession (2008), in 2016, 17 per cent of the population had been born abroad. One distinctive feature of immigration to Ireland is that most migrants to Ireland come from other EU countries. Typically, EEA migrants come to work, and non-EEA migrants come here to study or to work (OECD, 2018; Groarke and Durst, 2019). Another distinctive feature is that in general migrants living in Ireland are highly skilled, partly as a result of labour migration policy which restricts low-skilled migration from outside the EEA. Many have higher educational qualifications than Irish-born, particularly those from Western Europe and Asian countries (McGinnity et al., 2020a). A final distinctive feature of migrants in Ireland is that a significant minority of those of non-EEA origin are now Irish citizens, just under 45 per cent (*ibid*).

EEA nationals may move to Ireland and take up employment without restriction. Figure 1.1 shows that in 2016, 70 per cent of migrants living in Ireland and born abroad were born in the EU. This is one of the highest rates in the EU (McGinnity et al., 2020b). This contrasts sharply with the OECD average: for example, overall, in the OECD between 2006 and 2018, free movement accounted for 28 per cent of total permanent migration (OECD, 2018). In Figure 1.1, UK-born migrants are presented separately given their importance in terms of size, their longer history of migration to Ireland and the Common Travel Area.⁴ In 2016, one-third of

⁴ The Common Travel Area (CTA) is an arrangement between Ireland and the United Kingdom that grants citizens of the two countries the right to live, travel, work and study within the CTA.

migrants born abroad were born in the UK (including Northern Ireland). Twenty-eight per cent of migrants were born in EU-East, and a further 30 per cent were born outside the EU.

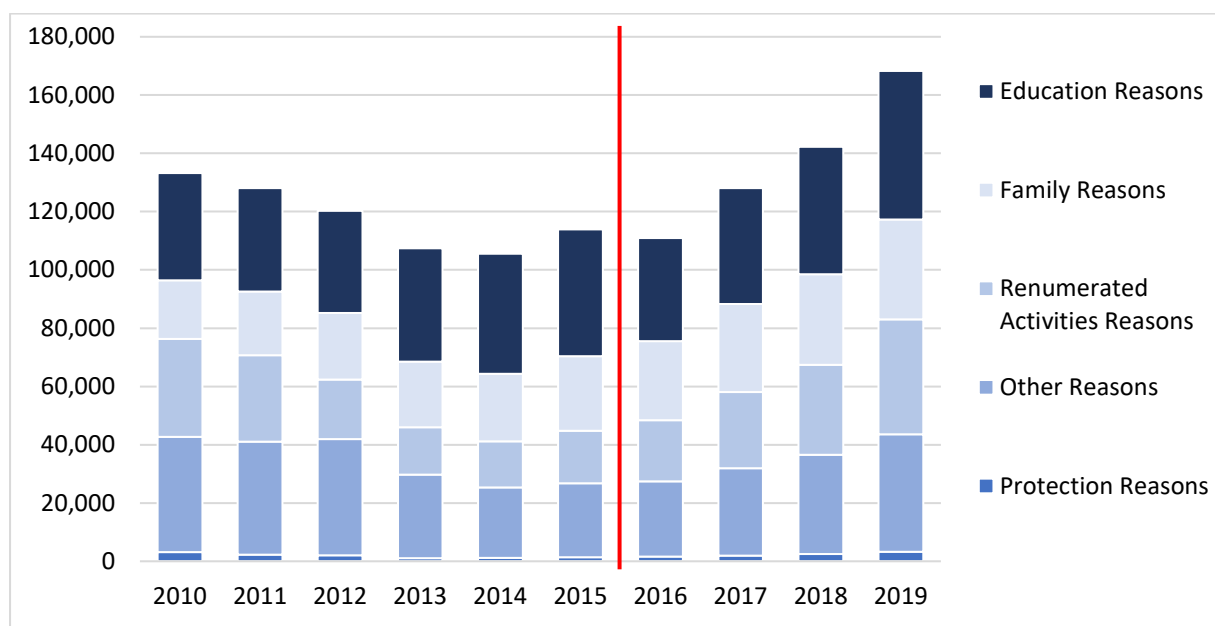
FIGURE 1.1 MIGRANT POPULATION BY REGION OF BIRTH, 2002-2016



Source: Census of Population. CSO Statbank tables E7050 and C0428.

Note: EU-West is the original EU15 countries less Ireland and the UK. UK includes those born in Northern Ireland, for ease of presentation. EU-East refers to the new Member States that acceded in 2004, 2007 and 2013.

Non-EEA nationals are subject to managed migration policy, require a residence permission and have specific conditions linked to that permission. Figure 1.2 shows residence permissions for non-EEA nationals aged 16 and over: EEA nationals and non-EEA nationals aged under 16 years are not required to register in Ireland. The chart shows permissions for the period 2010-2019, with a red line between year-end 2015 and year-end 2016, as the census of population was collected in April 2016. Residence permissions are useful to give a sense of the activity and composition of the non-EEA population, which is likely to influence their housing and family situation, though of course the reason people come to Ireland may not be the reason they stay.

FIGURE 1.2 RESIDENCE PERMISSIONS (NON-EEA NATIONALS AGED 16 AND OVER), 2010-2019

Source: Eurostat (table: migr_resvalid).

Notes: All valid permits by reason, length of validity and citizenship on 31 December of each year. Data for 2019 were provisionally provided by Eurostat. Red line shows timing of 2016 Census (that is between Dec 2015 and Dec 2016).

Labour migration policy in Ireland is designed to meet most labour market needs from within the EEA and relies on the employment permit system to meet skill shortages, mostly in high-skilled occupations, so low-skilled migration from outside the EEA is extremely restricted. The employment permit system has been revised a number of times, and permits differ, but broadly the system requires many non-EEA nationals to have an employment permit for a specific job in order to travel to and work in Ireland, and has conditions on whether and when family members can join. There are a number of permits available, the most flexible and attractive of which is the critical skills permit, which in 2016 was available to migrants with a job paying at least €30,000 per year in a critical skills area (where the Irish Government has determined there to be a skills shortage; for example, ICT professionals, professional engineers and technologists), and to any migrants earning €60,000 or more, regardless of their area of work.⁵ In 2017, almost half (45 per cent) of the permits issued were critical skills employment permits (Arnold et al., 2019a).

General employment permits are less flexible; holders work in a wider range of occupations, but typically also need to earn more than €30,000 per year. After two years, critical skills permit holders can work without a permit, but this does not apply to other employment permit holders. This also influences who comes to work in Ireland from outside the EEA, and who stays in Ireland; these migrants are typically highly educated because of these employment permit restrictions.

⁵ These earnings thresholds have since been increased to €32,000 (critical skills) and €64,000 (all occupations). See <https://enterprise.gov.ie/en/What-We-Do/Workplace-and-Skills/Employment-Permits/Permit-Types/Critical-Skills-Employment-Permit/>.

Residence permissions issued for work (or ‘remunerated activities’) fell during the economic recession, and by year-end 2015, made up only 16 per cent of all non-EEA permissions.

Another important migration channel relates to those seeking international protection: such migrants may be granted refugee or subsidiary protection status. Non-EEA nationals fleeing persecution or serious harm in their country of origin may be granted international protection in Ireland, in line with Ireland’s obligations under the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees and EU law. Consistent with overall immigration flows to Ireland, the number of persons seeking international protection in Ireland grew in the late 1990s, peaked in 2002 (at around 11,000 applications), and decreased year-on-year until 2014 (ORAC, 2015). In 2015, immediately preceding the 2016 Census data used in this study, there were 3,276 applications and 2,244 in 2016 (Arnold et al., 2018). This is in the context of overall immigration to Ireland in the period 2015-2016 of non-Irish nationals of just under 30,000 (McGinnity et al., 2020a). OECD (2018) notes that less than 10 per cent of permanent migration flows to the OECD were humanitarian migrants in the years 2006-2018. In Ireland the proportion is much smaller than 10 per cent, partly as EU migration dominates migration in Ireland.⁶

All protection applicants are offered accommodation within the Direct Provision system following the making of their application, but there is no legal requirement to accept it, and no supports available if not accepted. Estimates from 2015 (year-end), immediately preceding the Census in April 2016, suggest that around 78 per cent of asylum seekers, or 4,696 individuals, were resident in Direct Provision Accommodation; the remainder source accommodation themselves (Department of Justice and Equality, 2019b).⁷ Estimates from the *Reception and Integration Agency Annual Report* for 2015 suggest that, of residents of Direct Provision accommodation, just over half or 56 per cent were from African countries; 36 per cent from Asian countries and 7 per cent from (non-EEA) Eastern Europe.⁸ These applicants receive a small weekly allowance, in addition to meals and accommodation.⁹ The accommodation is mostly in congregated settings such as former hotels, hostels or guest houses: in many cases residents do not have access to private living spaces (Government of Ireland, 2021a, p.20). In 2015 there were an estimated 7,937 people in the protection system; 4,330 (or 55 per cent) of whom resided outside Direct Provision or had left the State (McMahon Report, 2015). The balance shifted in more recent years with higher proportion in Direct

⁶ Though the concept of ‘permanent’ migration is not straightforward, particularly in the context of EU migration, where freedom of movement means temporary migration is much less costly for individuals.

⁷ See also Russell et al., 2021, Figure 6.2.

⁸ One per cent (53) of those in RIA accommodation were from other countries. See file:///C:/Users/fmcginnity/Downloads/119463_150b85b0-d5dd-448b-bbbb-50f1eae9c74e%20(2).pdf, p. 26.

⁹ In April 2016, this allowance was €19.10 per adult and €15.60 per child. In March 2022, the payment was €38.80 per adult and €29.80 per child.

Provision accommodation (McGinnity et al., 2018). These 8,000 individuals in the protection system (including those living in the community) made up a small proportion of non-EEA nationals living in Ireland, given 114,000 residence permissions were issued for non-EEA nationals (Figure 1.2). However, there are many more non-EEA nationals resident in Ireland who have come through the protection system, but are no longer applicants or living in Direct Provision accommodation as their application has been processed. Unfortunately, we have no estimates of the size of this group, but this report attempts to assess any given migrant's likelihood of having come through the protection system, to investigate whether this is linked to their housing or family situation.¹⁰

While the protection application process is intended to be a short one, in practice some applicants seeking international protection status wait years to receive a decision (Groarke and Brazil, 2020). In 2014, for example, around 38 per cent of residents of Direct Provision centres had lived there for five years or more, though this had fallen to 24 per cent in 2015, largely in response to the Mahon report which recommended that persons who had been waiting a protection decision for five years or more be granted status (*ibid.*). The system of Direct Provision has been widely criticised as breaching standards of adequate housing (IHREC, 2020; Ombudsman for Children, 2020; CERD, 2019) and partly on foot of this criticism, substantial reform of the system is currently underway (Box 1.1). In addition, those who leave the Direct Provision system are likely to face significant difficulties in accessing accommodation in the private sector, even with the aid of income supports. IHREC (2020) notes that even those who have been granted protection and leave to remain report great difficulty in securing accommodation, even with access to the Housing Assistance Payment (see below).

While the flow of displaced persons into Ireland has been much lower than in many EU Member States, in response to the refugee crisis in Southern Europe, the Irish Government established the Irish Refugee Protection Programme in 2015, in which it committed to accepting persons in need of protection, mainly through EU relocation and resettlement, and established a cross-departmental task force to coordinate the programme (McGinnity et al., 2018). Convention refugees, subsidiary protection holders and programme refugees have similar rights to Irish citizens, including access to the labour market and third-level education (Arnold et al., 2018).¹¹

¹⁰ See Chapter 3 for how this likelihood is measured in this report.

¹¹ In response to war in Ukraine in 2022, Ukrainian nationals fleeing Ukraine can avail of temporary protection to live in Ireland. This permission is initially for one year but can be renewed. <https://www.irishimmigration.ie/faqs-for-ukraine-nationals-and-residents-of-ukraine/>.

Student migration is also an important non-EU migration stream in Ireland, partly reflecting the renewed government focus on encouraging international students to study in Ireland. Indeed, students now form the largest category of non-EEA migrants arriving in Ireland each year, coming ahead of labour migrants and other groups. Figure 1.2 shows how at the end of 2015, 38 per cent of residence permissions in Ireland were issued for education.¹² Ireland also allows non-EEA students with an honours degree or higher to remain in the State for 12 to 24 months after their studies to look for work under the Third Level Graduate Programme (Groarke and Durst, 2019). This is uncommon among EU countries and is designed to retain high-skilled international graduates in Ireland.

Migration for family reasons is an increasingly important source of non-EEA migration to Ireland (McGinnity et al., 2018). In Ireland there is no statutory family reunification for any non-EEA migrants other than beneficiaries of international protection, unlike in most other EU countries (Arnold and Quinn, 2017).¹³ Critical skills permit holders have immediate family reunification, and general employment permit holders may apply for family reunification after 12 months (Arnold et al., 2019a). In 2016, the family members of non-EEA nationals with any employment permit were granted a Stamp 3 residence permission, which precludes them from entering the labour market (*ibid.*).¹⁴ However, once resident in Ireland they may apply for an employment permit for an appropriate job in their own right (for example a job that is not on the ineligible categories list). This report focuses on the housing and family situation of migrants, but the right to work may be important in the decision to migrate, even if residence rights are secured. Migration of non-EEA family members is less significant in Ireland than in many other countries. OECD reports that between 2006-2018, family migration accounted for the largest migrant flows – 36 per cent of all migrants (OECD, 2018).

Immediate (non-EEA) family members of Irish and EU citizens may access the labour market without an employment permit (though they do need a residence permit) (Arnold and Quinn, 2017).¹⁵ This applies to the family members of those who are Irish/EU citizens by birth, or those who have acquired Irish citizenship through naturalisation. Adult non-Irish nationals can apply for Irish citizenship if they meet various conditions, including that they are of ‘good character’ and satisfy

¹² As an illustration of origin countries, Groarke and Durst (2019) report that of residence permissions issued in 2017 for ‘study purposes’ in a higher education programme, some 25 per cent of these non-EEA nationals were from the US, 17 per cent were from India, 15 per cent were from Brazil and 14 per cent were from China.

¹³ Non-EEA family reunification at the EU level is governed by Council Directive 2003/86/EC of 22 September 2003 on the right to family reunification (Directive) in all Member States except Denmark and Ireland.

¹⁴ Since March 2019, the spouses and partners of critical skills employment permit holders may access the Irish labour market without needing an employment permit (Arnold et al., 2019a), but the data in this report are from April 2016.

¹⁵ A non-EEA national marrying an Irish national does not have to be resident in Ireland, but both partners need to attend an interview with a Registrar of marriage, who has the right to investigate whether an intended marriage would be a ‘marriage of convenience’ for immigration purposes.

https://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/reference/checklists/checklist_of_procedures_for_a_non_eea_national_living_outside_ireland_who_is_marrying_an_irish_national_in_ireland.html.

the residence requirements.¹⁶ Following a rapid increase in naturalisation, which peaked in 2012, by 2016 approximately 45 per cent of migrants born in non-EEA countries had Irish citizenship (McGinnity et al., 2020a). Not only can these non-EEA born migrants be joined by immediate family members, but they themselves can live and work in Ireland on the same basis as Irish citizens by birth, that is without requiring a residence or work permit, for an indefinite period.¹⁷

BOX 1.1 ACCOMMODATION FOR PROTECTION APPLICANTS: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

An Expert Group on the Provision of Supports, including Accommodation, to asylum seekers was established in late 2019 and produced a report which was published in October 2020. The report recommends measures such as exploration of various housing models; extending the right to work;¹⁸ moving away from emergency accommodation and providing own door accommodation within three months of application; and permitting bank accounts and driving licences for applicants (Government of Ireland, 2020). The report also recommends the amount of time taken to process protection decisions needs to be reduced with binding deadlines set for decisions (*ibid.*). Supporting successful applicants to transition out of Direct Provision centres would also be a key element, for example assistance to find housing, access to education and childcare and labour market access.¹⁹ Informed by this report, in February 2021 ‘A White Paper to End Direct Provision and to Establish a New International Protection Support Service’ was published by the Government (Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration, and Youth, 2021). The White Paper sets out a two-phase approach. In phase one, applicants who choose to avail of the offer of State provided accommodation will be accommodated in a reception and accommodation centre (all state-owned) for four months.²⁰ In phase two, accommodation will be own-door (not communal) accommodation. During both phases, mainstream services would be available, such as health, English language supports and income support (Government of Ireland, 2021a). This represents a major policy shift in accommodation policy for protection applicants: as commentators have noted however, it is important that any replacement is durable and meets the needs of applicants and is not just Direct Provision by another name (Ombudsman for Children, 2020; Houses of the Oireachtas, 2019).

¹⁶ For further details see Groarke, S. and R. Dunbar (2020). *Pathways to Citizenship through Naturalisation in Ireland*. Dublin: Economic and Social Research Institute. <https://doi.org/10.26504/rs116>.

¹⁷ Their family members, once residing in Ireland, can also work without requiring a work permit.

¹⁸ In June 2018, the *European Communities (Reception Conditions) Regulations 2018*, which transposed the *EU (recast) Reception Conditions Directive (2013/33/EU)*, came into effect. Under the Regulations, co-operating asylum applicants who have not received a first instance decision within nine months may apply for permission to access the labour market or vocational training. Arrangements have recently been revised, see <https://www.gov.ie/en/press-release/59532-minister-ogorman-and-minister-mcentee-publish-the-report-by-the-advisory-group-on-direct-provision-and-announce-a-reduction-in-the-waiting-period-for-international-protection-applicants-to-access-work>.

¹⁹ Arnold et al. (2019b) point out that programme refugees are already offered substantially more integration supports, including housing, than those who have come through the Direct Provision system and been granted protection status.

²⁰ Vulnerability assessments will be carried out during this phase.

1.3 HOUSING IN IRELAND

The Irish housing system is comprised of three sectors: homeownership, social housing, and the private rental sector. Traditionally, the housing system has been characterised by very high levels of homeownership. McKee (2012) proposes that in advanced economies homeownership is an important marker of individual wealth and success, and a means to secure one's own future welfare. For many states like Ireland, homeownership is the 'normalised' preference of housing tenure. Throughout the second half of the 20th century the level of homeownership in Ireland steadily increased. By the 1990s it had peaked, with just below 80 per cent of the population owning their own homes (see Figure 1.3, which presents household by tenure from 1960-2016). More recently, Waldron (2021) argues that countries that were traditionally considered homeownership societies – such as Ireland, the UK, and the US – are becoming increasingly less so in the aftermath of the global financial crisis. Post-recession, house prices in Ireland have continued to grow; however, lending conditions in the wake of the recession have become more restrictive; therefore, the opportunity to pursue homeownership has become less viable for people on lower and middle incomes (Cronin and McQuinn, 2021; McKee, 2012). As a result, there has been a substantial expansion of the private rental sector (Waldron, 2021); however, the prevalence of high rental costs presents a significant impediment to saving a mortgage deposit and transitioning to homeownership (Hoolachan et al., 2017). The term 'generation rent' is often used to describe the sharp fall in homeownership among young adults (Lund, 2013).

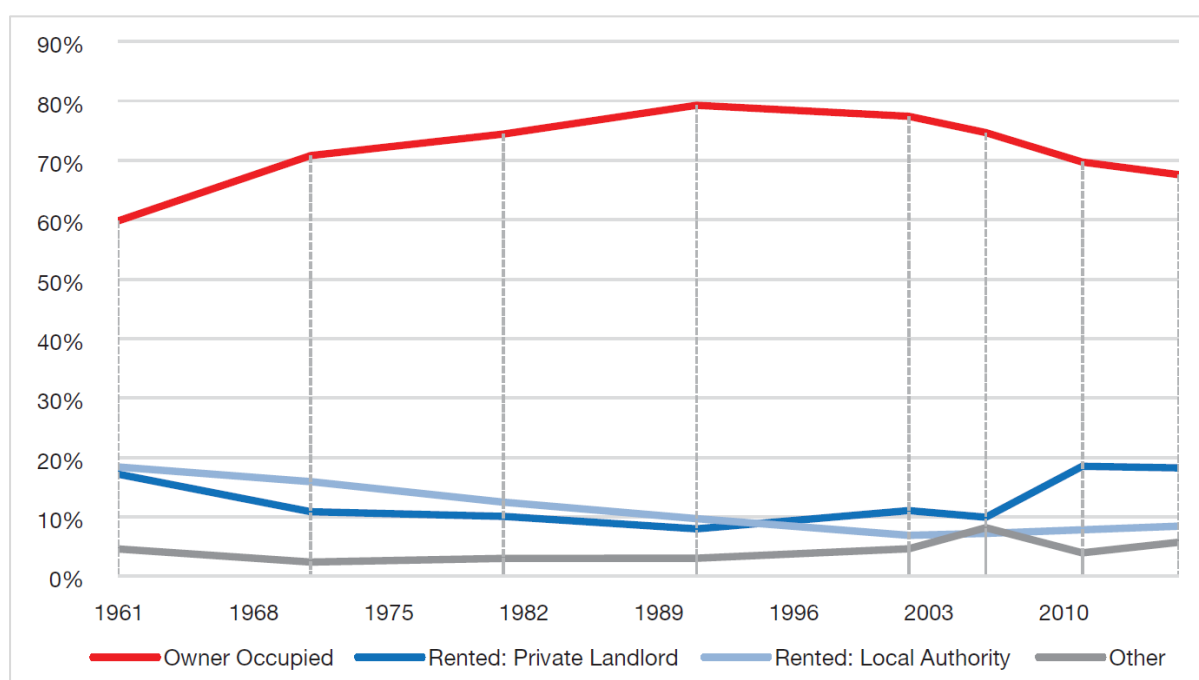
The second sector of the housing system is that of social housing. During the 1970s, the development of social housing in Ireland underwent rapid and progressive expansion. However, in more recent years, the building of social housing has slowed significantly due to lack of investment (Waldron, 2021). As a result of austerity measures during the Recession, capital expenditure on social housing was reduced by 80 per cent from 2008 to 2013 (Kitchin et al., 2015). The proportion of households in social housing fell from 18 per cent in 1961 to less than 10 per cent in 2016 (see Figure 1.3). Additionally, some social housing occupants are eligible to eventually purchase the home they occupy through schemes such as the Incremental Tenant Purchase Scheme.²¹ This has moved some social housing supply out of public ownership and into private ownership. Because of this confluence of factors, the lack of availability of social housing has created a push towards the private rental sector. In addition, in recent decades, while investment in social housing has fallen, there has been a substantial increase in the provision

²¹ Details on the Incremental Tenant Purchase Scheme and other similar schemes for the purchase of social housing can be found here: https://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/housing/local_authority_and_social_housing/buying_your_local_authority_housing.html#:~:text=An%20Incremental%20Purchase%20Scheme%20for,housing%20body%20at%20a%20discount.

of subsidised rent to support those on low incomes (see Section 1.3.2) who have sourced housing in the private rental sector (Corrigan, 2019).

Private renting was formerly regarded as the ‘residual sector’ in the Irish housing system (Grotti et al., 2018). However, with the challenges of homeownership and the lack of social housing, it has come to play an increasingly important role in the 21st century. The rise was particularly sharp between 2006 and 2016: in 2006, 10 per cent of households lived in private rented accommodation, but by the 2016 Census this had grown to 19 per cent (Figure 1.3). Therefore, next to homeownership, private renting has grown to become the second largest of the three sectors. Yet, that homeownership remains the dominant tenure in Ireland is a key consideration for this report because, throughout the world, first-generation migrants tend to live in rented accommodation. This is particularly true of newly arrived migrants (Coates et al., 2013; Borchgrevink and Birkvad, 2021; see also Chapter 2).

FIGURE 1.3 PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS BY TENURE, IRELAND, 1960-2016



Source: Corrigan, 2019, using Census data reports.

As this report concentrates on data gathered by the 2016 Census, our analysis reflects the housing situation of migrants and Irish-born at that point in time. Importantly, the housing situation in Ireland has undergone substantial changes in the interim; the most significant of which is a further exacerbation of the gap between housing demand and housing supply. The lack of housing supply has contributed, in part, to increased rental prices and house prices. Consequently, rent-to-income and house price-to-income ratios have increased since 2016, and

this has further affected affordability (Kennedy and Myers, 2019). A recent survey conducted by the Department of Housing demonstrates that, despite the volatility of the housing sector and the challenges of pursuing homeownership, an overwhelming preference persists among Irish and non-Irish respondents for homeownership (Corrigan et al., 2019a). The issue of housing supply has been further compounded by COVID-19; at the height of pandemic restrictions, all construction and renovation work in Ireland was brought to a halt, hindering the completion of new housing supply (Housing Europe, 2022).

Additionally, there have also been several developments in housing policy since 2016. These include *Rebuilding Ireland: Action Plan for Housing and Homelessness* in 2016 which aimed to increase housing supply including social housing units, as well as enhancing housing supplement and assistance payments. These measures were introduced with a view to combatting homelessness and increasing social housing supply and supports. *Rebuilding Ireland* also encouraged 'build to rent' developments to increase the number of available rental units. Another pillar of *Rebuilding Ireland* involved the purchase of vacant houses held by financial institutions for regeneration in order to increase housing supply. Another policy measure introduced in 2016 was that of Rent Pressure Zones (RPZ). Rent pressure zones in 2016 endeavoured to address rising rents in urban areas by restricting the frequency and amount by which rental costs could be increased by landlords in designated RPZ areas. Initially RPZs were confined to local authority and local electoral areas that were densely populated urban areas such as Dublin and Cork. These were areas in which rents were observed to be highest and tenants faced greatest difficulty with respect to affordability. However, by 2020, there were 55 local authorities and local authority areas that had been designated as RPZs²² reflecting the widespread challenges of high rental costs.

In 2018, the *Vacant Housing Reuse Strategy 2018-2021* was implemented by government in an effort to address the high number of vacant properties during the ongoing housing crisis. The Reuse Strategy expanded on the proposals in *Rebuilding Ireland* which recognised the utilisation of existing housing stock as a key approach in the wider housing strategy. The Reuse Strategy introduced measures to establish accurate and up-to-date figures on the number of vacant properties across the country. In addition, it also committed to greater engagement with stakeholders to ensure that suitable properties held by banks, financial institutions, or other investors were acquired for social housing stock. Most recently, in September 2021, the government launched *Housing for All: A New Housing Plan for Ireland*, a long-term strategy document for Ireland's housing system that runs until 2030. The key objectives of the plan are to support homeownership and increase affordability; increase new housing supply; eradicate

²² A list of Rental Pressure Zones can be found at: [Where are Rent Pressure Zones? | Residential Tenancies Board \(rtb.ie\)](#).

homelessness through increasing social housing supply and increasing housing supports; and address vacant units. The introduction of these policies mostly come after the time point captured within our data, but we do reflect on them when considering the policy implications of the findings in Chapter 6.

1.3.1 Housing costs and affordability

Russell et al. (2021) argue that affordability is a key indicator of adequate housing. Some affordability issues may be unavoidable; for example, young earners at the beginning of their career paths may have more limited choices in terms of affordable housing options. However, where affordability issues are persistent and widespread within the housing system, vulnerable groups such as the unemployed or young families may be particularly disadvantaged. For this reason, it is vital to examine potential group differences in relation to housing affordability as it can be reflective of social exclusion.

In Ireland, since recovery from the Recession, both house prices and rental prices have increased substantially (Kitchin et al., 2015; Waldron, 2021). Although house prices fell significantly during the recession, data gathered by Cronin and McQuinn (2021) report house prices increased by 85 per cent during the period 2012-2019. This was in a period of exceptionally low wage growth. In 2018, for example, mean monthly earnings were only 11 per cent higher than in 2011, seven years previously (Russell et al., 2021).²³ In terms of affordability, Corrigan et al. (2019b) reported that, by 2016, the average household was paying one-fifth of its income on housing; however, they found that private renters and those in urban areas were paying significantly greater housing costs. A knock-on effect of high rental costs and stagnant wages is that it hinders the ability of renters to save mortgage deposits and therefore to transition from the private rental sector into homeownership (Waldron, 2021). This is in the context of much more prudent banking sector lending practices introduced on foot of the collapse in the Irish housing market in the Great Recession, which had severe consequences for the labour market: these restrictions on lending required much more substantial deposits and lower loan-to-value ratios (Cronin and McQuinn, 2021).

Russell et al. (2021) demonstrated that on average rental costs are rising at a much faster rate than earnings, particularly in Dublin, though this may conceal variation within the rental cohort and may not be the experience for all renters. With rental costs outpacing wages, affordability issues are inevitable and may be acutely felt by people on average and below-average incomes. While housing support measures are in place, they are not available to all (see Section 1.3.2); and in some cases the supports do not stretch to fully cover the rental cost. An additional

²³ Mean monthly earnings were €3,682 in 2018 compared to €3,310 in 2011 (Russell et al., 2021, Table 4.1, using earnings data from the CSO's EAADS dataset, Series NEA05).

challenge is that private landlords may be averse to accepting people who rely on rent supplements and discriminate against these individuals as prospective tenants (Kitchin et al., 2015; see also Section 1.3.3 on legislative measures introduced to combat discrimination concerning housing assistance payments).

Affordability is linked to housing security in that rent or mortgage arrears can pose the threat of eviction. Indeed, in recent years, as a result of low housing supply, high rental costs, and lack of available social housing, the problem of homelessness in Ireland has intensified, particularly for those experiencing family breakdown. Focus Ireland, one of most prominent non-governmental organisations dedicated to the issue of homelessness, recently published a report examining the growth of persons in homelessness over the period 2014 to 2021 (O’Sullivan et al., 2021). The report, which analyses data from the Pathway Accommodation and Support System (PASS) gathered over this period, finds that the number of households in emergency accommodation peaked in January 2020, at just over 6,000 households. Similarly, a report by Morrin (2019) for the Dublin Region Homeless Executive demonstrates that there has been a steady increase in the number of families presenting as homeless in the Dublin area for the period 2014-2018. The report identifies two primary reasons for homelessness as recorded by those accessing emergency accommodation services: the receipt of a termination of private rental accommodation, and issues of family circumstance or relationship breakdown. In 2018, of the adult members of the families presenting as homeless within Dublin, 61 per cent were Irish citizens, 19 per cent had EU citizenship, and 20 per cent were non-EU citizens (Morrin, 2019). The vulnerability of migrants to homelessness is discussed further in Chapter 4.

Understanding the contemporary challenges of the housing system is important for understanding the housing conditions faced by migrant groups in Ireland. Just as important, however, are the policy responses to these issues. Two areas of policy are particularly relevant: housing policy (social housing and cash-based supports) and equality legislation.

1.3.2 Housing supports

One of the essential functions of central government and local authorities is their role in the provision of social housing. To be eligible for social housing under Dublin City Council,²⁴ as an example local authority, the applying household’s net income must fall below a certain level. This income threshold differs according to household type.²⁵ In addition, the household must have a long-term right to reside in Ireland. If the application successfully meets these criteria, it is assigned a

²⁴ Details of application process for social housing under Dublin City Council obtained from: <https://www.dublincity.ie/residential/housing/i-am-looking-home/i-want-apply-council-home>.

²⁵ For further details of eligibility, see Corrigan (2019).

priority band. The first band consists of people with priority welfare or medical issues. Homelessness, disability and membership of the Traveller community can also be cited as grounds for inclusion in Band 1. The second band consists of people who live in overcrowded circumstances. The third band is comprised of all remaining applicants. Naturally, this ‘catch-all’ band creates a situation whereby there is a higher number of applicants within the third band. Securing social housing also depends on the availability of social housing stock. As described previously, the social housing stock in recent years has been depleted and waiting lists can be very long: in June 2017, for example, one-quarter of eligible households had been waiting for seven years or more (Corrigan, 2019). In some cases, the age of the existing stock renders it of poor condition (Kitchin et al., 2015). Additionally, households that are small in size or large in size may find it difficult to secure housing as the current stock mainly consists of two or three bedroom homes (National Oversight and Audit Commission, 2016). Once granted residence in social housing units, tenancy conditions are very secure (Corrigan, 2019).

In many respects, migrants are at a significant disadvantage when seeking social housing. In 2012, the Department of Housing, Planning and Local Government issued revised guidelines for access to social housing supports which include a number of eligibility criteria that limit access to social housing for non-Irish nationals.²⁶ For example, as stated, to be eligible for social housing support, a person must have a long-term right to reside in the State. Depending on their country of origin, migrants face different restrictions. For example, migrants from the UK enjoy the same rights as Irish citizens. In contrast, migrants from the European Economic Area (EEA) can only apply for social housing if they are: currently employed or self-employed; registered as unemployed having previously been in employment for at least a year and are registered with the Department of Social Protection and Intreo; or if they are temporarily out of work due to incapacity because of illness or injury. In the case of non-EEA nationals, the restrictions are even greater. Applicants from non-EEA states are only eligible to apply for social housing if they meet the employment criteria stated above, and if they meet the residency rules which require them to have lived in Ireland for at least five years.

Non-EEA nationals who have been granted Refugee, Programme Refugee, or Subsidiary Protection status are eligible to apply for social housing. These groups are eligible to apply on the same basis as an Irish citizen from the date on which their status is granted. In contrast, asylum applicants are not eligible to apply for social housing. As discussed above, new asylum applicants are typically housed within the Direct Provision system, where they receive food, accommodation and

²⁶ See Housing Circular 41/2012. Available at: <http://www.housing.old.gov.ie/sites/default/files/migrated-files/en/Publications/DevelopmentandHousing/Housing/FileDownload%2C29412%2Cen.pdf>.

a small allowance per week. Additionally, asylum applicants living outside the Direct Provision system are also not eligible to receive rent supplement.

As described above, migrants may encounter disadvantage when it comes to securing housing, be that in buying a house, private rented accommodation or social housing. Crucially, the *Migrant Integration Strategy 2017-2021* (Department of Justice and Equality, 2017), which is the key strategic government document on the integration of migrants in Ireland, does not include any specific provisions or mention of housing.

There has been a significant shift in housing policy from provision of social housing to the use of income supports and housing transfers that subsidise rent in the private sector in Ireland (Grotti et al., 2018; Corrigan, 2019). In April 2016, the time at which our data were collected, cash-based housing assistance in Ireland was mainly provided through three mutually exclusive schemes.²⁷ **Rent Supplement** (RS) is a means-tested payment for tenants in private rented accommodation offered by the Department of Social Protection. RS payments are made to the tenant directly, not the landlord, to cover short-term housing needs.²⁸ The **Housing Assistance Payment** (HAP) and the **Rental Accommodation Scheme** (RAS) are allowance payments provided through local authorities for people with long-term housing needs. The precise operation of these schemes varies but a common feature is that the tenant household resides in a privately owned unit and pays a differential rent (Corrigan, 2019). HAP is paid by Local Authorities directly to the landlord. In most cases the tenant must source the accommodation themselves, a feature of the scheme that has caused difficulties for homeless families and other vulnerable tenants and has been criticised by several authors (Hearne and Murphy, 2018; Byrne and McArdle, 2020).²⁹ In recent years, spending on RS has fallen and spending on HAP risen, so that by 2018 spending on HAP surpassed RS spending (Russell et al., 2021). Some have argued the introduction of the HAP scheme, moving low-income households to the private rented sector at the time of low housing supply helped fuel rent inflation (Corrigan et al., 2019b). While tenant security has improved in recent years, private rented accommodation that is subsidised through income support also differs from social housing support in that tenant security is much higher in local authority owned housing units (Corrigan, 2019).

²⁷ An allowance for those with difficulties meeting mortgage repayments, the Mortgage Income Supplement (MIS), was being wound down in 2016. From 2014 onwards, the Department of Employment Affairs was no longer accepting new applicants and in 2018, the MIS was discontinued.

²⁸ Applicants' rental cost must fall below a specified level. In addition, adults within the household must work less than 30 hours per week.

²⁹ In the smaller RAS scheme payment is also made directly to the landlord: the key difference between RAS and HAP payments is that under RAS, the local authority is involved in the tenancy relationship. RAS spending has remained steady in recent years.

1.3.3 Equality and non-discrimination

The Equal Status Acts (2000-2018) provide protection against discrimination in relation to accessing goods and services, including access to housing. Discrimination refers to the unfavourable treatment of an individual on the basis of their membership of a particular social category. The Acts cover discrimination under nine grounds: gender, marital status, family status, age, disability, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity/nationality, religion, family status, civil status, and membership of the Traveller community. In addition, since the introduction of the Equality (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 2015, the Acts also prohibit discrimination against those who are in receipt of social welfare, rent supplement or housing assistance. This legislation was introduced in part to protect low-income individuals from discrimination by landlords who may have previously rejected tenants who were receiving housing assistance payments (HAP).

Under the grounds cited in the Acts, discrimination as it pertains to housing is specifically prohibited where it concerns: selling a property; establishing or terminating tenancy agreements; providing accommodation or related services; and ending the provision of accommodation (IHREC, 2015). However, despite the introduction of these legislative measures, research indicates that discrimination in relation to housing is still experienced by those in receipt of housing assistance (Byrne and McArdle, 2020). There is also consistent evidence of discrimination in access to housing in Ireland for both non-Irish nationals and ethnic minority groups (Grotti et al., 2018; CSO, 2019; Gusciute et al., 2020). Evidence on discrimination in access to housing will be further explored in Chapter 2.

Discrimination in access to housing is likely to primarily concern access to private rented accommodation. For those buying a house, treatment by financial services – opening a bank account or obtaining a mortgage – may be more relevant. Non-Irish nationals and ethnic minorities also report higher rates of discrimination in financial services (McGinnity et al., 2012; CSO, 2019).

1.4 FAMILY IN IRELAND

Tracing family composition since the start of the early 20th century, Fahey and Curran (2016) demonstrate that Irish families have substantially decreased in size over time. In 1911, Irish families with children had an average sibsize of 8.1.³⁰ This decreased substantially to a mean sibsize of over 6 by 1961 but remained high by Western standards. By 2011, the sibsize for Irish families was at 3.3. However, fertility in Ireland is not evenly distributed. More specifically, Fahey and Curran (2016) note that, by international comparison, Ireland has both a high proportion

³⁰ Sibsize refers to the number of siblings within a family unit, where an only child is regarded as having a sibsize of 1 (Fahey and Curran, 2016).

of large families in addition to a large level of childlessness. Overall, CSO figures from the 2016 Census indicate that the average number of children born to women of child-bearing age is 1.8, which reflects a very slight decline on the figures from the 2011 Census.³¹ For context for our discussion in Chapter 5, Table 1.1 illustrates the fertility rates of the countries who account for the ten largest migrant groups in Ireland, taken from the OECD.³² Overall, according to the 2016 Census data, migrants from these countries account for over 70 per cent Ireland's migrant population.³³

The demography of family structures in Ireland has greatly transformed over the last few decades. Firstly, Fahey and Field (2008) observe that the role of marriage has somewhat declined in that it is no longer regarded as the primary gateway to family formation. Owing to this, partnerships and cohabitation have risen and offset the declining number of marriages. Secondly, single parent families have become a common feature of the social landscape as a result of non-marital childbearing, described above, or through marital breakdown (Nixon and Swords, 2016). Divorce was legalised by referendum in Ireland in 1996 and introduced in 1997. Fahey and Field (2008) report that the rate of marital breakdown in Ireland increased five-fold between 1986 and 2006. Nonetheless, the level of marital breakdown in Ireland remains quite low when compared with other countries (Hannan and Halpin, 2014).³⁴

³¹ Figures obtained from 2016 Census data (module E4095) available on the CSO website: <https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cp4hf/cp4hf/fty/>.

³² Figures from 2019 are used as these are the closest available in time to our dataset, the 2016 Census.

³³ List of countries obtained from 2016 Census data, available on the CSO website: <https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cpnin/cpnin/introduction/>.

³⁴ The marital breakdown rate is comprised not only of divorce but also of other means of legal and de facto separation, which gives a more complete measure of breakdown.

TABLE 1.1 2019 TOTAL FERTILITY RATES AMONG THE LARGEST SENDING-COUNTRIES TO IRELAND

Country	Fertility Rate
Ireland	1.70
Poland	1.42
UK	1.63
Lithuania	1.61
Romania	1.77
Latvia	1.61
Brazil	1.72
Spain	1.23
Italy	1.27
France	1.83
Germany	1.54
India*	2.2
Nigeria*	5.3
China*	1.7
United States*	1.7
Australia*	1.7

Source: OECD, 2019;³⁵ *The World Bank, 2019.³⁶

Note: Total Fertility Rate (TFR) is taken as the number of children born per woman over a lifetime given current age-specific fertility rates and assuming no female mortality during reproductive years.

1.5 REPORT OUTLINE

As described, the current *Migrant Integration Strategy 2017-2021* does not provide specific guidance or recommendations regarding housing for migrants arriving in Ireland (Department of Justice and Equality, 2017). The strategy does, however, highlight the need for ongoing research to assess how well society is responding to potential integration challenges. An examination of the household and family structures among migrants is vitally important as it allows us to identify the potential disadvantages that migrants may encounter when compared to the native-born population. This comparison provides an indication of the extent to which it is easy, or not, for migrants to integrate into society. The objective of this report is to explore housing and family outcomes for migrants, examining what this means for the integration of migrants in Ireland.

Chapter 2 will provide an overview of the literature in this area drawing on what is known about migrant housing pathways both in Ireland and internationally. It will consider the issues of discrimination, housing quality and homelessness. Chapter 2 will also discuss what is known about migrant household and family structures and

³⁵ Total Fertility Rates, OECD (2019), available at: <https://www.oecd.org/els/family/database.htm>.

³⁶ Total Fertility Rates, The World Bank (2019), available at: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.TFRT.IN?view=chart>.

how this relates to the home. Chapter 3 will detail the methodology and the analytical treatment of the census data. Chapter 4 will focus on an analysis of the housing outcomes for migrants in Ireland, comparing migrants to natives and exploring difference among migrant groups. It will focus on the issues of housing type, housing tenure, overcrowding, and homelessness as indicators of how well migrants fare in the housing market. Chapter 5 will concentrate on family life and will explore the composition of migrant-headed households, the number of children in migrant-headed households, and migrant-headed mixed households. Finally, Chapter 6 will provide a summary of the findings of this analysis, reflecting on the implications for policy.

CHAPTER 2

Literature review

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter consolidates the findings of existing empirical research on migrant families' housing outcomes both in Ireland and internationally. The importance of housing cannot be overestimated as it has been deemed fundamental for health and well-being (Coates et al., 2013). In particular, this review will concentrate on the experiences of first-generation migrants. It will explore the housing pathways of migrants, focusing on housing tenure, housing quality, overcrowding and homelessness. The literature summarised below suggests that migrants often face significant challenges with respect to securing housing and can encounter discrimination in accessing housing. In addition, housing quality is often lower than that occupied by natives. These trends have also been observed in the Irish context.

Following this, Section 2.3 will concentrate on family. It will explore the concept of family composition among migrants and factors influencing this, noting that some migrants may be part of transnational families with members of their 'nuclear' family still living in the sending country. This section will examine family size, particularly with respect to the implications this has for housing size and overcrowding. Finally, Section 2.3.3 will explore the growing number of mixed unions between migrants and natives.

2.2 MIGRANTS AND HOUSING PATHWAYS

Housing pathways refer to the experiences of an individual or household in securing accommodation over time, with a recognition that housing preferences are not universal but rooted in social, cultural, ethnic, or age differences (Coates et al., 2013). Migrants, as a group, are placed at a significant disadvantage when it comes to entering the housing pathway. Evidence would suggest that migrants face additional obstacles in obtaining housing in host countries; factors such as age, income, visa type, household size, and accommodation preferences can affect migrants' success in the housing system (Vargas-Silva, 2011). In reviewing the empirical evidence, Coates et al. (2013) state that newly arriving migrants may have difficulty finding work and housing in host countries and tend to settle in low quality rented accommodation as a result. They argue that a migrants' housing pathway can be considered, in itself, a process of acculturation in which their place in the labour market, financial resources, support networks, and understanding of the local housing market and State supports accumulate over time. As will be described within this section, many migrants – for a variety of reasons – find housing in the private rented sector as opposed to through homeownership.

The international literature indicates that homeownership is much lower among immigrants than among natives (see for example, Amuedo-Dorantes and Mundra, 2012; Borchgrevink and Birkvad, 2021). Likewise, a strong body of evidence demonstrates that migrants in Ireland are also much less likely to own their own home (Duffy, 2007; McGinnity et al., 2012; 2020a; Maître and Russell, 2017; Grotti et al., 2018; Russell et al., 2021). A study by Duffy (2007) compared the housing tenure of immigrants and natives in Ireland between 1995 and 2004. The results of the study found that homeownership was higher among natives, but that this gap in ownership levels narrowed when migrants were married, widowed, or separated. Maître and Russell (2017) propose that low homeownership among migrants and non-Irish nationals is likely to be influenced by the age, life-cycle stage, length of residency, as well as potentially less access to mortgage credit. Moreover, they add that an individual's intention to stay is also a substantial factor underpinning housing tenure preferences; if migrants do not plan to settle in Ireland long-term it would make sense that they would not plan to purchase homes. An additional consideration is that, for some non-EU nationals, residence permissions are temporary and this may render them less eligible to access credit to purchase homes. Using EU-SILC data, Maître and Russell (2017) demonstrated that non-Irish nationals who had lived in Ireland longer were more likely to own their homes. For example, those who had lived in Ireland for 15 years or more showed a similar homeownership rate to that of Irish nationals. A large proportion of those with long periods of residency in Ireland are UK nationals (see McGinnity et al., 2020a).³⁷

It is important to recognise that distinct categories of migrants have different rights, opportunities, and resources at their disposal; consequently, they have diverse experiences with the housing system (Mayock et al., 2012). As discussed in Chapter 1, while EU migrants can live and work in Ireland without restrictions, they are much more likely than other migrants to view their stay as temporary, and thus may not want to make the long-term commitment of buying a property (NCCRI, 2008; Krings et al., 2013). Furthermore, although migrants may intend to stay in Ireland, many non-EU migrants only have a temporary residence permission, which may make it exceedingly difficult to get a mortgage to buy a house.

An additional consideration is the financial cost of entering the housing pathway. Housing is expensive in Ireland, which has some of the highest housing prices in the EU (Bricongne et al., 2019). Homeownership typically requires large bank loans in the form of a mortgage. The requirement to demonstrate credit and

³⁷ Data from the Labour Force Survey show that in 2017, almost two-thirds (64 per cent) of UK nationals had been living in Ireland for more than ten years, compared to 39 per cent of all non-Irish nationals (see McGinnity et al., 2020a, Table A1.4).

employment history can pose greater difficulty for immigrant mortgage applicants, even if they are in financially secure jobs (Silke et al., 2008). Rental costs are also very high, particularly in Dublin and have risen since 2011 with affordability issues for renters due to a widening gap between rental prices and average earnings (Russell et al., 2021). The housing careers of immigrants are complex and reflect their often-precarious situations as well as their financial and social resources (Finn and Mayock, 2021). As such, affordability issues face many migrants. For example, a recent ESRI report on adequate housing in Ireland found that migrants were overrepresented among Housing Assistance Payment recipients and that non-EU nationals are overrepresented in local authority housing (Russell et al., 2021). This is consistent with higher poverty rates among non-EU nationals. In 2016, for example, 42 per cent of non-EU nationals were at risk of income poverty, compared to 17 per cent of the total population in Ireland. However, Russell et al. (2021) also suggested that affordability issues are not uniformly experienced by all migrant groups. For example, the prevalence of affordability issues was relatively high among non-EU migrants (13 per cent) and EU-East migrants (10 per cent) and lowest among migrants from the UK (4 per cent). Such affordability issues may link to different integration challenges that migrants face.

While migrants may face constraints in the housing market, they are also active agents in their own 'housing pathway' (Finn and Mayock, 2021). Consequently, some may prefer rented accommodation, either linked to homeownership rates in their home country or intentions to stay, as discussed above. Evidence from previous Irish research suggests that immigrants' tendency to settle in private rented accommodation is because private rentals are more readily accessible, with the main restrictions being the renter's income and the current lack of housing supply (Finn and Mayock, 2021). Restrictions such as immigration status and personal financial circumstances play a role in both State-supported housing and on house purchase: these may have a lesser impact on access to private accommodation (Finn and Mayock, 2021). These observations are reflected in the Irish context in that migrants are more likely to live in private rental housing than Irish nationals (Grotti et al., 2018). Despite this, a recent survey study by Corrigan et al. (2019a) finds that homeownership is the dominant *preference* of housing tenure in Ireland, and this preference was equally expressed among both Irish and non-Irish respondents. In a survey of 750 renters aged between 25-49 in 2018, survey respondents indicated a strong preference for homeownership; 86.5 per cent agreed that 'owning a home makes more sense because you are protected against rent increases and owning is a good investment' (Corrigan et al., 2019a, p.7). Overall, 27 per cent of the sample were non-Irish nationals, and the preference for homeownership over renting was very similar among Irish and non-Irish respondents (*ibid.*).

Research in both urban and non-urban settings has found that availability of private rented accommodation is associated with the inflow of immigrant residents (Arbaci, 2008; Finn and Mayock, 2021; Nygaard, 2011; Vang, 2012). In a recent study of the residential concentration of migrants in Ireland using small area population statistics from the 2016 Census, Fahey et al. (2019) demonstrated that migrants tend to live in areas where private rented accommodation is plentiful. Their analysis showed that of all area characteristics tested in their model, the location of migrants appears to be most strongly associated with the supply of private-rental housing (*ibid.*). This echoes the findings of an earlier census-based study of Irish housing which examined the 1996-2006 period (Fahey and Fanning, 2010).

Further to this, international research has identified issues of housing segregation among minority populations, including migrants (see, for instance, Jargowsky, 2009, on migrant segregation in the US). Housing segregation or residential segregation refers to the separation of different groups into different neighbourhoods based on particular characteristics (Jargowsky, 2018). Segregation may occur on the basis of race or ethnicity (Jargowsky, 2018), migrant status (Musterd and Van Kempen, 2009), or income (Owens, 2019). In an examination of segregation index measures, Musterd and Van Kempen (2009) demonstrated that ethnic segregation exists across all major European cities, noting that immigrants have different patterns of spatial concentration than that of natives. However, a study by Fahey et al. (2019) explored the possibility of residential segregation in Ireland. Immigrants in Ireland were described by the authors as highly educated and were typically concentrated in wealthier areas. However, when immigrant origin was broken down, non-Europeans and those with poor English were found to live in areas with above-average unemployment, particularly those in the cities of Dublin, Limerick and Cork (Fahey et al., 2019). Fahey et al. (2019) could not investigate whether the findings for those with poor English skills were linked to the role of language skills in securing accommodation or that migrants with poor English had low-skilled jobs and thus incomes. However, this study does indicate that English language skills may be a relevant factor for understanding housing outcomes.

National patterns of spatial concentration do not reveal more detailed segregation in smaller geographical areas: research by Pillinger (2009) has shown some evidence of migrant clustering in Dublin suburbs. Her research study reported that the West Dublin suburb under study had a population of 22 per cent foreign nationals, over twice that of the State average of 10 per cent. Consistent with previous findings, Pillinger (2009) reported that most migrants in the study were living in private rented accommodation. Through interviews, Pillinger (2009) found that migrants elected to live in this suburb due to affordability, proximity to work, and to a lesser extent because of social networks.

There is some argument to suggest that the clustering of migrant populations may yield certain benefits, in that new arrivals have the support of an existing migrant or ethnic community that may share their cultural values and norms (Coates et al., 2013). Crucially, Coates et al. (2013) argue that this benefit is only realised if segregation is voluntary rather than imposed by external forces such as discrimination (which will be explored in the next section). By contrast, the negative impact of segregation can be profound. In summarising these effects, Bolt et al. (2010) state that segregation can detrimentally affect housing pathways, social cohesion, social mobility and integration. The social segregation of ethnic and racial minorities has been found to have a negative impact on migrant lives, linked to greater discrimination (Auspurg et al., 2019) and often signalling poor integration and disadvantages, particularly where there are clusters of deprived migrants (Fahey et al., 2019).

2.2.1 Discrimination in accessing housing

Housing discrimination and disadvantage – including structural discrimination – are found across Europe and contribute to deep-rooted social and economic inequality (Harrison et al., 2005). An extensive body of international literature indicates ethnic minorities face significant disadvantage in rental housing markets across Western countries. Evidence suggests that these populations typically pay higher rents for the size of the accommodation, generally live in relatively smaller apartments and in segregated, disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Auspurg et al., 2019). Discrimination in the housing market has been associated with greater challenges in accessing and securing accommodation (Auspurg et al., 2019; Guscute et al., 2020), poorer access to employment and education (Flage, 2018), worse health outcomes (Yang et al., 2016), residential segregation (Flage, 2018), lower levels of integration (Pager and Shepard, 2008), and higher risks of homelessness (Grotti et al., 2018).

The experiences of ethnic minorities in relation to housing discrimination are sensitive and challenging matters to research (Harrison et al., 2005). Further difficulties in conducting research in this area stem from the fact that there is a wide disparity of data on housing discrimination experiences of ethnic minorities across Europe. There is great variation in terms of ethnic minority experiences regarding location, migrant-related terminologies, ethnicity, and level of discrimination experience (Harrison et al., 2005). A meta-analysis of 71 field experiments across ten European and North American countries provides some insights into housing discrimination among these groups, finding that, overall (across ethnicities and country-level variations) the level of discrimination experienced had declined since the 1970s and 1980s when compared with the 1990s and 2000s (Auspurg et al., 2019). When broken down, the study found differences in the experiences of discrimination across ethnicities. Results

demonstrated that Arab and Muslim housing applicants faced slightly more discrimination than Black applicants, while other ethnicities (primarily Hispanics, Eastern Europeans and Asians) suffered the least discrimination. The review explored the evidence for both statistical and animus-based discrimination. Statistical discrimination refers to discrimination against minorities rooted in generalisations that endeavour to maximise one's own profits. For example, a landlord may discriminate against a tenant from a migrant background, perceiving them as more financially unstable than a native-born tenant. In comparison, animus-based discrimination is grounded in prejudice and resentment towards minorities, and a desire to minimise contact. Auspurg et al.'s (2019) meta-analysis revealed that discrimination in rental markets was both statistical and animus-based. They examined a subset of nine studies in which the level of personal information submitted by the applicant was in an in-built condition of the experiment. They found that providing additional applicant information (i.e. on social status and socio-demographic characteristics) reduced discrimination against minority applicants by approximately one-third. However, the findings also suggest some evidence of animus discrimination as minority groups still received less responses.

There is limited research on housing discrimination in Ireland from survey sources. However, evidence on self-reported discrimination in accessing housing in Ireland demonstrated that, in the period 2004-2014, 17 per cent of the Black ethnic group experienced discrimination in accessing housing, compared to 3.5 per cent of White Irish respondents and 3.7 per cent of White non-Irish (Grotti et al., 2018). In Ireland, research has found that migrant families may face discrimination in the private rental sector (Threshold, 2010).

Few studies conducted in Europe examine how experiences of housing discrimination differ with respect to ethnic/national group. One recent study is a field experiment conducted by Gusciute et al. (2020) which explored ethnic discrimination in the private rental housing market in Ireland. The experiment involved the submission of fabricated applications for viewings of private apartments for rent, including details of the applicant's nationality as Irish, Polish, or Nigerian. Although all 'applicants' provided equivalent personal information, 40 per cent of Irish applicants were invited to a viewing, 35 per cent of Polish applicants and just 25 per cent of Nigerian applicants. The authors argued that non-European migrants face greater discrimination than European migrants, or Irish-born who by comparison faced the lowest levels of discrimination (Gusciute et al., 2020). Additionally, Polish and Nigerian applicants were asked to provide further personal information, such as references from previous landlords, payslips, or evidence of employment contracts more often when compared to Irish applicants. Gusciute et al. (2020) argued that based on the responses there was a clear preference for applicants who had rented previously and who had clear evidence

of financial stability; however the type of personal information sought may be more difficult for newly arrived migrants to provide. Consistent with other research (such as Flage, 2018), the study demonstrated gender differences in addition to ethnic differences in terms of housing discrimination. Overall, female applicants received more invitations to rental viewings than men, but ethnic minority men received the least number of invitations. Gusciute et al. (2020) found that the application response rate for ethnic minority men was 23 per cent lower than that received by Irish females. However, women were more likely to be asked if they were renting alone or with a partner and if they have children. The experimental design did not allow for the effect of family structure on invitation to viewings to be tested; although, that it was an issue disproportionately raised with female applicants is indicative of gender discrimination and discrimination against renters with families.

2.2.2 Housing quality and overcrowding

Poor housing conditions impact on other aspects of social life, including, for instance, exacerbating social exclusion, having negative effects on mental and physical health, educational attainment, and income levels (Harrison et al., 2005; Russell et al., 2021). According to UNICEF (2009) overcrowding is a key indicator of access to adequate housing. Approximately 7 million immigrants in the EU live in overcrowded conditions, which are more common in rented rather than owned accommodation (OECD, 2018). Overcrowding rates among immigrants are higher than among native-born populations in the EU, at 17 per cent compared to 11 per cent (OECD, 2018). For example, research in the UK demonstrates that ethnic minorities have a greater tendency to live in overcrowded accommodation than White British (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2018). Similarly, research in Finland shows that migrant children are more likely to live in overcrowded situations than Finnish children (Obućina and Ilmakunnas, 2020).

A quantitative study conducted in Spain examined homeownership and living conditions among Moroccan, Ecuadorian, and Romanian migrants, who comprise 30 per cent of the migrant population in Spain (Andrés and Machí, 2017). The findings revealed that migrants live in substandard housing conditions and experience serious overcrowding issues in comparison to natives. Overcrowding among migrants was linked to lower income levels, higher housing costs, gender, age, marriage status, length of time in the country, and education levels. Overcrowding was also associated with living in urban areas rather than rural areas due to housing supply and price. Finally, the study indicated that the likelihood of experiencing overcrowding differed across the three migrant groups. For instance, one-third of immigrants from Morocco and Ecuador were found to be living in overcrowded conditions compared to 23 per cent of Romanians. Andrés and Machí (2017) proposed that this was due to differences in ethnic capital. Ethnic capital refers to the social, economic, and environmental advantages or disadvantages

ascribed to a particular ethnic group which can enable or constrain social mobility (Borjas, 1992). The OECD (2018) reports similar differences between migrant groups, finding that overcrowding is more prevalent among non-EU migrants in almost all OECD countries. One-in-five non-EU migrants lived in overcrowded housing in the EU, compared to one-in-seven EU migrants.

Russell et al. (2021) also reported that migrant households in Ireland, with the exception of those from the UK/Western Europe, experience higher rates of overcrowding than households where the household head was born in Ireland. In particular, migrants from Eastern Europe and non-EU countries (grouped together) face particularly high levels of overcrowding compared to Irish-born and other migrant groups (Russell et al., 2021). The results reflect similar findings from other studies conducted in Ireland. For example, Grotti et al. (2018) found that even when controlling for age, family status, household composition, disability and income, migrants from Eastern Europe and non-EU countries also experienced high rates of overcrowding.³⁸ Much of the higher overcrowding rates among Eastern European migrants was explained by their much higher incidence of private renting (*ibid.*). The study, however, reported that the difference between Eastern European migrants and those born in Ireland was insignificant when housing tenure was controlled for. In addition, Russell et al. (2021) found that overcrowding rates differed by ethnicity, with all minority ethnic groups experiencing higher levels of overcrowding than the White Irish ethnic group: 35 per cent of Asian or Asian Irish and over 40 per cent of Black or Black Irish living in overcrowded housing. That said, OECD (2018) shows that the overcrowding rate among migrants in Ireland is one of the lowest in the OECD. This is related to the fact that overcrowding rates in Ireland are low in comparative terms; for example overcrowding rates are also low among Irish-born (OECD, 2018). So, migrants in Ireland may be more likely to live in overcrowded accommodation than Irish-born residents, but less likely to live in overcrowded accommodation than if they lived elsewhere in Europe.

Another important consideration is that of housing quality. Across the EU, one-in-four immigrants live in substandard housing³⁹ compared to one-in-five native-born, with 6 per cent of foreign-born living in both overcrowded and substandard housing (OECD, 2018). Recent evidence from Ireland shows that migrants on average have somewhat higher housing deprivation scores (24 per cent of those born abroad compared to 22 per cent born in Ireland (Russell et al., 2021).⁴⁰ Migrants from the UK (25 per cent) and non-EU countries (27 per cent) have higher

³⁸ Neither Russell et al. (2021) or Grotti et al. (2018) distinguish any non-EU groups: all non-EU countries of origin are combined.

³⁹ Accommodation is defined by the OECD (2018) as substandard or deprived 'if it is too dark, does not provide exclusive access to a bathroom, or if the roof leaks' (p.110).

⁴⁰ Housing deprivation is having one or more of the following issues: leaking roof/damp walls; dark rooms; no central heating; or no double glazing.

housing deprivation rates than those from Eastern (22 per cent) and Western Europe (19 per cent). Housing deprivation is also linked to tenure type, with owner-occupiers tending to live in higher quality accommodation (Corrigan and Watson, 2018). Migrants in Ireland are disadvantaged relative to Irish born on other housing indicators. For example, migrants are more likely to be experiencing poverty after housing costs, in particular EU-East and non-EU nationals.⁴¹ This may be linked to greater concentration in the private rented accommodation, as affordability problems are much more common here (*ibid.*). Migrants also feel more insecure in their housing than Irish-born; that is, that they will have to leave their accommodation in the next six months because of affordability problems.⁴²

2.2.3 Homelessness

While there is a lack of understanding on the extent of risk of housing instability and homelessness that different groups of migrants' face, it is widely recognised that migrants are especially vulnerable to homelessness (Mayock et al., 2012). The profile of homelessness is changing across Europe. Traditionally, homelessness was typified by middle-aged single men with long-term social, psychological or addiction issues. Homelessness is now increasingly common among multi-person households, migrants with and without families, women, older people, and minorities (Kenna et al., 2016). The availability of data on migrant homelessness is poor in Europe (Pleace, 2010). However, research does indicate that migrants are overrepresented in the homeless population of most European Member States, and this appears to be a growing trend (The Foundation Abbe Pierre – Feantsa, 2015). The nature of migrant homelessness is difficult to precisely identify, with migrant homelessness suggested to exist in a number of different forms (Pleace, 2010). Pleace (2010) identifies a number of migrant groups that are particularly vulnerable to homelessness: people seeking asylum and refugees; unsuccessful asylum seekers and undocumented migrants; women and children from outside the EU who lose their immigration status when escaping domestic violence; Eastern European migrants; and ethnic and cultural minorities who appear to be at a disproportionate risk of homelessness but who are not recent migrants.

Kuhn and Culhane (1998) provide another useful typology of homelessness by pattern of shelter utilisation, mapping out three categories: **transitional homelessness** which includes those who use homeless shelters for a short time; **episodic users** who frequently move in and out of shelters; and **chronic clients** who spend long periods in a shelter, rarely leaving. Using the data from a national homelessness services database (PASS system), Waldron et. al (2019) provide

⁴¹ Russell et al., 2021, Figure 4.3, based on the Survey of Income and Living Conditions, 2018 and 2019. Poverty after housing costs is the proportion who fall below an income poverty threshold when housing costs are deducted from income (60 per cent of the median equivalised post-housing costs income).

⁴² Subjective security is measured using data from the European Quality of Life Survey 2016 (see Russell et al., 2021 for further details).

insights into migrant homelessness in Dublin indicating that 10 per cent of homeless service-users in Dublin between 2012 and 2016 were from the EEA and 12 per cent were from non-EEA countries, particularly Nigeria, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The research found that those from non-EEA countries are significantly less likely to be among episodic and chronic homeless groups. However, the study also recognised that several factors may influence the under-representation of non-EEA migrants in these groups, including language barriers, information gaps regarding migrant rights and entitlements, difficulties navigating the social welfare system, and the immigration status of certain persons (Waldron et al., 2019).

Waldron et al. (2019) note that families may be a particularly vulnerable homeless subgroup who can often find it difficult to transition out of emergency accommodation given their specific space requirements and the needs of their children for schooling. In particular, family homelessness in Ireland has been on the rise in Dublin (Hearne and Murphy, 2017). In several European countries, migrant and ethnic minority families experience family homelessness at a higher rate than the majority population families (Baptista et al., 2017). The limited Irish research echoes the trends observed in Europe, suggesting high rates of migrant family homelessness (Long et al., 2019; Waldron et al., 2019). A Focus Ireland report on family homelessness in Dublin, for instance, found that a disproportionately high number of families of migrant origin face homelessness, despite often having lived in Ireland for many years (Long et al., 2019).⁴³ The report found that 56 per cent (n=132) of respondents were originally from a country other than Ireland, with 41 per cent of respondents originally non-European and 15 per cent of respondents with a parent originally from the EU. Many of the respondents had either Irish citizenship or a residence permission at the time of the survey. The majority of respondents (142 families) were found to have stable housing histories and prolonged tenancies, with 68 per cent from a migrant background (54 per cent non-EU origin, 14 per cent EU origin).

A 14-country study on family homelessness⁴⁴ found that immigration status was a determinant of access to services and accommodation across all countries, where the rights to accommodation, social benefits and other services were restricted for immigrant families without legal status (undocumented migrants) (Baptista et al., 2017). However, despite the limitations of state services, the study pointed to the role of civil society across the different countries which often offered emergency services to undocumented migrants including families. The study observed that, in

⁴³ The results from this phone survey relate to the sample of 237 families who completed the survey and do not claim to relate (i.e. are not representative or generalisable) to all the families who experienced homelessness in 2018 in the Dublin region.

⁴⁴ Countries included: Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden and the UK.

Ireland, applications for social housing were centred around legal status, with undocumented migrants refused accommodation often finding themselves with emergency accommodation as the sole alternative. Other disadvantaged migrant groups included those with temporary residence permits who often have access to a limited range of state services, if any (Baptista et al., 2017).

A mixed-methods study by Parker (2021) examines family homelessness and emergency accommodation in Ireland. The study utilises a longitudinal dataset which included all adults with accompanying children residing in State-funded emergency accommodation located in the Dublin region during a six-year observational period from 2011 to 2016. The study found that 26 per cent (n=649) of family reference persons (FRP) in the dataset were born outside of Ireland and the majority (60 per cent) of those with migrant status were from African countries of origin (Parker, 2021). These FRPs principally originated from Nigeria, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The study found diversity among migrant families in accessing services. A cluster analysis of homelessness service users found that families originating from outside the EU accounted for 27.6 per cent of episodic users of emergency accommodation meaning that they were most likely to exit emergency accommodation and later return.⁴⁵ This was particularly true in the case of FRPs who identified as having a Traveller or Black ethnic/cultural background (14.8 per cent and 25.4 per cent of episodic clusters, respectively). In comparison these groups experienced transitional and chronic uses of emergency accommodation at a lower rate (Parker, 2021). The findings suggest that certain circumstances may drive Traveller or Black parents' pathways out of homelessness more quickly than other FRPs, but the families still experienced challenges in gaining residential stability after exiting emergency accommodation. FRPs originating from other EU countries (including the UK) were most likely to be transitional service users, exiting emergency accommodation and not returning over the study period. Taken together, the findings indicate that migrant status and race/ethnicity may shape trajectories through the shelter system in different ways.

While migrant families are at a disproportionate risk of homelessness to the 'majority' population, migrant women may also face unique housing challenges. The Canadian study *Homelessness and Housing among Status Immigrant, Non-Status Migrant, and Canadian-Born Families* suggested that women without immigration status are particularly vulnerable to housing deprivation and instability, poverty, and exploitation (Paradis et al., 2008). The study reported a range of triggers and risk factors which affected women's risk of homelessness, including:

⁴⁵ This is contrast to Waldron et al. (2019) who focus on all homeless service users, not just adults with children.

eviction; divorce or separation; violence or conflict; loss of employment or changes to household income; sudden illness or injury; pregnancy or recent childbirth; relocation to a new country or community; or conflict with the primary tenant (Paradis et al., 2008: 14).

A lack of access to social care, healthcare, or other social benefits, and their reliance on informal employment and housing networks compounded this vulnerability. The study found that undocumented women were often in unaffordable, unsafe, inadequate, and isolating housing conditions without the means to afford better housing. Furthermore, racialised housing discrimination was found to disproportionately impact on minority ethnic migrant women. Likewise, a 2012 qualitative study on migrant women's homelessness in Ireland found similar challenges that impacted on migrant women's risk of homelessness. Mayock and Sheridan (2012) reported that migrant women's homelessness is strongly linked to their socio-economic positions, suggesting that these women may face particular difficulties in exiting homelessness due to intimate partner violence, their immigration status, their economic positions, or limited access to housing. The study also found that other factors, such as English language proficiency, and balancing childcare while maintaining or seeking employment, affected participants' housing stability. This suggests that female migrants may experience additional disadvantages in their experience of homelessness.

International studies point to differences in housing disadvantage and homelessness between migrants of different legal statuses who may differ in terms of their reception and integration experiences. There is a paucity of research examining the process of refugee transitions from Direct Provision centres in Ireland (Foreman, 2016). What the limited literature indicates is that these migrant groups face several obstacles and challenges when leaving these centres. For example, a UNHCR study on refugee integration in Ireland found that people often became dependent and disempowered in extended stays in Direct Provision which, in addition to lack of supports and social connections as well as difficulties accessing credit, led to challenges accessing housing when leaving these centres (UNHCR, 2014). In some cases it may be the case in Ireland that people do not exit Direct Provision accommodation if they cannot secure affordable accommodation. An indication of such difficulties is illustrated by the fact that 11 per cent of residents have already been granted protection status (Houses of the Oireachtas, 2019).

2.3 MIGRANTS: HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY STRUCTURES

Household and family structures can be closely associated with several integration outcomes. Studies have shown, for example, that growing up with one parent rather than two can have an impact on child development, including children's

school achievement which can in turn impact their subsequent labour market integration (Nixon and Swords, 2016). The number of children in a household can influence both the level of resources for investment and children's developmental outcomes (Cooper and Stewart, 2020). As noted above, family composition is also associated with housing needs and outcomes. Family size and structure is also closely linked to living conditions such as poverty and deprivation (Maître et al., 2021). The composition of households and families will be the focus of this section.

There are many reasons why family structure might differ between immigrant and native-born groups. For example, fertility and demographics may mirror the patterns prevailing in the country of origin, rather than the country of destination (Andersson, 2021). Motives for migration may also influence family structure. For example, many migrants come to Ireland to study (see Chapter 1); these are typically aged in their 20s and single. Many migrants who come to work are also young; Mühlau et al. (2011) found Polish immigrants living in Ireland were typically younger adults (aged 25-35), many of them single. Krings et al. (2013) find that while many Polish migrants come to Ireland to work, some also come to seek life experience and adventure. Crucially, if migrants view their stay as temporary, they may be reluctant to form families, or may return to their country of origin when they do. Yet motives may also change over time, as do intentions to stay (Luthra et al., 2016). Migrants who planned a short stay may form relationships and families when they are here. Whether they form a relationship with a co-national or with an Irish partner may also have implications for their integration.

Migration may also split families apart, creating transnational families. Transnational families are defined as

families that live some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, i.e. familyhood, even across national borders (Bryceson et al., 2002, p.3).

In such cases, migrants' living situation may not reflect their family situation. For example, transnational families may arise due to preference, in that one parent elects to migrate and leaves their children behind (Schneider and Kreyenfeld, 2021). Migration and welfare policies (e.g. family reunification conditions, access to social rights – housing, health, education etc. – and conditions to legal status) can all influence the ability of migrant families to remain together or to live in different countries (Merla et al., 2021).

In Ireland, immigration restrictions may prohibit family reunification (see Chapter 1). As the census data capture information on the population living in

Ireland in April 2016, they tell us nothing about family members living elsewhere. For this reason, this analysis will focus on migrants' living situation, that is the composition of their household and families living with them.

2.3.1 Household composition

Different definitions of 'immigrant households' have been found in the literature. Broader definitions typically refer to households where an immigrant is at least one of the responsible persons.⁴⁶ In contrast, narrower definitions refer only to households where all responsible people are immigrants (OECD, 2015). Four types of household composition have been identified by the OECD: a person living alone; more than one adult (living as a couple or not) without children; a single person with children (single-parent family); and more than one adult (living as a couple or not) with children (OECD, 2015). The final category, more than one adult (living as a couple or not) with children are referred to by the OECD as 'families' (OECD, 2015). In the EU, single-person household arrangements are most common, at 38.5 per cent of immigrant households, 4.3 per cent higher than native households (OECD, 2018). Twenty-nine per cent of immigrant households in the EU are families; 27 per cent adults without children, and 6 per cent single-parent families (OECD, 2018).

Cultural background characteristics, namely ethnicity, religion and nationality have been found to have a stronger link with family structure than other characteristics, such as educational attainment and occupation. Using census data from 2006, Fahey et al. (2009) found that immigrant groups in Ireland have typically kept their patterns of family formation and fertility from their country of origin. The study found that non-Irish nationals are more likely to marry than Irish; this pattern is particularly true of younger persons. For instance, at aged 25 years, non-Irish are three times more likely to be in a partnership than Irish, with almost one-fifth either married or cohabiting. Fahey et al. (2009) also report differences between non-Irish groups: UK nationals more likely to be cohabiting; Eastern-European and non-EU nationals are more likely to marry or cohabit, particularly at younger ages; while West European nationals are less likely to marry than native-Irish. Due to higher levels of marriage among those from EU Eastern Europe states and non-EU nationals, non-Irish nationals were found to be more likely to be married than Irish nationals, even after accounting for age (Fahey et al., 2009).

⁴⁶ The definition of person responsible varies depending on the country and data source. For example, the EU Survey of Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) identify one or two responsible persons for a household who are the person(s) who own or rent the accommodation or those who are provided with the accommodation if it is free (OECD, 2015). The OECD (2015) report also includes different datasets including the Israeli Labour Force Survey and the US Current Population Survey which have varied definitions for reference person(s). Australia, Canada and New Zealand do not use the concept therefore the person with the highest wage is considered the head of household (OECD, 2015).

The stress imposed by migration itself and migrant-specific factors may also impact family structure, resulting in an increased risk of divorce, separation, or single parenthood, as, for example, widowhood may be more common (Kalmijn, 2018). Fahey et al. (2009) also found that in 2006, a significantly higher proportion of non-Irish nationals, including Eastern European and UK nationals, were divorced than Irish nationals.⁴⁷

The empirical evidence on lone parenthood among migrant populations is mixed. Lone parenthood rates differ across sending and receiving countries. Worldwide, most households with children have two parents; however rates of lone parenthood are higher in Latin America, the Caribbean, North America and Africa than in Asia and Europe (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2017b). In the EU, for instance lone parent families accounted for 6 per cent of immigrant households in 2016, 2.4 per cent higher than native born households (OECD, 2018). Lone-mother households make up almost a quarter of households with children in the former regions (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2017b). Lone-father households are rare, except in African countries where they represent 7 per cent of households with children compared to 2-4 per cent in other regions (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2017b). A range of factors influence one-parent households including fertility, divorce and separation, adult mortality, conflict, incarceration and social norms and attitudes (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2017b). In Ireland, Fahey et al. (2009) found that, with the exception of UK nationals, Irish-nationals were more likely to be lone parents than non-EU nationals – six times more likely than women from other EU states and twice as likely as those from the rest of the world. Nevertheless, when ethnicity was considered, it was found that Black women were almost seven times more likely to become lone mothers than White Irish, and Chinese persons were almost ten times less likely.

Röder et al. (2014), using *Growing Up in Ireland* data, also found that numbers of lone parents were lower amongst migrant groups than Irish households, except amongst Africans where mothers were more likely to be lone mothers and have more than one child to care for (Röder et al., 2014). The authors of this study suggested that, while cultural differences in family practices may contribute to higher numbers of African lone mothers, family reunification policies may also play a role due to their complexity, long delays, high rates of refusal, and the restrictive nature of the policies, such as statutory rights only being available to EEA/EU

⁴⁷ As Fahey et al. (2009) note, the practice of early and widespread marriage among non-Irish nationals may itself be one of the reasons why marital breakdown is so much higher than among Irish nationals.

nationals, scientific researchers and persons granted refugee status or subsidiary protection (Röder et al., 2014).

2.3.2 Fertility and family size

In recent decades, decreases in household size have been found almost worldwide, echoing a decrease in fertility rates (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2017b). Smaller household sizes are typically concentrated in Europe and North America, with three persons or less per household with large average household sizes found more frequently in Africa and the Middle East (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2017a; 2017b). In Africa and Asia, more than 80 per cent of households have at least one child aged under 15, while in Europe less than 30 per cent of households have children (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2017a). Such trends may also be indicative of the household composition of migrant populations from these regions.

It has been observed that fertility and family size may differ between migrants and the native population (OECD, 2018). The overall fertility rate among migrant women living in the EU is approximately 1.9 children per woman. This figure represents approximately 0.35 more children per woman when compared to native-born women from these EU countries (*ibid.*). Studies on fertility among migrant populations have been critiqued for over-emphasising the role of ‘culture’ and underplaying the challenges faced by these groups within their host countries (*ibid.*). Indeed, a key issue in studies of fertility among migrants is whether fertility patterns of migrants follow those of their origin countries or those of their destination countries.

Immigration has a direct and indirect impact on fertility rates, particularly as migrants tend to be young adults who are, or will soon be, in the stages of family formation (Lunn and Fahey, 2011). While the dearth of statistics available limit the opportunity to map birth and family dynamics – with data only depicting the situation post-migration – survey data which included extended biographies, including of pre-migration, demonstrated that birth rates of female migrants increase around the point of migration (Andersson, 2021). Increased migration flows are likely to have impacted on European fertility trends since the 1990s, particularly where immigrants have higher fertility rates than native populations, like in many European countries with below-replacement fertility and the prospect of population decline.

In Ireland, census data have confirmed the importance of migration on births: from 2007 to 2010, 20-25 per cent of births were to migrant mothers. Migration flows have also had an impact on a growth in the numbers of children residing in Ireland.

For example, a direct correlation has been found in increasing numbers of resident children and an increase in the children of non-Irish nationals, as well as an increase in recently born children to returning Irish nationals (Lunn and Fahey, 2011). However, despite the trend of a growing number of children of non-Irish origin in Ireland, an OECD (2018) report indicated that total fertility rates among the foreign born and native-born populations are very similar in Ireland. This is due to the fact that fertility is also high in Ireland (third highest in Europe in 2016) (Central Statistics Office, 2018). The analysis in Chapter 5 will investigate whether the number of children differs in migrant and non-migrant families using the 2016 Census. While the census data do not contain detailed migration and fertility histories, nor do they capture children living outside the household, the analysis contributes to what we know about migrant family size, in a country of relatively recent migration that also has (relatively) high fertility.

2.3.3 Mixed unions

Family structure can also be impacted by migration due to mixed unions, which refer to marriages or partnerships between migrants and natives. Experiences of mixed unions vary across and within different groups depending on class, gender and region (Song, 2009). A comparative project on mixed unions across six North American and Western European societies (Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and the United States) found that while differing across national contexts, a range of factors impact on the frequency of mixed unions, including educational backgrounds, the size of the minority group, religion and race (Alba and Foner, 2015). Generational distinctions also impact on the frequency of these unions, with second or third generation migrants more likely to form mixed unions than first-generation groups. This is often due to marriage before arrival in the host country, or due to integration barriers, such as language proficiency. It has been suggested that mixed unions can foster greater integration, in that mixed unions lessen the social distance between minority and majority groups (Song, 2009). Alba and Foner (2015) argue that mixed unions can potentially influence and even blur the nature of social boundaries.

While the majority of the literature on mixed unions typically centres on marriage, more recently, particularly in Europe, there has been an increase in recognition for other inter-partnership unions such as cohabitation (Song, 2009). Alongside this recognition, Song (2009) proposes that attitudes regarding mixed partnerships have relaxed and the phenomenon is becoming increasingly socially acceptable. Nevertheless, the vast majority of unions in the EU are endogamous, with the OECD finding that 90 per cent of native-born persons cohabit with someone from the same origin and two-thirds of immigrant unions are endogamous (OECD, 2018).

In Ireland, using the 2006 Census, Lunn and Fahey (2011) found very high levels of endogamy among EU10 migrants.⁴⁸ However, as the majority of this migrant group had arrived in the previous two years, it was suggested that this may be a temporary pattern. Less than one-third of UK nationals in couples partnered with other UK nationals, and among the remaining two-thirds the majority were in a union with Irish nationals. By comparison, migrants from EU15 countries⁴⁹ were found to have higher levels of endogamy than UK nationals, but lower levels of partnerships with Irish nationals. Regarding ethnicity, it was found that endogamy was high within ethnic groups, particularly for Black women, for instance. The authors observed a combined ethno-national effect where mixed couples were concentrated around ages 25-29. This may be attributed to the fact that many migrants are concentrated within this age range, and couple formation among migrants typically occurs at a younger age than among Irish nationals. The results demonstrated little Black-White, Asian-White partnerships and few mixed partnerships among Eastern European migrants, with mixed partnerships concentrated among Irish and UK nationals. In a more recent study on mixed-race Irish, King-O’Riain (2019) demonstrates there are growing trends of mixed unions. Using 2016 Census data, the analysis finds that ‘other including mixed background’ was the fastest growing ethnic group in Ireland since 2011. This paper also argues that there is a growing awareness of mixed-race people in Ireland, though this group faces ongoing individual and State exclusion (*ibid.*).

It is often assumed that mixed unions will lead to greater social, cultural, economic and/or political integration, again a dissolving of social boundaries. In theory the native partner has social networks, linguistic competence and knows the ‘rules of the game’ in the host country (Esser, 2004). However empirical evidence suggests that the relationship between mixed unions and integration is complex and context-dependent (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2015). For example, even within the same country (France), Safi (2008) found that intermarriage was associated with greater socio-economic integration for some immigrant groups (most European groups) and not others (Portuguese, Asians). Song (2009) queries the assumed direction of this relationship, arguing the mixed unions may instead be an outcome of integration rather than a mechanism by which is achieved. Furthermore, Song (2009) contends that mixed unions should not assume a lack of prejudice or acceptance in a relationship or among the wider family network or wider society. Similarly, children of mixed unions may experience barriers and/or prejudice themselves due to their mixed ancestry (Song, 2009; see also King-O’Riain, 2019 for Ireland).

⁴⁸ EU10 migrants within Lunn and Fahey’s (2011) study were defined as migrants from the ten countries who joined the EU in 2004: Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

⁴⁹ EU15 migrants within Lunn and Fahey’s (2011) study were defined as migrants from Western Europe, excluding Ireland and the UK: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden.

According to a 2018 report from the OECD, 5 per cent of young people aged 15-24 in the EU are native children of mixed parentage and just over 4 per cent have immigrant parents (OECD, 2018). Largely reflecting previous migration flows, 45 per cent of those with migrant parents have parents from the EU, followed by 27 per cent with African parentage, and 24 per cent of Asian parentage (OECD, 2018). The increase in mixed partnerships may signify boundary shifts for ethnic and national minority groups as well as the mainstream society with, for instance, changes in demographics in society due to the birth of children from mixed unions (Song, 2009).

A *Growing Up in Ireland* study of second-generation children and their families highlighted the extent of mixed unions following rapid immigration during the Celtic Tiger years (see Chapter 1). This has led to a significant number of children born in Ireland with diverse linguistic, ethnic and religious backgrounds (Röder et al., 2014). The study found that there was a greater proportion of mixed couples with one Irish partner than two- migrant partner couples (Röder et al., 2014). However, the findings indicated differences among migrant groups where, for example, Irish inter-partnership was more common among UK born, migrants from ‘old’ EU Member States, and migrants categorised as ‘Other’ (which includes North American and Australian migrants). This may be due to lower perceived social distance between the groups – either cultural or ethnic distance – as well as their longer residence in Ireland (see McGinnity et al., 2020a, Table A1.4). A more recent study using this ‘08 cohort of *Growing Up in Ireland*⁵⁰ considers the development of English-language skills among migrant-origin children and their self-concept (Darmody et al., 2022). One-third of children in this cohort have at least one parent born abroad: 14 per cent had one born abroad and one Irish parent, 19 per cent had two parents (or a lone parent) born abroad. Darmody et al. (2022) find that migrant-origin children with one Irish parent do not differ from children with two Irish parents in terms of English language ability at age 3, 5 or 9, though children with two migrant parents have lower scores, on average, particularly at age 3 and 5. This suggests that knowing which migrants form partnerships with Irish-born adults may be helpful for understanding migrant-origin children’s development in Ireland, as children with one Irish and one migrant parent have very different outcomes from children with two migrant parents.

2.4 SUMMARY

The literature summarised in this chapter indicates that housing pathways for migrants differ substantially from those of natives. Critically, migrants face greater challenges than natives when it comes to securing housing – financially, socially,

⁵⁰ The children and their families were recruited from the Child Benefit register when they were nine months old (in 2008/2009) (see Darmody et al., 2022, for further details).

and culturally. New arrivals may seek housing in the private rented sector and may progress to housing ownership depending on individual preference and intention to stay. However, the research presented in this chapter indicates that homeownership is significantly lower among migrants than among Irish-born residents. A key contribution of this report is to investigate housing tenure, as well as other housing and family outcomes, among much more detailed migrant groups (11 region of origin groups). Chapter 3 also investigates the factors that might explain these differences in housing tenure, such as age, household composition, labour market status, ethnicity, language skills, having an Irish partner and region of origin.

Furthermore, within the private rented sector, there is evidence both in Ireland and internationally to suggest that migrants are more likely to live in accommodation that is of poorer quality and experience overcrowding at greater rates. Chapter 4 presents rates of overcrowding for 11 migrant groups, compared to the Irish group, and investigates factors associated with overcrowding using statistical models. As a key indicator of the failure to secure access to housing, evidence of homelessness among different migrant groups is also considered, and how this varies for men and women.

In terms of family composition, previous research has shown that migrants demonstrate a wide variety of profiles. A large proportion of migrants entering Ireland, whether for work or for study, are young and unmarried. Additionally, migrants include families of different sizes as well as transnational families. Past research has demonstrated an increasing number of mixed unions between migrants and natives. Chapter 5 considers evidence from Census 2016 microdata on household composition, the number of children and mixed unions in Ireland. The next chapter (Chapter 3) describes these data, their strengths and limitations, and how we use them to investigate housing and family outcomes in Ireland.

CHAPTER 3

Data and methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data and methodology used in the report. We discuss the sample, the measures, and the estimation techniques used throughout. We also outline the definitions and measures located in the census which are used to distinguish between households and family units. In this way, we highlight some of the limitations of the measures found in the census, despite being a useful resource for studies of integration.

3.2 Evidence base: 2016 Census microdata

For this report we use the full census microdata file for 2016, which was provided on special request by the Central Statistics Office. The census is a statutory survey and under Section 26 of the Statistics Act, 1993, participation is compulsory (CSO, 2009). Census 2016 was taken on the night of Sunday, 24 April 2016. The full census figures relate to the de facto population, that is, the population present in each area on census night as well as those present on the following morning who had not been enumerated elsewhere. In this report we only consider respondents who are usually resident in Ireland, excluding visitors, as is typical in reports about housing and family situation.⁵¹ The coverage and size of the full population census make it a superb resource for research focussed on disadvantaged populations in Ireland. The census aims to cover the entire population living in Ireland in 2016, including some groups typically not surveyed – protection applicants living in Direct Provision accommodation, irregularly staying migrants and the homeless population.⁵²

The census covers the population in private households and also those living in non-private or communal housing, in contrast to many other social surveys in Ireland. A non-private household is a group of persons enumerated in a boarding house, hotel, guest house, other Direct Provision accommodation, emergency accommodation for the homeless, hostel, barracks, hospital, nursing home, boarding school, religious institution, welfare institution, prison or ship.⁵³ Where possible these individuals are also included in the analysis, though for some

⁵¹ The date of the census is chosen because it is a period where travel is at a minimum, so that the de facto population is as close as possible to the normally resident population.

⁵² Though we cannot rule out that a small proportion of irregularly staying migrants and some of the homeless population will not be captured by the census either.

⁵³ https://www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/census/documents/vol13_appendix.pdf, p. 2.

analysis this is not possible, and this is indicated in the text or under the relevant table or figure.⁵⁴

The CSO defines a private household as follows:

A private household comprises either one person living alone or a group of people (not necessarily related) living at the same address with common housekeeping arrangements – that is, sharing at least one meal a day or sharing a living room or sitting room.⁵⁵ In order to be included in the household, a person must be a usual resident at the time of the census. A permanent private household is a private household occupying a permanent dwelling such as a house, flat or bed-sit. A temporary private household is a private household occupying a caravan, mobile home or other temporary dwelling.⁵⁶

In the census, the household reference person (or head of household) in each private household:

is the first person in the household identified as a parent, spouse, cohabiting partner or head of a non-family household containing related persons. Where no person in the household satisfied these criteria, the first usually resident person was used as the reference person.⁵⁷

In principle, a household may be made up of multiple family units, although this is not common: less than 2 per cent of all respondents are living as a second or third family within households.⁵⁸

A family unit or nucleus is defined as: a married or a cohabiting couple; or a married or cohabiting couple together with one or more usually resident never married children (of any age); or one parent together with one or more usually resident never-married children (of any age). Family members have to be usual residents of the relevant household. The determination of household and family composition is based on responses to the question on the census form dealing with relationships within the household.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ For example, for measures of overcrowding, people living in communal establishments may not be aware of the precise number of residents or number of rooms where they live.

⁵⁵ Note the census definition of household does not require that the household members be income sharing. As such, four adults each sharing a rented unit are classed as a household, despite that they may be financially independent, sharing only rent/utilities.

⁵⁶ <https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cp4hf/cp4hf/bgn/>.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Respondents live as a second or third family unit in a private household.

⁵⁹ More information about the difference between households and family units is available here: <https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cp4hf/cp4hf/bgn/>.

Since we are also interested in single respondents and respondents in house sharing situations which do not constitute a family unit, we assign such respondents a family unit value of zero. In this way, we can compare single person households to other households with families.

Due to the CSO's Data Protection Policy and its Disclosure Control policy we are not able to consider homelessness at the micro level in our report. Although homeless respondents who stay in refuges and communal establishments are included in the census, we are not able to distinguish these respondents from other people in communal establishments due to census disclosure rules.⁶⁰ Given the importance of homelessness as a measure of poor integration, we include published statistics of homelessness by country of birth groups to compensate.

3.2.1 Measuring region of origin in Census 2016

Migrants who live in Ireland come from a broad range of countries, but researchers are often constrained by sample size when considering these groups. As a result, they often combine diverse countries into less meaningful regional descriptors like 'non-EU'.⁶¹

The census microdata file contains just under 4.6 million responses (the total population of the Republic of Ireland), of which just under 3.8 million are from respondents born in Ireland. The remaining 794,000 responses belong to those born outside of Ireland (including Northern Ireland) and they come from over 120 different countries of birth.

Comparing output from individual countries is difficult as there are so many (see McGinnity et al., 2020b): regional comparisons offer a compromise between detailed country-of-birth groups and the very broad country groupings typically used in research using survey data in Ireland. Based on international classifications of migrants from UNHCR and adapting them for Ireland, in this report we adopt a 12-category option (including Ireland). This classification used in the current report has been especially useful in distinguishing variation in non-EU migrants and enhancing our understanding of migrant integration in Ireland. This classification is as follows:

⁶⁰ These respondents are grouped together with other respondents who are usually resident in Ireland but living in a communal residence, for example those in emergency accommodation for the homeless are combined with those living in long-term residential settings like nursing homes or designated disability centres. Additional background notes about these respondents are available here: <https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cp5hpi/cp5hpi/bgn/>.

⁶¹ This category often contains respondents from countries like North America, Africa, Asia, and Oceania together (McGinnity et al., 2020b).

- Ireland;
- UK, including Northern Ireland;
- Poland;
- Other West EEA countries;
- Other East EEA countries;
- Other Europe;
- North America and Oceania;
- Central and South America;
- Middle East and North Africa (MENA);
- Sub-Saharan and other Africa;
- South Asia;
- East Asia.

This grouping focuses on country of birth and distinguishes between European Economic Area countries (EEA) and Other European countries which are not in the EEA. Further, it explicitly measures Central and South American migrants, such as those from Brazil, and splits African migrants into Sub-Saharan and North African groups (MENA). Lastly, it splits East and South Asian migrants into distinct groups. See Appendix Table A3.1 for a detailed outline of which countries are assigned to each country grouping. In the chapters that follow we compare migrant groups based on this classification system with people born in Ireland.⁶²

This definition of migrants – those born outside the Republic of Ireland – is typical in migration research but there are two important points to note. First, some migrants are Irish citizens, either by descent or naturalisation. These migrants have different rights to migrants who are not Irish citizens, particularly non-EEA citizens (see Chapter 1). In the models focusing on migrants we control for whether migrants are Irish citizens or not. Second, using an individual’s country of birth to define migrant status does not permit analysis of integration of the children of migrants, or ‘second-generation’ migrants. This omission could understate the progress made by second generation migrants, who are counted as Irish-born in this report. There is no measure of parents’ country of birth in the census. We return to this point in the conclusion.

⁶² Other research on migrant integration in Ireland has distinguished migrants according to their citizenship or nationality (Irish/non-Irish), for example the *Monitoring Report on Integration 2020* (McGinnity et al., 2020a).

Chapter 4 compares the housing situation of foreign-born and Irish-born individuals in Census 2016. Table 3.1 presents the number of individuals in each of the migrant groups and the Irish group. The ten countries with the largest migrant population in Ireland are Poland, UK, Lithuania, Romania, Latvia, Brazil, Spain, Italy, France, and Germany;⁶³ of these, the majority are EU Member States which is indicative of the right to freedom of movement within the EU. This is also reflected in the percentage breakdowns in Table 3.1, with high proportions of migrants observed for the European categories: UK including NI (5.9 per cent), Poland (2.5 per cent), Other West EEA (2.5 per cent), and Other East EEA (1.4 per cent). Substantial proportions of migrants are observed for the regions of South Asia (0.97 per cent) Sub-Saharan and Other Africa (0.9 per cent), and North America plus Oceania (0.9 per cent).

TABLE 3.1 COUNTRY OF BIRTH GROUPS (INDIVIDUAL LEVEL)

Region/country of birth	Frequency	Percentage
Ireland	3,781,881	82.7
UK, including NI	269,766	5.9
Poland	114,333	2.5
Other West EEA	62,666	1.4
Other East EEA	115,402	2.5
Other Europe	25,780	0.6
North America plus Oceania	41,308	0.9
Central and South America	23,807	0.5
MENA	17,989	0.4
Sub-Saharan and Other Africa	42,846	0.9
South Asia	44,315	1.0
East Asia	35,593	0.8
Total	4,575,686	100

Source: Census 2016. Excludes a small number of cases for whom individual country of birth was not recorded.

Notes: See Appendix Table A3.1 for details of the individual countries assigned to each regional group.

Census data are collected at the household level and information on families within those households is also collected. For the analysis of family outcomes in Chapter 5 we focus on migrant heads of households, not individuals. The data used contain information on the relationship of each household member to the head of household (for example partners, children), but to avoid being disclosive, they do not contain the full family and household relationship matrix. Therefore, for much of the analysis we focus only on the head of household, for whom we have the most accurate information. Migrant households are defined as those headed by a migrant (born abroad), though we can also measure whether their partner was also

⁶³ List of countries obtained from 2016 Census data, available on the CSO website: <https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cpnin/cpnin/introduction/>.

born abroad or in Ireland (see below).⁶⁴ Focusing on the head of household information means we lose information on second and third families, though as noted above this is a very small proportion of households. In households with two or more unrelated adults, the information will pertain to the household and the household head, but there will be no detail on other individuals living in the household.

This shift from individual to household level is a change of focus from the approach taken in Chapter 4 and does mean the proportion of migrants included in the analysis changes. Table 3.2 shows that of almost 1.7 million households in Ireland, just under 20 per cent are headed by a migrant. Consistent with the patterns of migration observed in Table 3.1, many migrant-headed households are observed for the European categories; UK (7.5 per cent), Poland, (2.7 per cent), Other East EEA (2.6 per cent), and Other West EEA (1.5 per cent). Likewise, migrants from Sub-Saharan and Other Africa (1.2 per cent of all household heads), South Asia (1.0 per cent) and North America plus Oceania (0.8 per cent) also comprise a substantial number of migrant-headed households.

TABLE 3.2 COUNTRY OF BIRTH GROUPS (HOUSEHOLD HEADS)

Region/country of birth	Frequency	Percentage
Ireland	1,365,758	80.5
UK, including NI	126,997	7.5
Poland	46,121	2.7
Other West EEA	25,557	1.5
Other East EEA	44,510	2.6
Other Europe	9,625	0.6
North America plus Oceania	14,004	0.8
Central and South America	7,459	0.4
MENA	7,292	0.4
Sub-Saharan and Other Africa	19,592	1.2
South Asia	17,291	1.0
East Asia	11,746	0.7
Total	1,695,952	100

Source: Census 2016.

Notes: See Appendix Table A3.1 for details of the individual countries assigned to each regional group.

Lastly, in Chapter 5 we consider whether migrants live in households where (1) the head of the household and their partner are both Irish; (2) the head of the household and their partner are born elsewhere (3) where only the head of the household, or their partner was born in Ireland, while the other partner was born elsewhere (4) the head of household has no partner. This measure is only included

⁶⁴ If the head of household is Irish and their partner is a migrant, these will be counted as Irish-headed households.

in migrant specific models, and is a measure of the wider household, rather than a measure of whether migrants themselves have an Irish spouse. This is because the census data made available to us only provide relationship details on the head of the household and their spouse or partner.

3.3 Measurement

We are broadly interested in outcomes tied to housing and family. Regarding housing, we look at group differences in housing type, tenure type, and overcrowding. Regarding family, we look at group differences in lone parenthood, and the number of children in the home. Beyond this, we control for factors which could explain migrant differences in these outcomes, such as their gender, age, employment situation, location in Ireland, education qualifications, English language skills, duration in Ireland, their estimated likelihood of having come to Ireland through the international protection system, and whether they live in a household where the head is partnered with an Irish spouse.

3.3.1 Housing and family measures

For housing tenure, we focus on tenure as recorded in the census dataset. The question on the census form focuses on two measures, whether the household rents or owns the home, and if renting, who the landlord is (Figure 3.1). Table 3.3 provides a breakdown of these categories of housing tenure.

FIGURE 3.1 CENSUS FORM TIED TO TENURE

H3 Does your household own or rent your accommodation?

Mark one box only

1 Own with mortgage or loan

2 Own outright

3 Rent

4 Live here rent free

If renting, who is your landlord?

1 Private landlord

2 Local Authority

3 Voluntary/Co-operative housing body

TABLE 3.3 BREAKDOWN OF HOUSEHOLD TENURE (INDIVIDUALS)

Tenure Type	Frequency	%
Own With/Without Mortgage or Loan	3,117,337	68.1
Rent from Private Landlord	795,373	17.4
Rent from Local Authority	384,196	8.4
Rent from Voluntary or Co-Op Housing	37,665	0.8
Occupied Free of Rent (Private)	49,714	1.1
Occupied Free of Rent (Local Authority)	3,214	0.1
Occupied Free of Rent (Housing Board)	826	0.0
Occupied Free of Rent (General)	188,952	4.1
Total	4,577,289	100

Source: Census (2016).

We simplify this measure by combining several categories, leaving us with the following tenure groups. This measure is considered at the household level.

- Own their own home (either with or without a mortgage);
- Rent privately;
- Rent from Local Authority or Co-operative housing body.

Respondents who are renting their home but live in the home rent free are combined with their respective tenure types (private tenancy, or LA/AHB tenancy).⁶⁵ One potential difficulty with this question in the census is that some respondents may be uncertain as to whether they are renting from a local authority or privately, in circumstances in which the household receives a subsidy such as HAP or RAS (see Chapter 1 for a description). A clearer census tenure categorisation system which takes account of market subsidies might reduce this uncertainty and the number of missing or not stated in this.

We are also interested in rates of overcrowding among migrants and people born in Ireland. For this measure we consider the number of people usually resident in the household and the number of rooms in a household. We create a dummy variable which captures the instances of when the number of people in the home is greater than the number of rooms. Such households are defined as overcrowded. Alternative measures of overcrowding exist. For example, Eurostat considers instances of overcrowding relative to the age of the occupants and their chances of sharing a bedroom.⁶⁶ We do not use the Eurostat measure for two

⁶⁵ The very small number who live in the home rent free but who do not detail whether they rent the home privately or not, are recorded as missing (this is a consequence of an inability to distinguish between private and non-private rent in this instance).

⁶⁶ More information about this measure is available here https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Glossary:Overcrowding_rate#:~:text=A%20person%20is%20considered%20as,number%20

reasons. Firstly, we do not have information on the ages of children which is necessary to calculate this, nor are bedrooms distinguished in the data. Secondly, the measure we use is consistent with published data from the Census 2016 on overcrowding. In Chapter 4 we cite some other research using the Eurostat definition for comparison.

The census measure for rooms asks respondents not to count:

bathrooms, toilets, kitchenettes, utility rooms, consulting rooms, offices, shops, halls or landings, or rooms that can only be used for storage such as cupboards.

Instead, respondents should focus on:

all other rooms such as kitchens, living rooms, bedrooms, conservatories you can sit in, and studies.

Finally, respondents are told '[where] *two rooms have been converted into one, count them as one room*'. Our measure of rooms has been top coded by the CSO, we assume that homes with more than ten rooms hold a value of ten. For the number of people measure, we consider all people who are usually resident in the home. This measure is also top coded by the CSO, we assume that homes with nine or more people hold a value of 9.

TABLE 3.4 HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION CATEGORIES

Original Census 2016 Categories	Merged Categories for Analysis
One Person	Single Household
Married Couple	Married or Cohabiting Households without Children (and other persons if applicable)
Cohabiting Couple	
Married Couple with Other Persons	
Cohabiting Couple with Other Persons	
Married Couple with Children	Married or Cohabiting Households with Children (and other persons if applicable)
Cohabiting Couple with Children	
Married Couple with Children and Other Persons	
Cohabiting Couple with Children and Other Persons	
One Parent Mother with Children	Lone Parent with Children (and other persons if applicable)
One Parent Father with Children	
One Parent Mother with Children and Other Persons	
One Parent Father with Children and Other Persons	Other Households (2 family units, 3 or more family units, or household comprised of related persons only)
2 Family Units With/Without Other Persons	
3 or more Family Units With/Without Other Persons	
Household Comprised of Related Persons Only	
Household Comprised of Unrelated Persons Only	Households Comprised of Unrelated People Only

On the topic of family outcomes, we focus on the household composition as derived from the census and reported by the head of household. The CSO combines several measures in the household composition variable: a household's marital status, whether they have children, and whether they live with others. The original household composition categories used by the census are presented in Table 3.4, along with the simplified measure with six categories we use for the analysis in Chapter 5. For models we focus on lone parenthood, comparing the chance of living in a lone parent household to a household with married or cohabiting couples with children. Other types of households are not included in the models. For the number of children in the household, we consider a derived measure from the census data. This measure is created using the responses of the head of the household and considers children in the first family in the household, where there are multiple families in the household.

3.3.2 Measuring other factors associated with housing and family

This section presents the main controls of the study, that is other factors likely to be linked to housing and family situation. Migrant groups typically differ from non-migrant groups in age, economic status, ethnicity, and gender composition. We consider these differences to give a better comparison between migrant groups and people born in Ireland. Appendix Table A3.2 presents an illustrative overview of these characteristics for the 11 migrant groups and Irish-born individuals.

We control for age using a categorical measure using bands of five-year intervals. Due to privacy concerns, we cannot include precise age. We control for gender throughout the report. We also consider household composition like lone parent status, which correlates strongly with private sectoral rental (Russell et al., 2021) and overcrowding. Where relevant we also control for English language ability, a self-evaluated question which asks respondents if they speak English very well, well, fairly, poorly, or very poorly.⁶⁷ Self-rated English language skills vary considerably across these migrant groups, with less than half of EEA East migrants (including Polish migrants) reporting that they speak English well or very well (see Table A3.2). We also consider economic status of respondents, given this is strongly correlated with family formation and homeownership. We distinguish employees working in a high-skilled (professional/managerial) occupation, employees working in other, lower skilled occupations, students, the unemployed, and those whose principal economic status is 'other' (such as looking after the family or being retired).⁶⁸ Further, we control for whether respondents live in an urban or a rural setting, given we already know the strong chances that migrants are heavily concentrated in urban settings (Fahey et al., 2019), and the links between the housing situation of urban and rural residents in Ireland (Russell et al., 2021).

Group differences in ethnicity are also considered. The census distinguishes between six ethnic categories White, White Irish Traveller, White non-Irish, Black/Black-Irish, Asian/Asian-Irish, and Other or Mixed Ethnicity. King-O'Riain (2007) highlights the limitations of the census ethnicity measure, arguing that it is a compromise between simple categories to measure diversity and the complex lived reality of race and ethnicity. The result is ethnic 'meta-categories', which are limited in both number and explanatory power. While we acknowledge the limitations of the measure, it is important to recognise the role of ethnicity in the housing and family situation of migrants in Ireland.

An important and often cited measure of integration is the duration of time spent in the host country, both for housing and family outcomes (see Chapter 2). This measure exists within the census but refers to a respondent's latest 'spell' in Ireland. The measure is not capable of capturing multiple spells in Ireland. Further, the measure has a high rate of missing values and migrants from outside the EEA are particularly likely to hold missing values for the duration question. We do not include this measure in the models which include Irish-born – the measure is incorporated into migrant only models in both chapters. Due to these limitations, we suggest the measure's estimates should be read with caution.

⁶⁷ See McGinnity et al. (2020b) for a discussion of the limits of self-rated language skills.

⁶⁸ Some non-EEA migrant groups in particular contain a high proportion of full-time students, particularly North Americans/Oceania; South Americans, MENA and Sub-Saharan/Other Africans (see Table A3.2).

Our next control considers the person's chances of coming through the international protection system (McGinnity et al., 2020b; O'Connell, 2019). There is no information collected on reasons for migration in the census. We follow the approach of O'Connell (2019) who estimates the probability that a migrant is an applicant for asylum (or a family member of an applicant) by dividing the number of asylum applications from a given country by the number of respondents from that country in Ireland's 2016 Census. We refer to this variable as 'asyratio':

$$asyratio_i = \text{asylum applications (1999 – 2016)}_i : N (2016)_i$$

where i refers to an individual country of origin and N refers to the total number of people enumerated in the census from that country.

This ratio is not a measure of whether migrants are asylum seekers. The UNHCR data refer to flows of applications, while the census data refer to the stock of migrants and no link exists between the datasets.⁶⁹ It is not clear from the UNHCR data what portion of applications are successful and what portion of applicants are unsuccessful.⁷⁰ In this way, focusing on applications, rather than the grants themselves, comes closer to capturing the migration motive for wider country groups. The asyratio measure varies from 0 to 2.9.⁷¹ Within the country groupings, the highest mean values are for Sub-Saharan and Other Africa (0.9), following by MENA (0.5) and Other (non-EEA) Europe (0.4). For other country groupings the mean scores are less than 0.2, and 0 for North America and European countries (see Appendix Table A3.2).

3.4 Modelling housing and family outcomes

To estimate factors associated with any differences in key housing and family indicators between migrants and Irish-born, we use statistical modelling. For housing tenure (private renting), living in an overcrowded household and lone parenthood, we estimate logistic regressions. Estimates in a logistic regression are typically interpreted as odds ratios. In this way, Ireland would be considered the reference category and country deviations would be explored relative to Ireland. This form of estimation is often referred to as relative risk. To speed up model computation, in some cases we randomly select a 10 per cent sample of

⁶⁹ We take data from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) on the number of applications for asylum made from each country of origin in Ireland between 1999 and 2016 and divide this by the number of people from that country enumerated in the 2016 Census. See data gathered by UNHCR on asylum applicants to Ireland for this period at: <https://www.unhcr.org/refugee-statistics/>. These data exclude resettlement, though numbers were very low in this period: 766 persons were resettled between January 2011 and November 2016 https://emn.ie/files/p_20161213093254EMN%20Resettlement%20Report%20FINAL_13.12.2016.pdf.

⁷⁰ There are similar data available on the number of recognitions of refugee status in Ireland. However, using this measure would be misleading because it would not count people that arrived seeking international protection who were refused but were subsequently granted leave to remain.

⁷¹ Mean value is 0.18 and standard deviation 0.13. It is measured at country level, with the highest values for countries such as Georgia, Sierra Leone, Albania, Liberia, Syria and Nigeria.

respondents born in Ireland as a representative group of Irish-born. These respondents are representative since they are selected at random.

To estimate models of the number of children, Poisson regression analyses are used. Poisson regression models the number of occurrences (counts) of an event (Agresti, 2019). We consider Poisson regression for the measure of the number of children in the home, as this is suited to cases where the response variable is a small integer. It also allows us to simultaneously model whether there are any children in the household and if so, how many. As some heads of households with ‘no children’ may go on to have children in the future, and other household heads are unlikely to ever have children, we apply zero-inflated Poisson regression models (see Chapter 5 for further discussion).

For all models we present the unadjusted and adjusted predicted probability and the predicted count of country of birth groups in each outcome. This approach shows us the basic country of birth difference in outcomes, and the adjusted difference in outcomes once the characteristics of migrants and Irish-born are considered. We estimate these effects using Stata’s margins command. This form of estimation is often referred to as absolute risk.

Typically, in reports that use survey data, tests of significance and confidence intervals are presented with the results. These statistical tests are appropriate when the analysis is based on a probability sample and inferences are being made about the total population. The tests show how confident we can be of the sample results, given that a different random sample may yield a slightly different statistic (such as a mean, proportion or regression coefficient). This report is based on census data based on the full population, so these types of significance test are not necessary as we are not generalising from a random sample to the population, but rather reporting patterns observed in the whole population.⁷²

Of course, there may be other problems with the census data, such as incomplete coverage, non-response to certain questions, or measurement error, but these are not the kind of issues that can be addressed by statistical tests and confidence intervals. It is also of note that as the census data are cross-sectional, we can infer associations but not the direction of causality, where this is ambiguous. For example, we may find that those who are employed have fewer children, on average, than the non-employed, but do not know if they have fewer children

⁷² In the report *Origin and Integration: A study of migrants in the 2016 Irish Census*, confidence intervals were presented to give a sense of the size of the country groups.

because they are employed, or if they are employed because they have fewer children.

3.5 SUMMARY

This chapter outlined our general approach to the treatment of the data and the analysis. In short, we will consider four measures – two related to housing and two related to family formation. Throughout the report we are less interested in the measures that explain our outcomes (age and gender, for example) and more interested in country differences of these, and how certain controls lower these country differences. The gaps presented in subsequent chapters capture gaps in integration between migrant groups from similar regions.

CHAPTER 4

Migrants and housing outcomes

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Housing is an essential element of quality of life and an important indicator of integration. For migrants, as for other members of society, access to housing is needed to pursue education and employment in Ireland. Adequate housing is also fundamental for security and family life (Russell et al., 2021). Exploring the housing situation of migrants is vital for the purpose of understanding potential disadvantages migrants may face relative to the native-born population. Comparing migrant housing pathways with those of Irish-born adults may be indicative of migrant integration within society. As noted in Chapter 2, migrants enter the housing market as outsiders and may be without the necessary resources to compete with others seeking housing in the private market, and additionally may lack entitlement to access State housing supports. As such, we may expect to see differences between migrants and Irish-born adults. Moreover, migrants are not a homogeneous group; resources diverge widely across migrant groups, reflecting differences in country of origin, route to migration, and individual characteristics such as education and family circumstances. Given the volatile nature of the housing market in Ireland over the last two decades, the timing of arrival may also influence housing pathways. Therefore, it is likely that there is great variation to be observed across migrant groups, with some groups faring better than others.

There are many ways in which adequacy of housing can be evaluated. Research by Russell et al. (2021) proposes a multi-dimensional measure for adequacy based on the UN concept of adequate housing. It comprises of six dimensions including access, affordability, cultural adequacy,⁷³ security of tenure, housing quality, and location. Each dimension includes several indicators. This analysis will concentrate on housing access, by examining housing tenure and homelessness among migrants and natives. It will also explore housing quality in the form of overcrowding. The analysis presented in this chapter draws on data gathered by the 2016 Census. The treatment and preparation of this dataset has been described in Chapter 3. This chapter considers the nature of housing occupied by migrants in Ireland and considers whether there are differences in housing outcomes across different migrant groups. Section 4.2 examines housing type and housing tenure as a means to explore the housing pathways of migrants in

⁷³ General Comment 4 (1991) by the Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights on the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights refers to cultural adequacy as 'The way housing is constructed, the building materials used and the policies supporting these must appropriately enable the expression of cultural identity and diversity of housing'.

comparison to those of native Irish. This section will also unpack the factors that influence housing tenure. Section 4.3 investigates the prevalence of overcrowding among migrants. Overcrowding is a crucial indicator of housing quality, and thus its examination may illuminate disadvantage in housing among certain groups. Next, Section 4.4 considers evidence on the risk of homelessness for migrants in Ireland. Finally, Section 4.5 summarises the findings from this chapter, augmented with what we know about migrants' housing situation from other sources. One important factor related to housing not captured by the census is household income. Household income, both current and potential future income, is very important in understanding housing tenure and housing quality (Corrigan et al., 2019; Waldron, 2021). We also know from other research that household income and poverty risk varies considerably across migrant groups (McGinnity et al., 2020a, Chapter 4). The models do control for education and employment status, and these are closely related to income.

4.2 HOUSING TYPE AND HOUSING TENURE

This section concentrates on housing type and housing tenure to explore housing outcomes for migrants in Ireland. In Ireland, houses are the most prevalent housing type, with apartments constituting a much smaller proportion of the overall housing stock. Yet, the results of the analysis presented in this section will indicate that a much greater proportion of migrants live in apartment accommodation than natives. Housing type cannot be equated with housing quality; however, if shared, apartment living may carry a greater risk of overcrowding than living in a house. Additionally, past research has demonstrated that apartment living also poses consequences for family life in that it can constrain fertility and family size (Kulu and Vikat, 2007). Section 4.2.1 explores the housing types occupied by migrants.

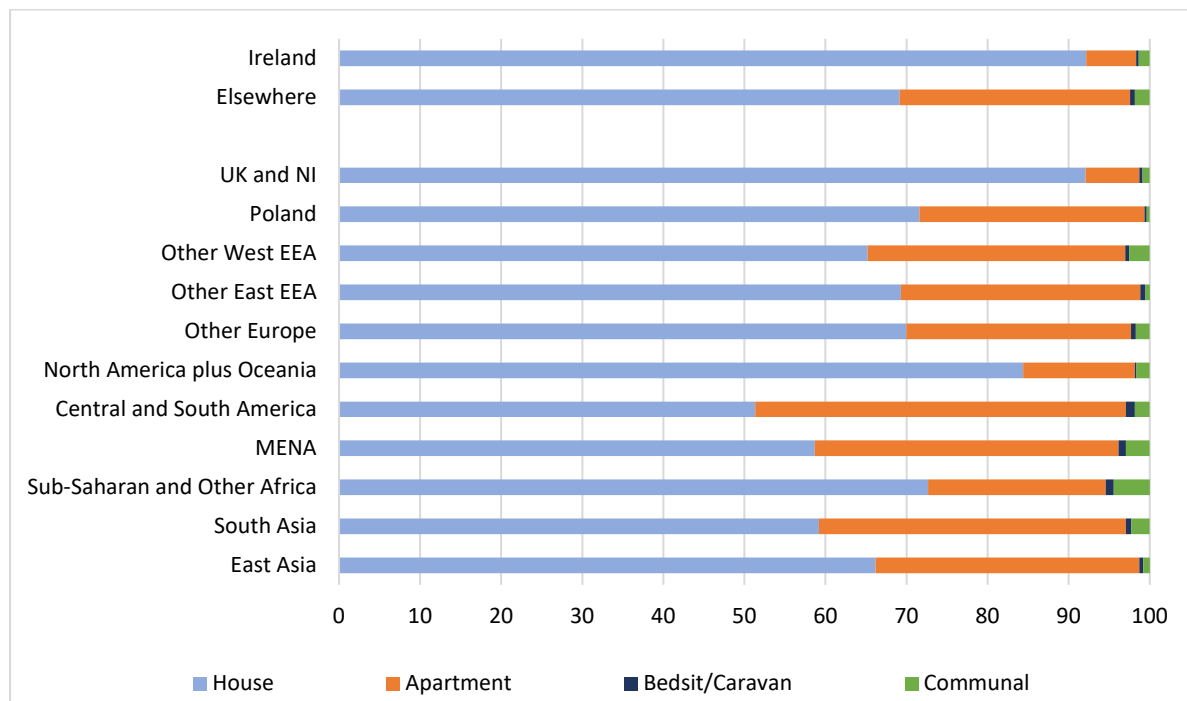
Following this, Sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 address private rental accommodation. Private rental accommodation is the sector with least entry barriers to entry for migrants (see Chapter 2). Those who do not intend to remain in Ireland permanently are also more likely to opt for private rental housing. Previous studies have shown that migrants are disproportionately located in the private rental sector (Fahey et al., 2019; Pillinger, 2009). While private rental properties encompass a broad range of housing quality from luxury houses to cramped, damp apartments, the sector as a whole offers less security of tenure and has the highest level of affordability problems (Russell et al., 2021). Therefore, longer-term reliance on the private rental sector may have consequences for housing quality, security, family formation, and integration more broadly.

4.2.1 Housing type

In the Irish housing system, houses are the predominant housing type. Figure 4.1 examines the proportions of housing types – house, apartment, bedsit/caravan, or communal – observed among migrants and Irish-born population. Most of the

Irish-born – over 92 per cent – live in houses, and 6 per cent live in apartments. However, the distribution of housing type among the wider migrant group is different. Here just 69 per cent live in houses, while 28 per cent live in apartments. Communal living includes those living in hospitals, nursing homes, Direct Provision centres (see Section 1.2), and is relatively uncommon for both groups, with just 1.4 per cent of Irish-born and 1.8 per cent of the migrant population living in communal settings.

FIGURE 4.1 HOUSING TYPE BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH (INDIVIDUALS)



Source: Census microdata 2016. N = 4,515,892. All respondents are usually resident in Ireland.

Note: The communal housing type category is made up of several accommodation types including hospitals, nursing homes, hotels, shelters, and refuges. It also includes accommodation for homeless persons. We are not able to split communal categories further due to CSO privacy rules.

There are notable differences among the different migrant groups. The pattern for UK-born mirrors the Irish-born population, in that the vast majority of this group reside in houses (92 per cent) and only a small proportion reside in apartments (7 per cent). This is likely to be related to the fact that UK-born nationals have tended to live in Ireland much longer than other migrants,⁷⁴ though as high rates of homeownership are also found in the UK, preferences may also play a role. However, for all other migrant groups, apartment living is more common than it is among natives, and it is particularly common for those from South and Central

⁷⁴ In 2017 for example, 28 per cent of UK nationals had lived in Ireland for over 20 years, compared to 7 per cent of all non-Irish nationals; almost two-thirds (64 per cent) had lived in Ireland for more than ten years (see McGinnity et al., 2018 Table A1.4, using LFS microdata).

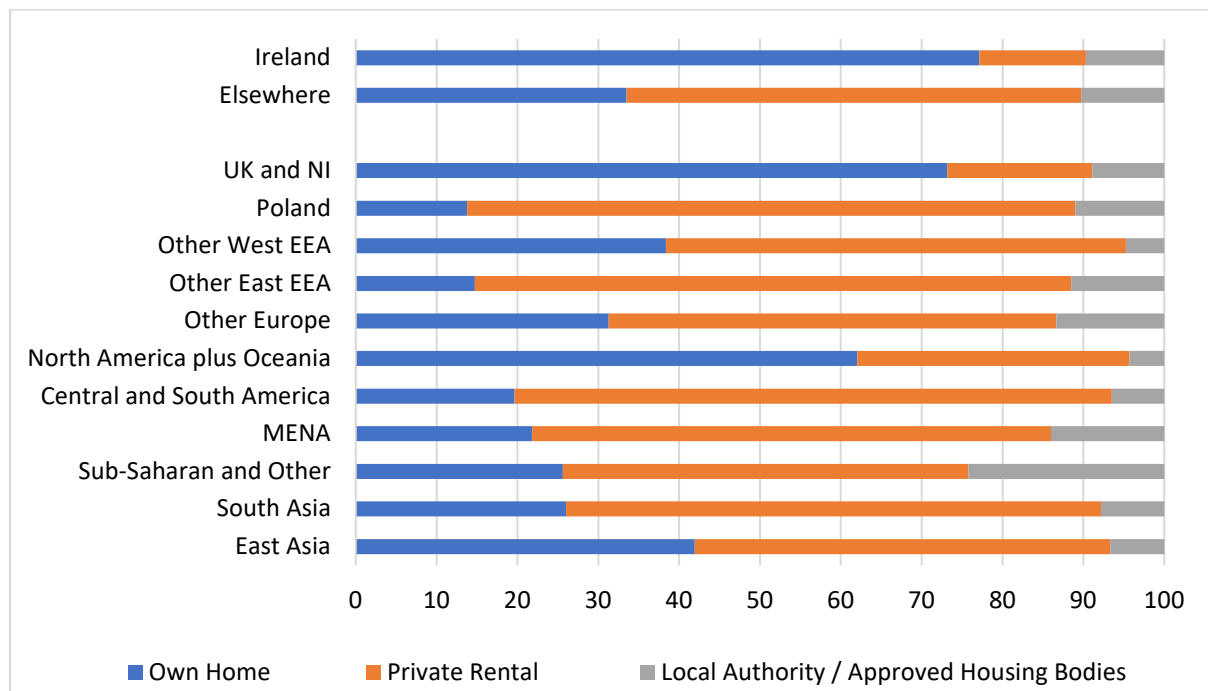
America (46 per cent), South Asia (38 per cent), MENA countries (38 per cent), and East Asia (33 per cent).

Some migrant groups are overrepresented in communal settings. While the overall proportion living in communal accommodation is small, higher proportions of communal accommodation are observed among certain migrant groups – namely Sub-Saharan Africans (4.5 per cent), MENA migrants (3 per cent), and West EEA migrants (2.5 per cent). That many Sub-Saharan Africans live in communal accommodation is likely to reflect Direct Provision accommodation, and this may also be true of some of the MENA migrants.⁷⁵ Some may also be living in emergency accommodation for the homeless (see Section 4.4). For West EEA migrants, communal accommodation is more likely to be student accommodation or long stays in hotels or guesthouses.

4.2.2 Housing tenure

As described in Chapter 3, housing tenure has been categorised into three distinct groups: owning one's home; private rental; and social housing through the local authority or approved housing bodies. The census data demonstrate large differences in the housing tenure of migrants compared to natives. In 2016, 77 per cent of those born in Ireland (of all ages) were living in owner-occupied accommodation, compared to 33 per cent of those born abroad (Figure 4.2). Additionally, 13 per cent of those born in Ireland were living in private rented housing, compared to over half (56 per cent) of those born abroad. Similar proportions of both groups, around 10 per cent, lived in accommodation rented from a local authority or approved housing bodies. While overall this suggests that migrants are accessing local authority housing, we cannot rule out challenges for some groups.

⁷⁵ Estimates from the *Reception and Integration Agency Annual Report* for 2015 suggest of 4,885 residents of Direct Provision accommodation, 56 per cent or 2,740 were from African countries (see file:///C:/Users/fmcginnity/Downloads/119463_150b85b0-d5dd-448b-bbbb-50f1eae9c74e%20(2).pdf).

FIGURE 4.2 HOUSING TENURE BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH (INDIVIDUALS OF ALL AGES)

Source: Census microdata 2016. N=4,386,883. All respondents living in private households, who are usually resident in the household.
Note: Respondents who live in their home rent free were included in the private rent and local authority rent categories where these data were available. Respondents who lived rent free in their home but whose tenure type was unclear (whether renting privately or renting from local authority) were considered missing.

There are also significant differences across migrant groups. Those from the UK (73 per cent), North America and Oceania (62 per cent), and East Asia (42 per cent) have the highest rates of homeownership, while those from Poland, Eastern EEA countries, and Central and South America have the lowest rates (14 per cent, 15 per cent and 20 per cent respectively). Furthermore, most migrant groups have high rates of private rental tenure, but these rates are especially high for those born in Poland (75 per cent), Other East EEA countries (73 per cent), and Central and South American countries (73 per cent). There are also migrant differences in social housing; with other European migrants (13 per cent), MENA migrants, (14 per cent), and Sub-Saharan and Other African migrants (24 per cent) demonstrating the highest rates of local authority tenure.

4.2.3 Modelling housing tenure

Past research has indicated that homeownership is frequently lower among migrants in comparison to natives, known as the 'homeownership gap'. There are many reasons why migrants are more likely to live in private rented accommodation including credit constraints, cost of living, immigration status, and broader socioeconomic variables (Amuedo-Dorantes and Mundra, 2012). Yet, as discussed in Chapter 2, reliance on private rented accommodation in Ireland incurs higher rates of affordability problems, potential housing insecurity, housing quality, and issues of long-term residency (Russell et al., 2021). This section presents a model that estimates factors associated with living in rented versus

owner-occupied accommodation. As private rented and local authority renting are so different, a multinomial logistic regression is estimated. Table 4.1 presents the factors that influence residence in private renting versus owner occupied accommodation. The factors associated with local authority renting versus homeownership are presented in the appendix (see Appendix, Table A4.1).

The results of the model are presented as odds ratios. Odds greater than 1 mean that a group is more likely to live in private rented housing when compared to the reference group (owner-occupied accommodation). Odds of 1 indicate that the group has the same odds as the reference group of being in the private rented sector. Odds of less than 1 indicate that the group has lower odds of living in the private rented sector. The basic model, Model 1, includes only country of birth as a predictor of residing in rented accommodation. Model 2 introduces additional socio-demographic variables to investigate whether differences in housing tenure are linked to these. This includes age, sex, household composition, employment status (including broad skill level), and location of one's accommodation – whether in an urban or rural area. The full model, Model 3, further adds factors more closely linked to migration: the probability of arriving through the asylum system (asyratio), ethnicity, and English language skills. Finally, a model was conducted with migrant participants only (Model 4). This model includes time of arrival in Ireland, whether the head of house and partner (where present) are Irish-born, and whether the individual is an Irish national or non-Irish national. All models are presented in Table 4.1.

TABLE 4.1 FACTORS INFLUENCING ODDS RATIOS OF PRIVATE RENTING VERSUS ALL OTHER HOUSING TENURES (INDIVIDUALS ALL AGES)

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4: Migrants Only
Country of Birth	Ireland (RC)	1	1	1	
	UK and NI (RC in Model 4)	1.479	2.066	2.055	1
	Poland	31.65	27.87	20.18	3.745
	Other West EEA	9.229	7.163	6.172	1.7
	Other East EEA	29.69	24.98	17.92	3.47
	Other Europe	11.5	10.56	7.536	2.216
	North America plus Oceania	3.388	3.466	3.309	1.708
	Central and South America	27.17	14.7	9.565	2.89
	MENA	19.54	17.17	9.385	3.325
	Sub-Saharan and other Africa	13.18	13.99	6.306	2.587
	South Asia	15.17	13.35	7.051	2.618
	East Asia	7.612	7.294	3.583	1.626

Contd.

TABLE 4.1 CONTD.

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4: Migrants Only
Age	0 - 4		1.664	1.36	1.371
	5 - 9		1.02	1.024	1.336
	10 - 14		0.605	0.667	1.016
	14 - 19		0.584	0.617	0.839
	20 - 24		0.792	0.801	1.1
	25 - 29		1.379	1.37	1.476
	30 - 34 (RC)		1	1	1
	35 - 39		0.618	0.612	0.71
	40 - 44		0.447	0.427	0.567
	45 - 49		0.339	0.318	0.477
	50 - 54		0.253	0.234	0.382
	55 - 59		0.195	0.179	0.319
	60 - 64		0.128	0.118	0.232
	65+		0.0651	0.0626	0.117
Sex	Male (RC)		1	1	1
	Female		0.841	0.851	0.848
Household Composition	One person		5.179	5.386	3.58
	Married/Cohabiting couple		2.453	2.496	1.836
	Married/Cohabiting couple w/ children (RC)		1	1	1
	One parent with children		2.655	2.675	1.772
	Other		2.042	1.93	1.782
	Unrelated persons only		7.894	7.631	3.32
Employment Status	Employed high skill (RC)		1	1	1
	Employed non-high skilled		1.292	1.137	1.246
	Unemployed		2.534	2.062	2.086
	Student		1.077	0.975	1.156
	Other		1.649	1.38	1.362
Location	Less than 1,500 (Rural) (RC)		1	1	1
	1,500 through to 49,999		2.088	2.002	1.87
	50,000 or greater		2.44	2.392	2.38
Asyratio	Likelihood of arriving through protection system			1.081	1.066
Ethnicity	White (RC)			1	1
	Traveller			5.824	8.033
	Black			2.691	1.574
	Asian			1.598	0.993
	Other			1.38	1.123
English Language Skills	Speak very well (RC)			1	1
	Well			1.662	1.474
	Not well			3.19	2.592
	Not at all well			3.429	2.992

Contd.

TABLE 4.1 CONTD.

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4: Migrants Only
Arrival in Ireland	Before 1980 (RC)				1
	1980 - 1989				1.519
	1990 - 1999				1.789
	2000 - 2009				2.947
	2010 - 2016				5.906
	Not Stated				3.935
Head of Household	HoH: Both partners born in Ireland				0.0696
	HoH: Both partners born elsewhere (not Ireland) (RC)				1
	HoH: One partner born in Ireland (the other born elsewhere)				0.338
	HoH: No partner				0.811
Nationality	Irish national (RC)				1
	Non-Irish national				0.466
	Observations	897,638	897,638	897,638	529,007
	Pseudo R-squared	0.197	0.295	0.306	0.27

Source: Census 2016 microdata N = 897,638, includes ~10 per cent sample of Irish nationals.

Note: The table presents a multinomial logistic regression analysis predicting private renting against homeownership; predictions of social housing tenure are presented in Table A4.1 in the Appendices. RC denotes reference category. Exponentiated coefficients. The model is run at an individual level.

The controls introduced in Model 2 and Model 3 largely operate as expected. For example, single person households, multi-person unrelated households and households without children are all found to be much more likely to live in private rented accommodation than owner-occupied accommodation, as are the unemployed, and those living in cities. Ethnicity is controlled for in Model 3. The addition of this variable demonstrates that those from Traveller, Black, Asian, or Other ethnic backgrounds are more likely to live in private rented accommodation than White respondents. Additionally, those with poorer English language skills are also more likely to live in rented accommodation.

Model 2 and Model 3 demonstrate that migrant groups are consistently more likely to live in private rented accommodation than those born in Ireland even when we compare them to the Irish-born with similar characteristics (age, household composition, employment status and ethnicity). However, some groups demonstrate particularly high odds. Even when all other variables are controlled for, the odds of living in the private rented sector are particularly high among Polish migrants (20 times higher than those born in Ireland) and Other East EEA migrants (nearly 18 times higher than those born in Ireland). The odds of living in private rented accommodation are nine times higher among the Central and South American and MENA migrant groups, and seven times higher among Other

European and South Asian migrants. Migrants born in the UK and NI demonstrate the lowest odds ratio among the migrant groups but are still twice as likely as Irish-born to live in rented accommodation.

An additional consideration is whether tenure type differs for migrant men and women. Table A4.2 presents the country of birth and sex coefficients from Model 3 alongside the interaction terms for these two variables. The model shows that, for most migrant groups, female migrants are less likely to live in private rented accommodation than male migrants. Particularly those from Central and South America, but also female migrants from South Asia, East Asia, and from West and East EEA countries. Female migrants are also somewhat less likely to be in social housing than male migrants, though migrant groups vary in the extent of this difference (see Table A4.2). However, in general the gender differences within migrant groups are much smaller than the differences between Irish-born and migrant groups in terms of the odds of living in private rented housing.

Additionally, the Migrants Only model indicates that migrants who have recently arrived in Ireland have much greater odds of living in rented accommodation than those who have been settled for a longer period (see Model 4, Table 4.1). For example, migrants who arrived in Ireland during 2010-2016 were nearly six times more likely to live in the private rented sector than migrants who had lived in Ireland since before 1980. This finding aligns with previous work by Finn and Mayock (2021) which proposes that migrants typically begin their housing pathways in the private rented sector but may later progress to homeownership. Table 4.2 provides additional insight into housing tenure among migrants based on the number of years since they arrived in Ireland. As reflected in the model, Table 4.2 demonstrates longer periods spent living in Ireland are linked with higher proportions of homeownership, and those who arrived most recently are more commonly living in the rented sector. For migrants who arrived between 2000 and 2009 and migrants who arrived between 2010 and 2016, we see a sharper drop in homeownership (Table 4.2). Perhaps of greatest interest are the group of migrants who arrived in 2000-2009, in that it was during this period that Ireland experienced its largest inflow of migrants (see Chapter 1, Section 1.2). Of this group, 44.7 per cent are homeowners, 46.5 per cent live in the rental sector, and 8.7 per cent are living in social housing; this is despite a relatively long duration of residence in Ireland – up to 16 years. This highlights the potential concern of migrants who are intending to settle long-term in Ireland but are becoming ‘stuck’ in the private rental sector, and unable to transition to the preferred tenure of homeownership (Corrigan et al., 2019a).

TABLE 4.2 HOUSING TENURE AMONG MIGRANTS BY DURATION OF RESIDENCE IN IRELAND

Duration of Residence in Ireland	Homeownership (%)	Private Rental (%)	Social Housing (%)	Total (%)
Before 1980	90.70	4.43	4.87	100
1980 - 1989	83.33	9.98	6.69	100
1990 - 1999	76.06	16.21	7.73	100
2000 - 2009	44.73	46.53	8.74	100
2010 - 2016	23.38	70.54	6.08	100
Not Stated	35.97	51.34	12.69	100
Total	42.30	47.86	9.84	100

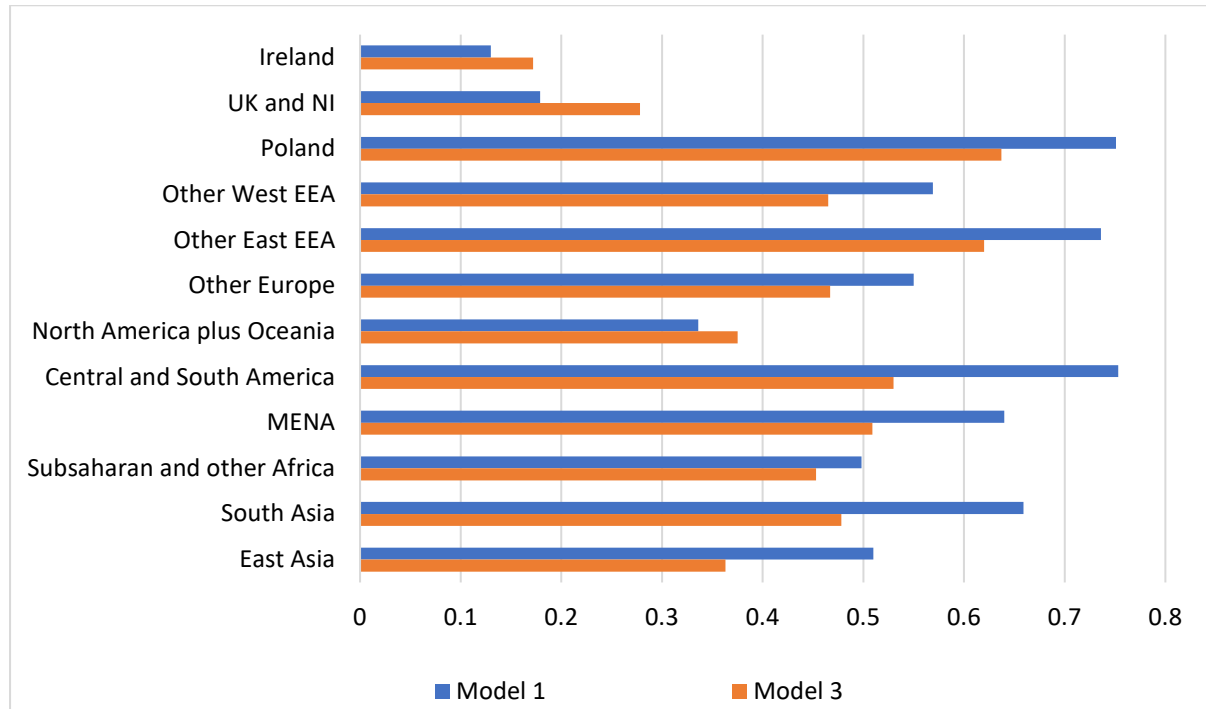
Source: 2016 Census.

As described in Chapter 3, the asyratio statistic provides an indication of an individual's likelihood of arriving in Ireland through the protection system; this statistic is calculated on the basis of an individual's country of origin. Looking at the Migrants Only model in Table 4.1, a one-unit increase in the asyratio statistic presents little change to the odds that an individual will live in private rented accommodation compared to owner-occupied accommodation. However, the asyratio statistic is perhaps more strongly linked to social housing outcomes. Table A4.1 presents the estimates for living in social housing versus owner-occupied accommodation contained within our multinomial logistic regression. Within this table, a one-unit increase in the asyratio statistic is linked to a 70 per cent increase in the likelihood of living in social housing (see Appendix, Table A4.1). One interpretation of this finding is that individuals who have transitioned from the asylum system are more likely to find accommodation through social housing than in rented accommodation: this group may be less likely than other migrants to view their stay in Ireland as temporary and intend to return to their home country. Additionally, while in the international protection system, applicants do not have access to the labour market and are provided with a very small living allowance (see Section 1.2). This undermines their ability to save mortgage or rental deposits, to demonstrate evidence of a strong personal financial history, or to provide references from past tenancies. This information is often sought by landlords when choosing tenants, and disproportionately sought where prospective tenants are migrants or minorities (Gusciute et al., 2020; Auspurg et al., 2019).

In Figure 4.3 the results of the analysis are presented as predicted probabilities of living in private rented housing for each country of birth. Irish-born respondents have a 0.13 probability of living in rented accommodation. Controlling for the full range of characteristics outlined in Model 3 above, the differences between Ireland and those born abroad with similar characteristics (age, gender, employment status, ethnicity, etc.) narrows in most cases but remains very substantial. In the case of the UK and North America, the gap between migrants and the Irish-born population widens when other characteristics are controlled, this suggests that

they are more overrepresented in the private sector when characteristics such as their age, family situation and employment profile are taken into account.

FIGURE 4.3 PREDICTED PROBABILITIES OF LIVING IN PRIVATE RENTAL HOUSING BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH WITH (MODEL 3) AND WITHOUT (MODEL 1) CONTROLS



Source: Census 2016 microdata.

Note: Description of variables entered into Model 1 and Model 3 are listed in Table 4.1. For both models N = 1,080,115.

4.3 OVERCROWDING

This section explores the experience of overcrowding among migrants. As overcrowding can detrimentally affect both housing quality and family life, it is a key indicator of adequate housing (Russell et al., 2021). Past literature from both Ireland and abroad has indicated that migrants are more likely to live in overcrowded accommodation in comparison to natives (Andrés and Machí, 2017; Obućina and Ilmakunnas, 2020; OECD, 2018; Pillinger, 2009; Russell et al., 2021). The housing situation of migrants and ethnic minorities, in particular living in overcrowded accommodation, has arisen as an issue in terms of vulnerability to COVID-19 (OECD, 2020). Consistent with the literature, Figure 4.4 illustrates that, generally, migrants report higher levels of overcrowding in their place of residence (20 per cent) than those born in Ireland (8 per cent). However, migrants from the UK and NI, as well as from North American plus Oceania, oppose this trend; for these groups overcrowding is less common (5 per cent for both the UK/NI and North America plus Oceania migrant groups) than for Irish-born respondents (8 per cent). Note this analysis considers individuals' risk of overcrowding, not which households are overcrowded.

FIGURE 4.4 PROPORTION OF INDIVIDUALS LIVING IN OVERCROWDED ACCOMMODATION BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH (INDIVIDUALS OF ALL AGES)

Source: Census 2016 microdata. N = 4,292,293.

Note: Overcrowding pertains to individuals in private households only. As described in Chapter 3, overcrowding is recognised as occurring when the number of people in the household exceeds the number of rooms.

High rates of overcrowding are observed for many migrant categories including Poland (24 per cent), Other Europe (30 per cent), Central and South America (30 per cent), Other East EEA (32 per cent), East Asia (37 per cent), MENA (37 per cent), Sub-Saharan and Other Africa (39 per cent), and South Asia (41 per cent). These findings are particularly interesting when combined with the findings presented in Figure 4.1 which illustrates migrants' residence across different housing types. Figure 4.2 demonstrates that migrants from the South and Central America, South Asia, MENA, and East Asia groups also demonstrate high rates of living in apartment dwellings. This may in part explain the high levels of overcrowding observed in Figure 4.4, as we would anticipate that on average apartments have fewer rooms. Do migrants live in settings with bigger families or accommodation with fewer rooms? Table A4.3 presents the mean number of rooms and the mean number of usually resident by country-of-birth groups. Here we see that for most migrant groups, the number of people usually resident is either similar or below the Irish mean (3.63 people per household), though some non-EEA groups have higher mean residents (especially Africans and South Asians, where the mean number of people is around 4). By contrast, the number of rooms is smaller for migrant groups, with the exception of UK and North American plus Oceania-born. For Irish born the number of rooms is 5.92: for most migrant groups it is between 4 and 4.3 (see Table A4.3). Of course migrants are typically younger than Irish-born. The models below control for age.

The regression model for overcrowding is presented in Table 4.3. The basic model (Model 1) includes only country of birth as a predictor of overcrowding. Basic socio-demographic variables of age and sex were added in Model 2. The full model, Model 3, incorporates additional controls for employment status, probability of arriving through the asylum system (asyratio), ethnicity, English language skills, household composition, and urban/rural locale, and type of housing tenure. Model 4 presents a model conducted with migrants only; it adds the variables of time of arrival in Ireland and whether the head of house and partner (where present) are Irish-born. Like the series of models presented in Table 4.1, the results of these models are presented as odds ratios. Odds with a value above 1 signify a greater likelihood of experiencing overcrowding relative to the reference category. Conversely, odds with a value below 1 indicate a lower likelihood of experiencing overcrowding relative to the reference category.

TABLE 4.3 FACTORS INFLUENCING ODDS RATIOS OF OVERCROWDING

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4: Migrants Only
Country of Birth	Ireland (RC)	1	1	1	
	UK and NI (RC in Model 4)	0.721	0.926	0.885	1
	Poland	3.666	3.603	1.621	1.346
	Other West EEA	1.389	1.43	0.99	1.034
	Other East EEA	5.388	5.397	2.428	2.083
	Other Europe	5.191	5.407	2.069	1.838
	North America plus Oceania	0.715	0.701	0.599	0.752
	Central and South America	5.391	5.281	2.516	2.46
	MENA	7.259	7.193	1.573	1.559
	Sub-Saharan and other Africa	8.295	8.978	1.33	1.405
	South Asia	8.288	8.208	2.491	2.422
East Asia	7.107	7.544	2.654	2.611	
Age	0 - 4		2.246	1.135	0.817
	5 - 9		1.826	1.251	1.064
	10 - 14		1.53	1.266	1.202
	14 - 19		1.299	1.434	1.383
	20 - 24		1.142	1.285	1.337
	25 - 29		1.051	1.159	1.183
	30 - 34 (RC)		1	1	1
	35 - 39		0.95	0.9	0.895
	40 - 44		0.902	0.835	0.834
45 - 49		0.779	0.737	0.75	

Contd.

TABLE 4.3 CONTD.

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4: Migrants Only
Age Contd.	50 - 54		0.582	0.597	0.621
	55 - 59		0.472	0.53	0.572
	60 - 64		0.362	0.445	0.524
	65+		0.205	0.294	0.364
Sex	Male (RC)		1	1	1
	Female		0.948	0.946	0.939
Employment Status	Employed high skill (RC)			1	1
	Employed non-high skilled			1.59	1.498
	Unemployed			1.84	1.674
	Student			1.313	1.312
	Other			1.677	1.557
Asyratio	Likelihood of arriving through protection system			1.684	1.667
	White (RC)			1	1
Ethnicity	Traveller			8.6	8.558
	Black			2.659	2.079
	Asian			1.687	1.375
	Other			1.472	1.385
	Speak very well (RC)			1	1
English Language Skills	Well			1.438	1.351
	Not well			1.655	1.584
	Not at all well			2.304	2.23
	Married/Cohabiting couple (RC)			1	1
Household Composition	Married/Cohabiting couple w/ children			3.07	3.084
	One parent with children			1.169	2.472
	Other			1.54	2.621
	Unrelated persons only			0.801	1.794
Location	Less than 1,500 (Rural) (RC)			1	1
	1,500 through to 49,999			1.325	1.342
	50,000 or greater			2.296	2.407
Tenure	Own Home			1	1
	Private Rent			2.582	2.195
	LH or AHB			3.227	2.472
Arrival in Ireland	Before 1980 (RC)				1
	1980 - 1989				1.252
	1990 - 1999				1.215
	2000 - 2009				1.485
	2010 - 2016				1.667
	Not Stated				2.625

Contd.

TABLE 4.3 CONTD.

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4: Migrants Only
Head of Household	HoH: Both partners born in Ireland				0.416
	HoH: Both partners born elsewhere (not Ireland) (RC)				1
	HoH: One partner born in Ireland (the other born elsewhere)				0.541
	HoH: No partner				0.375
	Observations	700,678	700,678	700,678	525,641
	Pseudo R-squared	0.114	0.135	0.214	0.21

Source: Census 2016 microdata N = 700,678, with ~10 per cent sample of Irish nationals.

Note: RC denotes reference category. Private households only. Exponentiated coefficients. There are 2,215 Travellers in each model. There are 12,538 migrants in households where HoH and partner were born in Ireland.

Model 3 demonstrates that the odds of being in overcrowded accommodation are lower among migrant groups from the UK and NI, and those from North America and Oceania relative to those in the Irish category. Migrants from Other West EEA countries demonstrate rates of overcrowding that closely resemble that of Irish-born. For all other migrant categories, the likelihood of living in overcrowded accommodation is much greater than it is for those who are Irish-born, even when we control for employment status, language ability, household type, and ethnicity. This is broadly consistent with past studies that have demonstrated a higher prevalence of overcrowding among migrants in comparison to natives (Andrés and Machí, 2012; Obućina and Ilmakunnas, 2020; OECD, 2018). In particular, the model indicates that those from the migrant categories East Asia (2.6 times more likely), Central and South America (2.5 times more likely), South Asia (2.5 times more likely), Other East EEA (2.4 times more likely), and Other Europe (2.1 times more likely) are more likely to experience overcrowding in comparison to those in the Irish category. High rates of overcrowding were observed among the Sub-Saharan and Other African migrant group within the initial model. These rates fell with the addition of further controls, indicating that part of the reason Sub-Saharan/Other Africans experience higher overcrowding is because those of Black ethnicity experience more overcrowding, and many of this group are of Black ethnicity. A second reason is that Sub-Saharan Africans are also more likely to have arrived in Ireland through the protection system than other groups (see Table A3.2), and our measure of ‘asratio’ is also associated with overcrowding (see below). However even after these controls, migrants from this group are still 1.3 times more likely than Irish-born to experience overcrowding.

Past research by Russell et al. (2021) has indicated that overcrowding is more prevalent among ethnic minorities in Ireland. Consistent with this, Model 3 demonstrates that odds of experiencing overcrowding are much higher among ethnic groups than among White individuals. These ratios are 8.6 times higher for

the Traveller population, 2.7 times higher for the Black population, 1.7 times higher for the Asian population, and 1.5 times higher for those in the 'Other Ethnicity' category when compared to White individuals. By contrast, when looking at the Migrants Only model – that is the effect of minority ethnicity only for those born abroad – the odds of experiencing overcrowding among Black, Asian, and Other categories are slightly reduced. Further research could explore housing outcomes for different ethnic groups in greater detail, in particular how housing outcomes are related to their place of birth (Ireland versus abroad) and potentially also their nationality (Irish citizen or not). However, the odds for migrants of Traveller ethnicity born abroad experiencing overcrowding are very high, remaining at 8.6 times that of White migrants.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Model 3 reveals that those living in larger urban areas are more likely to be overcrowded when compared to towns and rural areas. Looking at the Migrants Only model, overcrowding is more likely to be incurred in towns (1.3 times more likely) and urban areas (2.3 times more likely) when compared to rural areas. Additionally, housing type also influences overcrowding. Those in private rented accommodation or housed through local authorities and approved housing bodies incur greater odds of overcrowding. Model 3 reveals that those in private rented accommodation are 2.6 times more likely to experience overcrowding, and those in social housing are 3.2 times more likely to be overcrowded when these groups are compared to people living in houses. Under the Migrants Only model, the odds of overcrowding narrow to 2.2 and 2.5 times for migrants living in private accommodation and social housing respectively. Note here that the census definition of overcrowding does not account for the age of children: children are counted as one 'person'. This may overestimate the risk of overcrowding for families with children, relative to the Eurostat definition,⁷⁶ which assumes some level of room-sharing for children. Further analysis of overcrowding accounting for age of children and number of bedrooms would be warranted here.

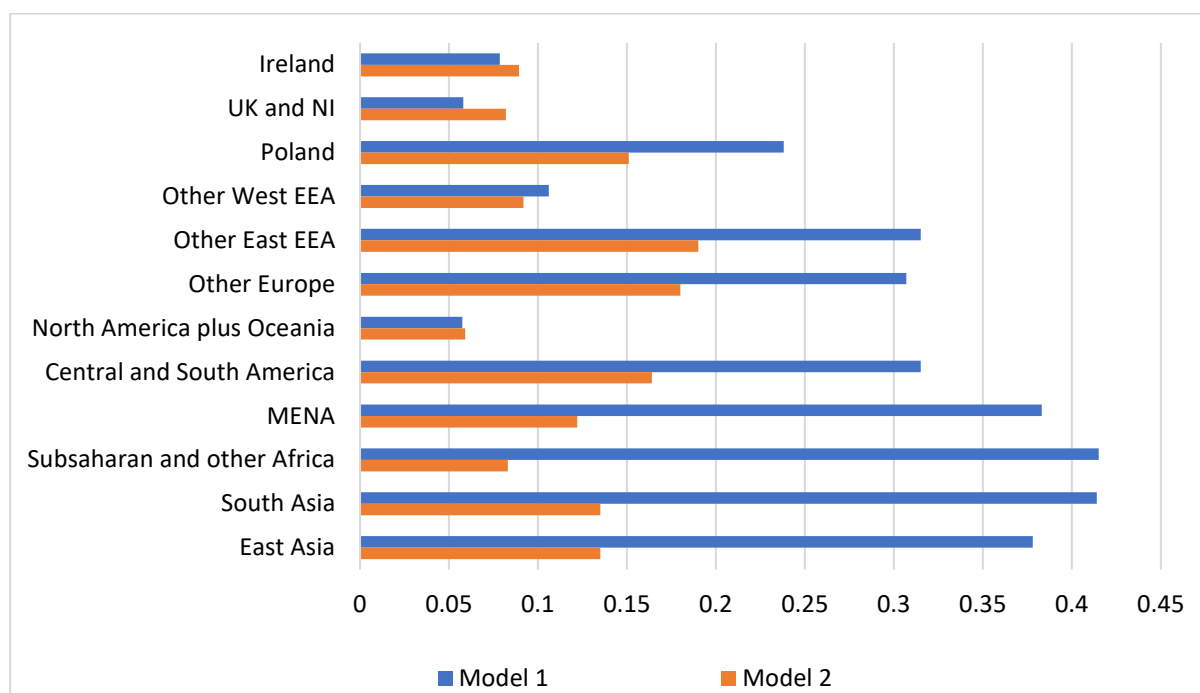
Employment status is also an important factor underpinning overcrowding. Model 3 demonstrates that non-skilled workers, the unemployed, and students are all more likely to live in overcrowded conditions when compared to highly skilled workers. This is particularly relevant for some groups of migrants. McGinnity et al. (2020) found that arriving through the protection system was associated with significantly higher unemployment risk. Additionally, where respondents report lower levels of English language skills, they are more likely to reside in crowded accommodation. For example, respondents who report that they speak English 'not well' or 'not at all' were 1.7 and 2.3 times more likely to report overcrowding.

⁷⁶ https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Glossary:Overcrowding_rate#:~:text=A%20person%20is%20considered%20as,number%20of%20rooms%20equal%20to%3A&text=one%20room%20for%20each%20single%20person%20between%2012%20and%2017,under%2012%20years%20of%20age.

Under Model 4, which looks at migrants only, although the same pattern holds, the impact of employment status on overcrowding is less pronounced. However, migrants who rated themselves as having poor English language skills ('not at all') are 2.2 times more likely to report living in overcrowded accommodation, suggesting that this is a barrier to integration in the form of accessing adequate housing. Migrants that are more likely to have arrived through the asylum system are also more likely to be in overcrowded housing; each one unit increase in the asylum ratio scale is associated with a nearly 70 per cent increase in the likelihood of overcrowding.

Another important factor is the consideration of migrants' time of arrival in Ireland which is included in the Migrants Only model. In comparison to migrants who settled in Ireland before 1980, migrants who arrived during the years 2010-2016 are 1.7 times more likely to live in crowded accommodation. Similarly, migrants who have arrived between 2000-2009 and between 2010-2016 are, respectively, 1.5 times more likely and 1.7 times more likely to live in overcrowded accommodation. In particular given that immigration peaked in Ireland in the early 2000s (see Chapter 1), this suggests that even those who arrived then are still at greater risk of overcrowding. For some this will be 15 years after arrival in Ireland. This echoes the work of Coates et al. (2013) who argue that newly arrived migrants tend to initially reside in overcrowded accommodation before accruing resources and greater housing market knowledge and progressing to more suitable accommodation.

Figure 4.5 depicts the results of Model 1 and Model 3 as predicted probabilities. The results for Model 1 demonstrate much higher probabilities for overcrowding among migrants in comparison to those in the Irish category. However, when age, employment status, asyratio, ethnicity, English language skills, household composition, location, and housing tenure are controlled for under Model 3, the gap in probabilities for overcrowding between those born in Ireland and those born abroad narrows. In particular, a substantial decrease in experiencing overcrowding is observed for the MENA, Sub-Saharan and Other Africa, South Asia, and East Asia groups (which is related to the controls for ethnicity). In the case of migrants from the UK and North America plus Oceania, the likelihood of overcrowding is very similar to that of the Irish-born.

FIGURE 4.5 PREDICTED PROBABILITIES OF OVERCROWDING

Source: Census 2016 data. N = 3,959,848.

Note the analysis above is based on individuals living in overcrowded accommodation. Russell et al. (2021) present figures on overcrowding based on overcrowded households using Census 2016 data (and the same definition as used here). Here the relativities are similar in that East European and non-EU headed-households are much more likely to live in overcrowded accommodation than households with an Irish head. The overall rates of overcrowding are lower, with an estimated 4 per cent of Irish households being overcrowded compared to 8 per cent in Figure 4.4. Eurostat overcrowding figures for Ireland, which account for the age of children, are also lower. Barrett et al. (2017), using EU-SILC data, show overcrowding rates of 3.9 per cent for Irish nationals and 8.4 per cent overall, using this definition and drawing on the Eurostat database. It is of note that in all estimates the rate of overcrowding, while low in Ireland, is much higher for non-Irish or migrants.

4.4 HOMELESSNESS

Despite the introduction of rent pressure zones, the cost of renting has increased very rapidly in Ireland over the last ten years. This is particularly true of urban centres where rental costs far outstrip wage and income increases, leaving those in the rental sector more exposed to affordability problems and to homelessness (Russell et al., 2021). For example, in 2019, 50 per cent of families entering homelessness in the Dublin region did so as a result of issues stemming from being in private rental accommodation such as rent arrears, sale of the property by the landlord, or the landlord requiring the property for family use (Morrin, 2019).

Given the prevalence of migrants in the rented sector, as discussed previously (Figure 4.2), migrants may be particularly vulnerable to homelessness. What is more, lack of knowledge of the local housing market and social housing programmes, and less developed social networks, may compound this vulnerability. Further to this, Mayock et al. (2012) argues that migrants may be less likely to access homelessness services than indigenous people; they may instead turn to their social networks or to other temporary accommodation measures. Owing to this, Mayock et al. (2012) cautions that official figures may not accurately represent the true extent of homelessness among migrants.

As it was not possible to gain access to the census microdata on homelessness for reasons of privacy, we rely on published statistics from the census. These data give us some indication of the breakdown of homelessness according to nationality, categorising nationality under both individual countries and country groupings. We note that some broader nationality groupings such as Asian, Other European, Other African, and Other Nationalities are used by the CSO for reasons of identifiability, where the number of individuals recorded is quite small. Notably, in contrast to our own analysis which identifies migrants through country of birth, these figures are based on nationality, so the data will not count those born abroad who are Irish citizens (either through birth or naturalisation).⁷⁷ The census determined an individual as homeless based on where they stayed on the night of the census, rather than through self-identification. Individuals residing in establishments including state-funded accommodation, accommodation provided through NGOs, as well as shelters and refuges were counted as homeless. In addition, a count of rough sleepers was undertaken on census night. Thus, homeless persons within the census are comprised of roofless persons (people living rough; people in emergency accommodation) and houseless persons (people in accommodation for the homeless such as hostels, temporary accommodation, or transitional and supported accommodation; people in women's shelters).⁷⁸ Therefore, these figures do not capture individuals experiencing other forms of houselessness, as well as those in insecure or inadequate housing who may also be classed as homeless.

The 2016 Census recorded 6,871 individuals as homeless through the 2016 Census. As expected, Irish nationals comprise the largest proportion of recorded homeless individuals, at 75 per cent. Individuals from a nationality other than Irish comprise the remaining 25 per cent. However, according to the census data, non-Irish nationals constitute 11 per cent of Ireland's total population.⁷⁹ Consequently, this

⁷⁷ See McGinnity et al., 2020a for a discussion of how nationality and country of birth overlap in Ireland.

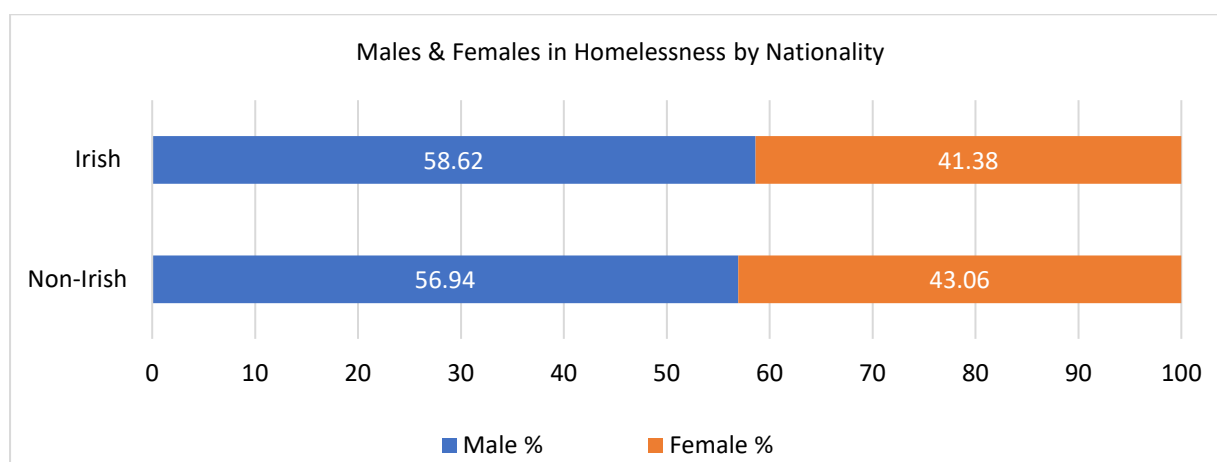
⁷⁸ See background note on the collection of data on homeless persons for the 2016 Census: <https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cp5hpi/cp5hpi/bgn/>.

⁷⁹ 535,475 non-Irish nationals were recorded during the 2016 Census. Overall population of Ireland was recorded as 4,761,865. Figures obtained from the CSO: <https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cp7md/p7md/p7anii/>.

indicates that migrants are overrepresented among homeless persons in Ireland. This aligns with past research which indicates that migrants are overrepresented among homeless persons in most European states (The Foundation Abbe Pierre – Feantsa, 2015). There is also of course the possibility that non-Irish homeless people are less likely to engage with homeless services (Mayock et al., 2012) and that this is therefore a conservative estimate.

Figure 4.6 illustrates the total number of people in homelessness by sex. To contextualise these figures: according to the census data used within this study, the number of Irish females (50.4 per cent) was marginally higher than the number of Irish males (49.6 per cent); and for migrant groups the breakdown of males and females is roughly evenly split (see Appendix, Table A3.2).⁸⁰ As such, we would expect to observe a similar breakdown of sex among homeless persons. However, as Figure 4.6 demonstrates, for both Irish and non-Irish nationals, the majority of homeless persons are male (58.6 per cent for Irish, 56.9 per cent for non-Irish). This finding diverges from what we would anticipate, as the literature suggests that migrant women are particularly vulnerable to homelessness (see Preece, 2010). However, data on reasons for accessing homelessness services are lacking (see discussion below), and in addition, patterns may vary within migrant or nationality groups.

FIGURE 4.6 BREAKDOWN OF HOMELESS PERSONS BY SEX AND NATIONALITY



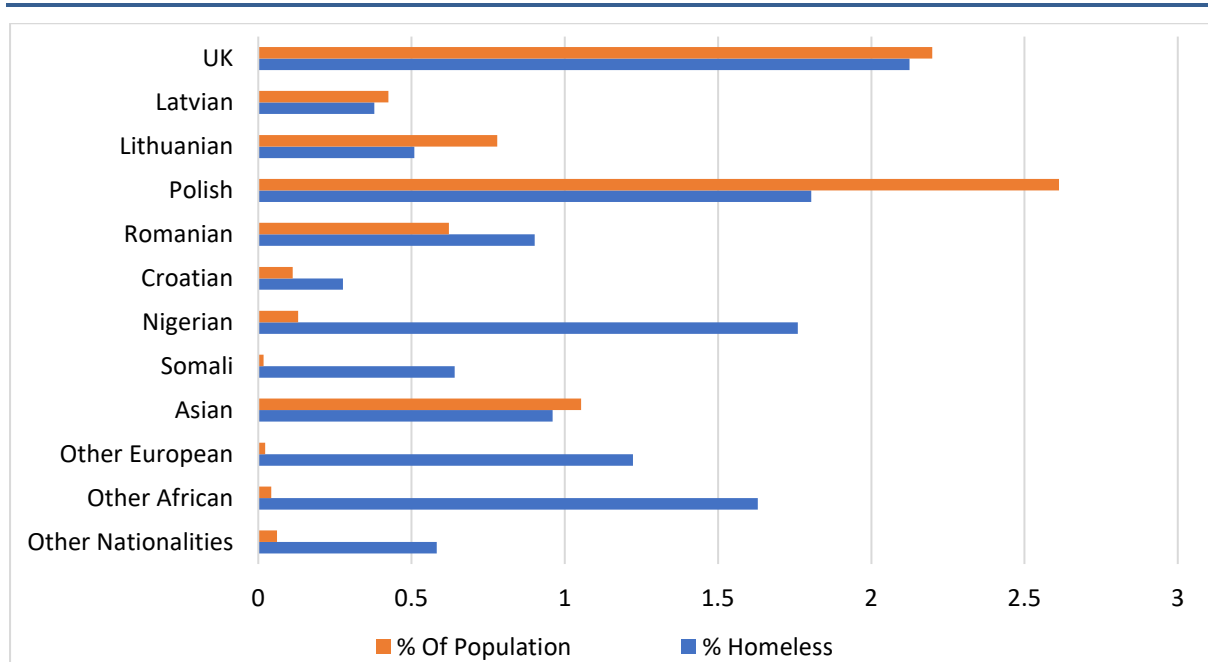
Source: Census, 2016. Code (E5009): Homeless Persons Usually Resident in the State 2016. For Irish nationals n = 5,171. For non-Irish nationals n = 1,700.

Figure 4.7 charts non-Irish homeless persons according to nationality (n = 1,700). As the graph indicates, for people from the UK, Latvia, and Asian countries, the proportion of homeless persons is broadly similar to the proportion of these

⁸⁰ Data on the breakdown of Irish and non-Irish nationals are obtained from the Labour Force Survey (Quarter 1) for 2017 (see McGinnity et al., 2018). Similar patterns are shown in Table A3.2 of this report, based on country of birth. Most migrant groups are fairly evenly split by gender. Exceptions are Central/South Americans and South Asians, where males dominate, and North Americans and East Asians, where females dominate.

nationalities (or nationality groupings) found in the overall population for Ireland. Of the European countries, Lithuanian and Polish individuals are under-represented in terms of the proportion of homeless persons. Conversely, people from Croatia, Romania, and Other European countries are overrepresented in terms of the number of homeless individuals. Individuals from Nigeria, Somalia, and Other African countries are also overrepresented in terms of the numbers of homeless individuals of these nationalities (or nationality categories) relative to the proportion of these nationalities within the population. That said, as the blue bars show, Polish and UK nationals make up a considerable proportion of the homeless population, mainly because they are the largest migrant groups.

FIGURE 4.7 HOMELESS PERSONS BY NATIONALITY RELATIVE TO THE PROPORTION OF THAT NATIONALITY WITHIN IRELAND'S POPULATION

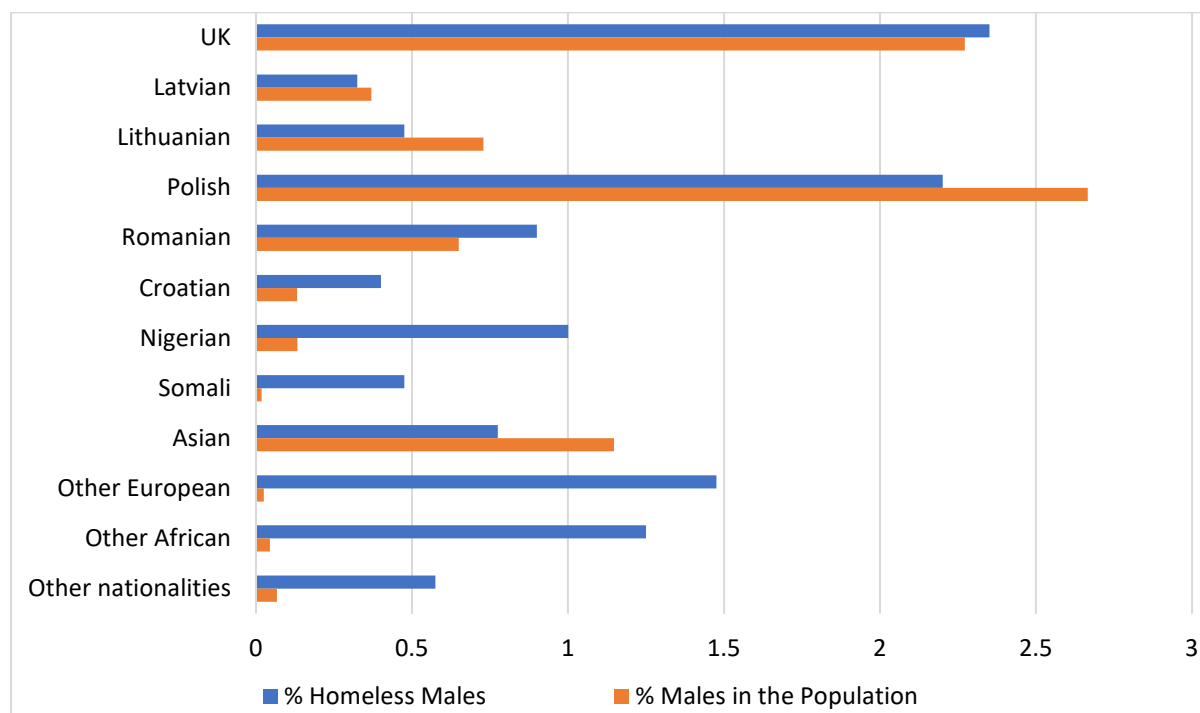


Source: Census, 2016. Code (E5009): Homeless Persons Usually Resident in the State 2016. N = 1,700.

Figures 4.8 and 4.9, which follow, further examine the number of male and female homeless persons by nationality. Figure 4.8 displays the proportions of males experiencing homelessness by nationality. Irish males comprise the majority of recorded homeless males, at 75.79 per cent. The patterns observed in Figure 4.6 are largely maintained. Again, the proportion of UK and Latvian males experiencing homelessness is roughly similar to the proportion of these nationalities in Ireland's male population; Polish and Lithuanian males are under-represented, and Romanian, Croatian, and Other European males are overrepresented in terms of experiencing homelessness. Similarly, the proportion of Nigerian, Somali, and Other African males experiencing homelessness is greater than the proportion of these nationalities and nationality groupings observed in Ireland's male population. One notable departure from the patterns observed in Figure 4.7 is that the proportion of Asian males experiencing homelessness is much lower than that

of the proportion of Asian males in the wider population. The blue bars in Figure 4.8 show that UK, Polish and Other European males are the largest groups of non-Irish males recorded as homeless by the 2016 Census.

FIGURE 4.8 HOMELESS MALES BY NATIONALITY RELATIVE TO THE PROPORTION OF MALES OF THAT NATIONALITY WITHIN IRELAND'S POPULATION



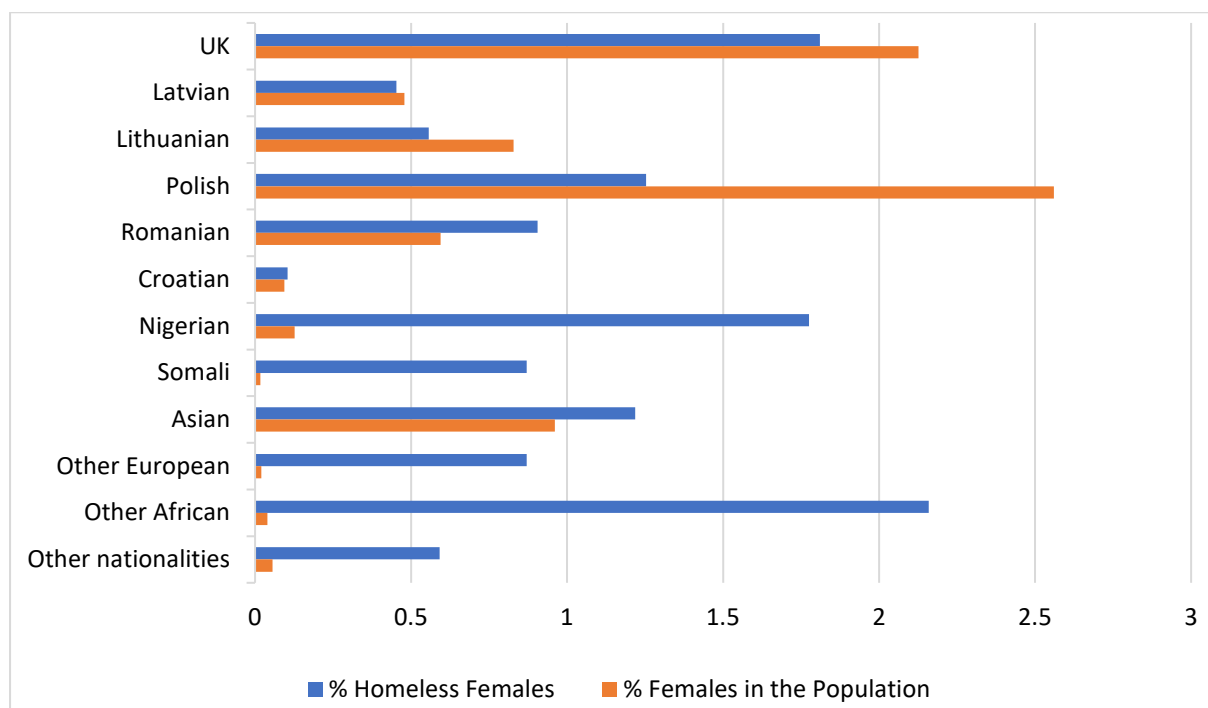
Source: Census, 2016. Code (E5009): Homeless Persons Usually Resident in the State 2016. N = 968.

Three-quarters (74.5 per cent) of all females experiencing homelessness were Irish, and 25 per cent were migrants, despite non-nationals constituting 11.1 per cent of the female population.⁸¹ Figure 4.9 displays the proportions of non-Irish females experiencing homelessness according to nationality (n = 732). The patterns observed in Figure 4.9 are largely consistent with those of Figure 4.7, with some exceptions. Again, Lithuanian and Polish females were under-represented in homelessness figures in comparison to the proportions of these two nationalities in the wider female population. The proportion of Latvian females experiencing homelessness was roughly consistent with the proportion of female Latvian nationals in Ireland's population. By comparison, females from the UK appear to experience lower rates of homelessness relative to the proportion of UK females in the population. In contrast to the figures observed for Asian males, Asian females were overrepresented in terms of experiencing homelessness relative to their proportion in the wider Irish population. The proportion of homeless females

⁸¹ The number of female non-nationals in Ireland is 268,387, source available here: <https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cp7md/p7md/p7dgs/>. The female population of Ireland stands at 2,407,437, source available here: <https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-wamii/womenandmeninireland2016/society/>.

belonging to the Nigerian, Somali and Other African nationality groupings was much greater than their respective proportions observed in the wider population. As per our analysis, the MENA and Sub-Saharan and Other African groups are vulnerable to overcrowding (see Table 4.3), and a higher likelihood of lone parenthood is observed among migrants from the Sub-Saharan and Other African group (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.2) – these are risk factors for homelessness. As such, these groups face significant challenges with respect to good housing outcomes.

FIGURE 4.9 HOMELESS FEMALES BY NATIONALITY RELATIVE TO THE PROPORTION OF FEMALES OF THAT NATIONALITY WITHIN IRELAND’S POPULATION



Source: Census, 2016. Code (E5009): Homeless Persons Usually Resident in the State 2016. N = 732.

It is also of note that in contrast to male migrant groups, it is UK, Nigerian and Other Africans that make up the largest non-Irish group of females. Many of these may be families with children: in her study of family homelessness, Parker (2021) found that 60 per cent of families of migrant origin accessing emergency homeless services in Dublin were from African countries and these families tended to be episodic users of emergency services.⁸² Among migrant groups, it seems to be East European males, and Asian and particularly African females who are most vulnerable to homelessness.

⁸² Overall 26 per cent of families were of migrant origin (see Chapter 2 for further discussion, or Parker, 2021).

The data on homelessness obtained through the census provide a snapshot of those experiencing homeless in 2016. Statistics as reported by Local Authorities using the Pathway Accommodation and Support System (PASS)⁸³ demonstrate that the overall numbers of individuals accessing State-funded emergency accommodation have risen since 2016 (see Russell et al., 2021, Figure 3.8). For the purposes of this study, figures obtained from PASS give an indication of the number of new families accessing homelessness services according to nationality. Importantly, these figures are *new* families accessing emergency accommodation services each year, and while the number of families accessing emergency accommodation has recently grown, most people accessing emergency accommodation are not in families (Long et al., 2019). A second caveat is that the data presented are confined to the Dublin region only. Since 2016, (the point at which we conduct our analysis) there has been an increase in the total number of new families presenting as homeless in the Dublin region in 2017 and 2018. This is consistent with previous research (Morris, 2019). Table 4.4 also indicates that the proportion of EU and non-EU families accessing homelessness services over this period has also increased. In 2016, non-Irish families comprised 25 per cent of families accessing homelessness services. In 2018, they accounted for 38 per cent of families accessing homelessness services.

TABLE 4.4 NUMBER OF NEW FAMILIES ACCESSING HOMELESSNESS SERVICES IN THE DUBLIN REGION

Citizenship	2016	%	2017	%	2018	%
Irish	827	72%	923	71%	926	60%
EU	112	10%	164	13%	297	19%
Non-EU	172	15%	188	14%	299	19%
Unknown	42	4%	26	2%	29	2%
Total	1,153	100%	1,301	100%	1,551	100%

Source: Information supplied by the Pathway Accommodation and Support Service (PASS).

The two key reasons for family homelessness identified in these data in 2018 were leaving private rented accommodation on foot of a Notice of Termination (NOT; 50 per cent of families) and leaving family or friend's accommodation due to relationship breakdown or, in some cases, overcrowding (42 per cent) (Morris, 2019).⁸⁴ These data on reasons do not distinguish by nationality but give insight into how families enter homelessness.

⁸³ The Pathway Accommodation and Support System (PASS) is overseen by the Department of Housing, Local Government and Heritage. The data collected by PASS reflect the numbers of people in State-funded emergency accommodation, with figures captured monthly by the individual local authorities.

⁸⁴ As Morris (2019) points out, some of the family reasons will be those who moved in with family or friends following a breakdown of a tenancy relationship.

Long et al. (2019) also stress how many families, and indeed other adults, go to great lengths to avoid homelessness, staying with families or friends in informal housing arrangements. As these ‘couch surfers’ will not be identified in either census data or PASS data, this suggests that homelessness may be underestimated by these figures. It may also give some insight as to why migrants are more vulnerable to homelessness, as they may have fewer family and social networks to draw on when served an eviction notice. They are also of course much more likely to live in private rented accommodation.

4.5 SUMMARY

In summary, the findings presented in this chapter indicate that housing outcomes for migrants in Ireland differ from those of natives. Past research has identified that adequate housing is a multi-dimensional concept. It encompasses access, affordability, quality, cultural adequacy, security of tenure, and location (Russell et al., 2021). The findings within this chapter demonstrate that migrants and natives diverge where it concerns three key indicators of access to housing: housing type, housing tenure, and homelessness.

Houses are the most common type of occupied dwelling in Ireland, and the majority of Irish-born persons reside in houses (92 per cent). Here, the housing outcomes for migrants diverge in that they are much more likely to live in apartments (28 per cent) in comparison to those born in Ireland (6 per cent). In particular, high rates of apartment-living are observed among the categories of South and Central America (46 per cent), South Asia (38 per cent), MENA (38 per cent), and East Asia (33 per cent). However, apartment living is not consistent across all migrant groups. Migrants from the UK/NI and North America plus Oceania reflect the Irish-born population in demonstrating high proportions of residing in houses. Further research is required to assess whether these differences are reflective of intentions for long-term stay, preferences regarding housing type, or difference in income and resources. These factors could not be explored within our current dataset. Reflecting on housing tenure, this analysis provides further evidence of the existence of the ‘homeownership gap’ (Amuedo-Dorantes and Mundra, 2012). The majority of Irish-born (77 per cent) live in owner-occupied homes, according to the 2016 Census data. A similar figure of 70 per cent homeownership among Irish persons was observed in housing data for 2011 (Norris, 2016). By comparison, just 33 per cent of migrants live in owner-occupied homes, and a much greater proportion live in rented accommodation (56 per cent). In particular, reliance on the rental sector is very high among migrants from Poland (75 per cent), Other East EEA countries (73 per cent), and Central and South American countries (73 per cent). Some this is explained by socio-demographic factors and age is key: after controls, probabilities of private renting fall to around 63 per cent for the East EEA countries, including Poland, and to 54 per cent for Central and South Americans, though even after controls the probability of private

renting is high, relative to Irish-born. It may certainly be the case that renting is preferable for some migrant groups but evidence for this is sparse: a survey of renters in 2018 found that homeownership was the dominant preference for both Irish and non-Irish nationals alike.

This analysis also examined the risk of homelessness among migrants, the most extreme example of problems in accessing housing. Figures obtained from the 2016 Census indicate that 25 per cent of homeless persons were of a nationality other than Irish. With the non-Irish nationals comprising just 11.2 per cent of the overall population, this indicates that migrants are overrepresented among homeless persons in Ireland. Importantly, the extent of homelessness among migrants must be interpreted conservatively. As Mayock et al. (2012) caution, it is likely that official figures do not represent the true scale of homelessness among migrants.

One important indicator of housing quality explored within this analysis was that of overcrowding. The findings of this analysis are consistent with past research which has found that overcrowding is more prevalent among migrants than among natives (for example, Andrés and Machí, 2017; Obućina and Ilmakunnas, 2020; OECD, 2018; Pillinger, 2009; Russell et al., 2021). Overcrowding rates in Ireland are low, in comparative terms, but migrants are more vulnerable to it. More specifically, higher likelihoods of overcrowding are observed among the Other East EEA, Central and South America, Other Europe, South Asia, East Asia, and MENA migrant categories when compared to Irish natives. Higher rates of overcrowding are also observed in relation to ethnicity. Those who identify as Traveller, Black, Asian, and Other ethnicity have a much greater likelihood of incurring overcrowding than those in the White category, even when factors such as employment status/level, household composition, urban/rural location and housing tenure are held constant. Of particular concern is the level of overcrowding experienced by Travellers which is 8.6 times that of non-Traveller White population. Greater levels of overcrowding are also linked to living in social housing and private rental accommodation in comparison to owned properties.

CHAPTER 5

Migrants' family situation

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Previous migration research has shown that the household and family situation of migrants varies from that of natives in a range of ways. This may occur not least because their life course develops across two or more societal contexts, being shaped by the social factors intrinsic to both their origins and destinations (Andersson, 2021). The literature in Chapter 2 outlined the multiplicity of influences on family structure for migrant groups, including differences in social norms and attitudes in the sending country; rules governing migration and asylum seeking, particularly those around entitlements of spouses and families; access to housing, employment and welfare benefits in the destination country; and the selective age and gender profile of migrants (Andersson, 2021). And of course, the family behaviour of migrants can also have an important impact on the population of the host country, particularly if partnership and fertility behaviour is different from that of the native population, as migration tends to occur in young adulthood, at an age that is 'dense with events related to family formation' (Andersson, 2021: 264).

Household and family situation are also closely associated with several important integration outcomes. For example, being in a single parent household can increase the risk of being in poverty, while also potentially affecting children's educational development and subsequent labour market integration (Maître et al., 2021). Similarly, the number of children in a household can affect both the level of resources available for investment per child, and children's developmental outcomes. Migrants having children in the host country can signal an intention to stay for a longer period, even permanently, rather than residing there on a temporary basis for a short period of work or study. At the same time, whether natives and migrants are forming partnerships through marriage/cohabitation is also a useful measure of how much social integration is occurring between migrants and native-born Irish across society, given that the growth of migrant/native partnerships may be a key indicator of dissolving ethnic boundaries and growing acceptance (Rodríguez-García, 2015).

Exploring the household and family structures of migrants is thus important to understand migrants' family situation both as a context for and an indicator of integration into Irish society. This chapter considers three important dimensions of migrants' family and household situation that are captured by the census of population: (1) the composition of migrant-headed households, that is whether the migrant lives alone, as part of a couple, with or without children or with other

unrelated adults; (2) the number of children in migrant-headed households; and (3) the proportion of migrant-headed households married to/cohabiting with Irish-born partners.

In Ireland, earlier research using the 2006 Census found distinctive patterns of marriage and childbearing among the migrant population, compared to the native population. In 2006, non-Irish nationals overall were more likely to live in households with children, were more likely to be married at a younger age and (with the exception of UK nationals) were less likely to live in one-parent households. However, looking at all migrants together can miss significant differences based on the countries from which migrants come, given they often have different characteristics, legal statuses, and migration histories, which can shape their family/household structures. In addition, given that migration is dynamic, the composition of the migrant population can change considerably in a decade (see Chapter 1). In this chapter we will update and expand this earlier research, using 2016 Census microdata which allow us to examine more closely potential differences in household and family situations between migrants from different regions, using information on all migrants resident in the State. For household composition and number of children the chapter also investigates whether key differences exist between Irish-born and migrant groups, for example their age, educational qualifications, employment status, English-language ability, religious affiliation and whether they live in an urban or rural area can account for any differences observed in household composition and family size. Patterns of migrant-Irish unions are presented with a view to informing other statistical models in the report, but a detailed analysis of this aspect of family formation is beyond the scope of the current report.

Census data are collected at the household level and information on families within households is collected. As the focus of this chapter is on households, the analysis is conducted on household heads, with household characteristics attributed to the head of household. As discussed in Chapter 3, the data we use contain information on the relationship of each household member to the head of household; but to avoid being disclosive, they do not contain the full family and household relationship matrix. Therefore, we only know who the head of household is related to, but not relationships between other household members. For this analysis we focus only on the head of household. Information on the small number of second and third families within households is thus not used. In addition, our interest is in dependent children under 18. As children in the census are defined on the basis of their relationship to the head of household and can be of any age, we limit the analysis to heads of household aged 20 to 54 years in this chapter, which makes it more likely that any child recorded is under 18. This shift from individual to head of household is a change of focus from the previous chapter and does mean the

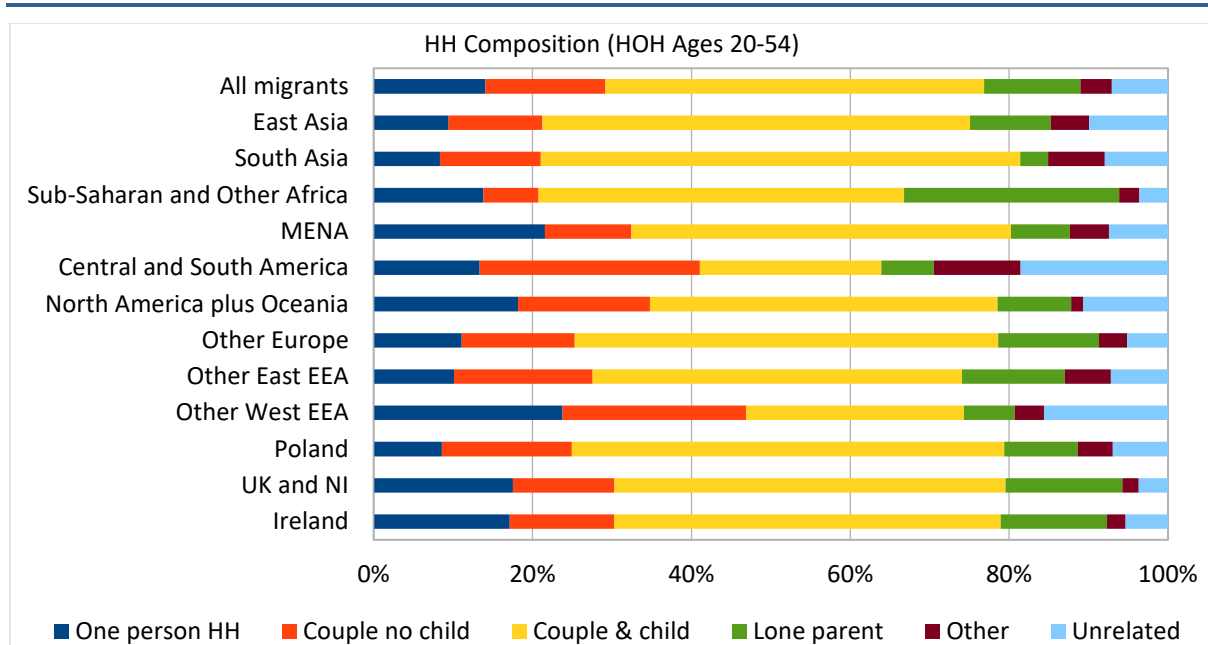
proportion of migrants included in the analysis changes (see Chapter 3, Tables 3.1 and 3.2).

5.2 FAMILY COMPOSITION OF MIGRANTS

5.2.1 Household composition

The household composition measure presented in Table 5.1 combines information on a household head's marital/cohabiting status, whether they have children, and whether they live with others in addition to these (see Table 3.3 for measurement details). Considering all households in Ireland, we find relatively small differences in the composition of migrant and native-headed households (Figure 5.1). The proportions of households consisting of couples with and without children are remarkably similar (63 per cent of migrant households and 62 per cent of Irish-born), as is the proportion of lone parent households (13 per cent for Irish born and 12 per cent in migrant-headed households). Small differences do emerge for other household types: 17.2 per cent of households with an Irish head consist of one person, compared to 14.1 per cent of migrant headed households, while migrant headed households are more likely to consist of unrelated persons (7 per cent vs 5 per cent).

FIGURE 5.1 HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION BY HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD'S COUNTRY OF BIRTH (AGES 20-54)



Source: Census microdata 2016. N = 1,001,581 households. All household heads are usually resident in Ireland.

Despite the similarities in household composition between Irish-born and migrants overall, substantial differences exist within the migrant population based on their country of origin. Households headed by migrants born in Central or South America

are comprised of a distinctively high proportion of unrelated occupants and a low proportion of couple households with children. Those from Western EEA also have a high proportion of unrelated households and a relatively low proportion of couple households with children, but also have a distinctively high proportion of single person households, along with MENA-headed households. South Asian headed households are more likely to be comprised of couples with children while lone parent households are most common in households where the head is from Sub-Saharan or Other African country. Polish headed households have the fewest single person households. Households headed by migrants from the UK including Northern Ireland show the closest resemblance to Irish-born headed households. This is followed by North America plus Oceania group, although this group is also more likely to live in childless couple households and have fewer lone parent households, compared to Irish-born headed households.

5.2.2 Modelling household composition: lone parent status

As differences in household composition may be related to age/life stage, employment status and other differences between migrants and Irish-born, this section investigates household composition further using statistical modelling, focusing specifically on factors associated with lone parenthood. Lone parenthood is the focus as research in Ireland documents how lone parent households are at much greater risk of being in poverty, negatively affecting both parental and child life outcomes, compared to two-parent households. Family structure can also shape the integration of children of immigrants into the host society through affecting both resources and processes of socialisation within the family sphere (Kalmijn, 2018). We seek to further understand whether, compared to Irish-born household heads, migrant groups are more or less likely to be living in lone parent relative to two-parent households. If differences exist between migrant and Irish born groups, we want to know how far they can be accounted for by differences in the socio-demographic make-up of groups.

We present models which show the odds of a head of household reporting they are a lone parent household compared to reporting they are married/cohabiting with children (Table 5.1). Model 1 tests whether odds differ depending on the migrant country of origin of the head of household, compared to being Irish born. In Model 2, we then add into the model socio-demographic factors which might also predict lone parent status, such as age or education-level. In doing so, we can observe how this changes the odds of migrants forming lone parent households compared to Irish born household heads. As in Chapter 4, the results are presented as odds ratios. Odds greater than 1 mean that a group is significantly more likely to be in a lone parent household compared to the reference group. Odds of 1 mean that the group has the same odds as the reference group of being in a lone parent household. Odds of less than 1 indicate that the group has lower odds of being in a lone parent household.

Model 1 shows that only two migrant groups are more likely to form lone parent households than Irish born residents: migrants from UK/Northern Ireland, and particularly migrants from the Sub-Sahara and Other African countries, who are twice as likely to be found heading lone parent households. Apart from migrants from other East EEA countries and Central and South America, who are just as likely to form lone parent households as Irish-born heads of households, all other migrant groups are less likely to form lone parent households (or, read another way, more likely to form two-parent households). An important caveat here is that the Census only records those living in Ireland, and in some migrant families a parent, or children, may be living abroad.⁸⁵

To explore whether any of these differences can be explained by socio-demographic differences between migrants and Irish-born, Model 2 includes the socio-demographic characteristics of heads of households. This includes age, sex, employment status, education-level, religion (albeit with very broad categories of religious affiliation) and the size of the settlement in which the household is located (indicative of urban or rural residences).

The most important factor, as might be expected, is whether the head of household is female: women are 20 times more likely to be the heads of lone parent households than men. Heads of households who are students or who are unemployed also have greater odds of being the head of a lone parent household (3-4 times higher), compared to household heads who are employed. However, the direction of this effect is not clear: it may be that those without work are more likely to become lone parents, or that being a lone parent makes it harder to secure and maintain a job. Household heads who have lower qualifications (lower secondary, primary, or no formal qualification) also have double the odds of being the head of a lone parent household compared to those with a third-level qualification. Again, the direction of any effect of education is unclear: we cannot say whether those with lower qualifications are more likely to become lone parents, or whether becoming a lone parent, especially earlier in life, reduces the likelihood of continuing with education. Model 3 adds housing tenure, English skills and likelihood of having come through the protection system. Lone parenthood is strongly associated with living in rented accommodation, particularly local authority renting, echoing findings of Russell et al., 2021.

⁸⁵ In some cases, lone parenthood may not be the true situation, because the partner may be abroad, either because of constraints on family reunification for non-EEA nationals (see Chapter 1) and/or choice. In other migrant families lone parenthood may be understated if children are living abroad, for example with grandparents, and the lone parent (typically the mother) is supporting children through income from employment in Ireland. See Rojas Coppari (2019) for a discussion of this issue among Filipino care workers in Ireland.

TABLE 5.1 FACTORS INFLUENCING ODDS RATIOS OF A HOUSEHOLD BEING A LONE PARENT HOUSEHOLD VERSUS A TWO-PARENT (MARRIED / COHABITING) HOUSEHOLD (HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS; AGES 20-54)

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4: Migrants Only
Country of Birth	Ireland (RC)	1	1	1	-
	UK and NI (RC in Model 4)	1.176	1.132	1.039	1
	Poland	0.627	0.514	0.351	0.467
	Other West EEA	0.859	0.99	0.781	0.829
	Other East EEA	1.039	0.718	0.542	0.733
	Other Europe	0.926	0.773	0.607	0.771
	North America plus Oceania	0.884	0.973	0.855	0.812
	Central and South America	1.026	0.91	0.629	0.788
	MENA	0.557	0.627	0.519	0.631
	Sub-Saharan and other Africa	2.180	1.667	1.275	1.438
	South Asia	0.208	0.419	0.374	0.449
	East Asia	0.683	0.629	0.649	0.662
Age	20 - 24		1.749	1.440	1.227
	25 - 29		1.437	1.196	1.065
	30 - 34 (RC)		1	1	1
	35 - 39		1	1.174	1.380
	40 - 44		1.268	1.697	1.968
	45 - 49		1.584	2.358	2.680
	50 - 54		1.847	2.961	3.644
Sex	Male (RC)		1	1	1
	Female		20.32	18.83	21.97
Employment Status	Employed high skill (RC)		1	1	1
	Employed non-high skilled		1.670	1.495	1.304
	Unemployed		3.021	2.169	1.721
	Student		3.838	2.876	2.246
	Other		1.565	1.274	1.339
Education	Primary/No formal		2.415	1.812	1.553
	Lower Secondary		2.028	1.639	1.462
	Upper Secondary/Vocational		1.442	1.323	1.256
	Third Level (RC)		1	1	1
Religion	Catholic (RC)		1	1	1
	Church of Ireland incl. Protestant		1.164	1.148	1.011
	Other stated religions		1.272	1.218	1.150
	No Religions		1.218	1.135	1.229
	Not stated		1.432	1.374	1.355
Location	Less than 1,500 (Rural) (RC)		1	1	1
	1,500 through to 49,999		1.552	1.302	1.164
	50,000 or greater		1.600	1.365	1.300

Contd.

TABLE 5.1 CONTD.

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4: Migrants Only
Overcrowding	Overcrowded			0.303	0.311
	Own home			1	1
Tenure	Private rent			3.620	3.000
	LA & AHB			6.048	4.139
	Speak very well (RC)			1	1
English Language Skills	Well			1.075	0.904
	Not well			1.116	1.054
	Not at all well			1.610	1.396
Asyratio	Likelihood of arriving through protection system			1.076	1.138
	Before 1980				1
	1980 - 1989				1.108
Arrival in Ireland	1990 - 1999				1.099
	2000 - 2009				0.878
	2010 - 2016				0.832
	Not Stated				1.220
Nationality	Irish National				1.013
	Observations	534,917	534,917	534,917	104,432
	Pseudo R-squared	0.007	0.283	0.336	0.325

Source: Census 2016 microdata. Sample size n = 534,917 households consists of n = 104,432 migrant headed households and 430,485.
Note: RC denotes reference category.

Migrants unable to speak English well have greater odds of being the head of a lone parent household, but whether individuals have a higher probability of coming through the asylum system – captured through the ‘asyratio’ variable (see Chapter 3) – is not associated with heading a lone parent household.

Overall, for most migrant groups, socio-demographic differences with Irish born residents account for very little of their lower likelihood of forming lone parent households. This includes MENA, South Asian, Polish, Other European, and East Asian groups, who continue to report significantly lower odds of forming a lone parent household even after introducing socio-demographic controls (between Model 1 and Model 3). For many migrant groups, we find that after accounting for their socio-demographics characteristics, they become even less likely to form lone parent households than their Irish born counterparts. The risk of lone parenthood is significantly lower for Polish migrants and South Asians than Irish born (see Model 3).

Socio-demographic differences do appear important for understanding differences between Irish born and some migrant groups. After controlling for socio-demographic characteristics, we find the significantly lower odds of Other West

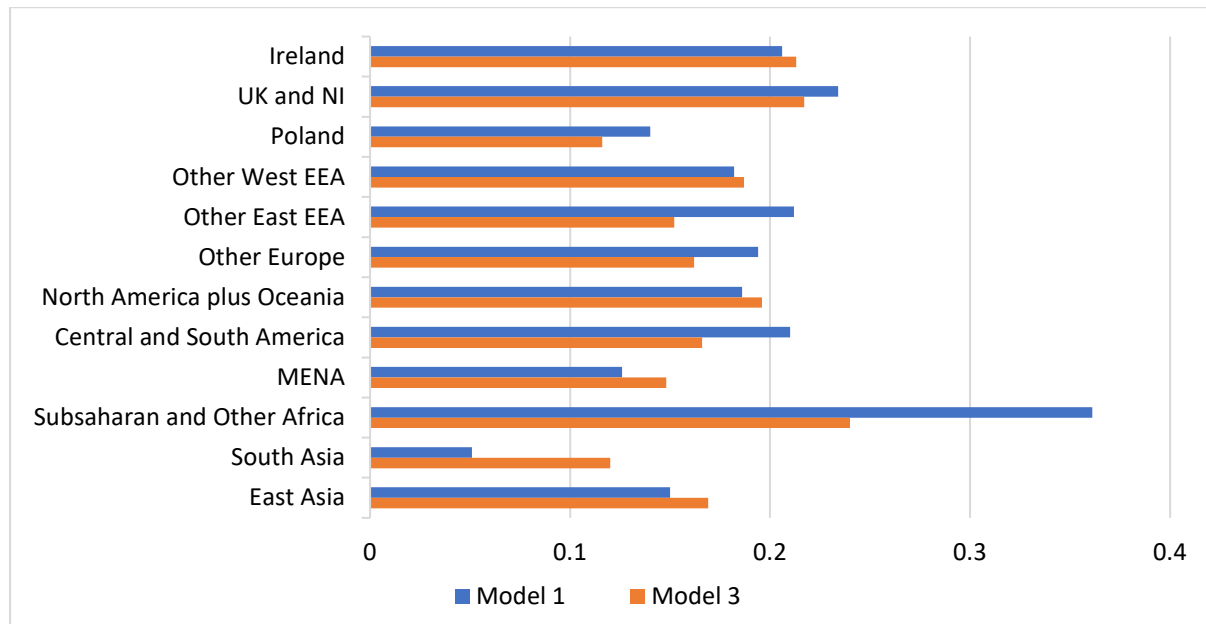
EEA or North America/Oceania migrants forming lone parent households disappear (Model 1 to Model 3). In other words, the reason these groups express a lower likelihood of forming a lone parent household compared to the Irish-born is mainly because of their socio-demographic differences and not because of their migration background. These socio-demographic characteristics also account for a good part of why Sub-Saharan/Other African migrants have higher odds of forming lone parent households. However, even after accounting for these differences, this group remain more likely to form lone parent households. Part of the explanation for this could be due to immigration restrictions regarding family reunification for this group in Ireland (see Chapter 1).

The final model in Table 5.1 replicates Model 2 but restricts the sample to migrant background household heads only. Among migrants alone, the probability of a migrant having come through the asylum system is still not associated with lone parent status. Duration of residence in Ireland is not strongly related to lone parenthood, though there is a slight tendency for migrants who have come to Ireland since 2000 to be less likely to be lone parents.

Figure 5.2 plots the predicted probability of being head of a lone parent household (compared to being a head of a two-parent household) for each of the country of birth groups. These are based on the models above and show predicted probabilities before (Model 1) and after (Model 3) controlling for differences in the socio-demographic make-up of groups. These results again show that, compared to Irish born heads of household, most migrant groups have a lower probability of being in a lone parent household, even after controlling for socio-demographic differences between Irish born and migrants. After controls are included, only Other West EEA and North America/Oceania groups have similar rates of lone parent households to Irish born, while UK/Northern Ireland and especially Sub-Saharan/Other African continue to have higher probabilities of being in a lone parent household.

Figure 5.2 also reveals interesting differences between migrant groups in terms of their probabilities of forming a lone parent household based on their socio-demographic make-up. For most migrant groups, including those from UK/Northern Ireland, Poland, Other East EEA, Other Europe, Central/South America, and Sub-Saharan/Other African, their probability of being the head of a lone parent household declines after adjusting for their socio-demographic make-up. However, for Other West EEA, North America/Oceania, MENA, and South Asia groups, their socio-demographic characteristics are associated with lower odds of being a lone parent. The statistical model tells us that if they had the similar characteristics to Irish-born in terms of age, education etc, they would have a higher probability of being a lone parent.

FIGURE 5.2 PROBABILITY OF BEING A LONE PARENT HOUSEHOLD COMPARED TO BEING A TWO-PARENT HOUSEHOLD BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD BEFORE (MODEL 1) AND AFTER (MODEL 3) INCLUDING CONTROL VARIABLES



Source: Census (2016).

Note: Description of variables entered into Model 1 and Model 3 are listed in Table 5.1. For both models $n = 534,917$. Restricted to individuals aged 20-54 years.

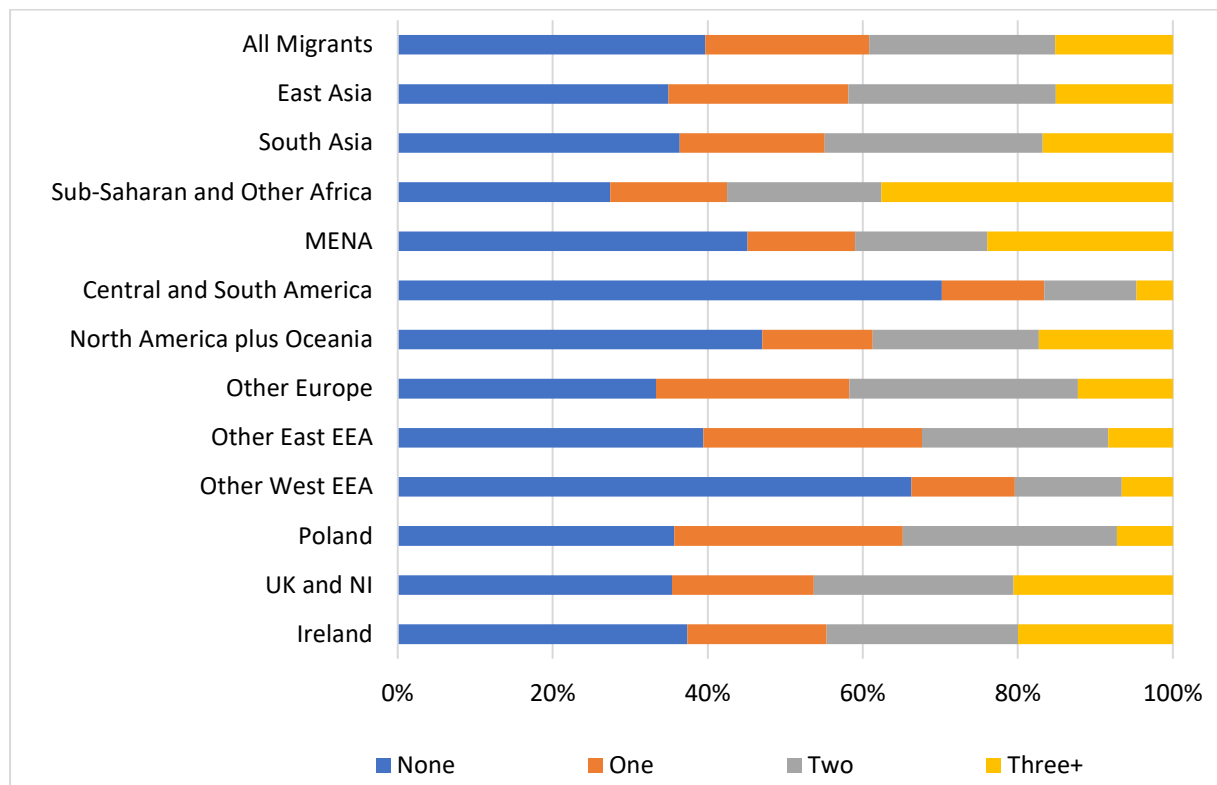
Overall, the fact that the factors measured in the census do not contribute so much to understanding differences between migrant groups in the chances of being a lone parent suggests that there may be other factors at play here. Other research has highlighted the role of origin-country norms of partnership formation and breakdown and also the role of religious beliefs in influencing the structure of migrant families (Kalmijn, 2018). Migrant status itself may also be a factor, if the risks associated with lone parenthood are exacerbated by migrant status. For example migrants may be less likely to become lone parents, due to the absence of other support networks like extended family or because their residence permission depends on their partner's residence permission. Alternatively, they might be more likely to leave Ireland once they do become a lone parent. Return migration is complex, and there are few large-scale studies that follow people back to their country of their origin (Andersson, 2021). We do know that parents with children are less likely to return than single people or childless couples (Battistella, 2018). However, it could be that lone parents are more likely to move back to their country of origin than parents in couples. This would be an interesting issue for future research.

5.2.3 Number of children in the household

We now compare the number of children, if any, in Irish and migrant-headed households. In contrast to many European countries, migrant-headed households are, on average, slightly less likely to contain children compared to Irish-born

headed households (40 per cent compared to 37 per cent) (Figure 5.3). When migrant households do contain children, they have a lower number co-residing with them; for example, only 15 per cent of migrant-headed households contain three or more children whereas 20 per cent of Irish-born households do. However, as with household composition, significant differences exist between migrant groups from different countries (Figure 5.3). Some migrant groups predominantly reside in households without any children, especially migrants from Western EEA countries or Central/South America, where over two-thirds of households headed by these migrants contain no children. With these groups, we do not know whether they will stay in Ireland and subsequently have children, or whether they will return to their country of origin or go elsewhere. North American household heads and those from MENA are also more likely to have no children (47 per cent and 45 per cent respectively) compared to Irish-born (37 per cent).

As discussed in Chapter 1, fertility in Ireland is high, particularly compared to other European countries (Table 1.1) and this pattern is reflected in the proportion of Irish headed households that have three or more children (20 per cent). Again, migrants from the UK/Northern Ireland most closely resemble the Irish group, with 20.5 per cent in households with three or more children. Only in households headed by someone from Sub-Saharan Africa and MENA is there a higher proportion of families with three or more children (38 per cent and 24 per cent). MENA headed households thus reveal a distinctive pattern: they have some of the highest levels of 'no child' households (45 per cent) but also some of the highest levels of '3 or more children' households (24 per cent). Households headed by Eastern Europe (Poland and other Eastern Europe) migrants, on the other hand, are distinctive in being more likely to have only one child in the household (29 per cent and 28 per cent respectively), compared to other migrant groups and Irish-born households.

FIGURE 5.3 NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN FAMILY BY HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD COUNTRY OF BIRTH

Source: Census microdata 2016. N = 1,004,325 households. All household heads are usually resident in Ireland.

5.2.4 Modelling number of children in the family

Much like lone parent households, a large number of children in a household has implications for social development, affecting the level of household resources available to invest per child, as well as shaping children's developmental outcomes. Evidence has also shown that larger numbers of children can reduce labour market participation of mothers over their lives, including likelihood of employment and hours worked, as well as depressing earnings and increasing risks of poverty (Russell et al., 2018; Kleven et al., 2019). Perspectives differ on the fertility of migrants. The socialisation perspective argues that migrants' childbearing reflects fertility in their country of origin: the adaptation model, by contrast, that fertility adapts to fertility levels in the destination country, reflecting patterns of social integration (Andersson, 2021). A third 'disruption perspective' argues that migration 'disrupts' fertility and leads to its reduction or postponement (Klimek, 2017). We now want to investigate whether different migrant groups tend to have larger or smaller numbers of children, compared to Irish-born residents, and whether any observed differences in family size between migrants and Irish born may stem from differences in their socio-demographic make-up, rather than their country/region of origin.

Table 5.2 presents a series of models which predict the number of children in the household belonging to the head of household. To properly model the 'number of

children in a household' (a form of 'count data'), we need to apply Poisson regression models. Zero-inflated Poisson (ZIP) regression is required when the most common value in an outcome is '0'. In Ireland, the most common type of household is those containing no children (38 per cent). However, while some heads of households with 'no children' may go on to have children in the future, for other household heads, especially older groups, this is unlikely to be the case. To accurately model these two sources of 'no children' in the outcome, we apply zero-inflated Poisson (ZIP) regression models.⁸⁶ The coefficients in Table 5.2 show us whether being in each category is associated with having more or fewer children in the household compared to the reference categories (see Appendix A5.1 for zero inflation estimate component of the models).⁸⁷

Model 1 solely tests for differences in the number of children between Irish-born heads of households and migrant headed households from different countries of origin. It demonstrates that most migrant household heads in Ireland have fewer children than Irish-headed households, with Polish migrants having the fewest children, followed by other East EEA migrants and Central/South American migrants. Only two migrant groups report a greater number of children than Irish-headed households: MENA and Sub-Saharan/Other African-headed households. In contrast, migrants from UK, including Northern Ireland and North America/Oceania do not have significantly different family sizes from the Irish born.

In Model 2 we then add to the model socio-demographic factors which might also predict the number of children in a household. This includes age, gender, employment status, education-level, religion (broad categories of religious affiliation), the size of the settlement in which the household is located (indicative of urban or rural residence), and whether a household head has a partner with a migrant background, as well as their housing situation. Model 3 then includes their self-rated language and whether they came through the protection system. Older household heads (aged 35-50) are likely to have more children, lone parents fewer children. Household heads with larger families are more likely to live in overcrowded accommodation, not surprisingly, and less likely to live in rented accommodation. Household heads who came through the protection system are likely to have more children.

⁸⁶ ZIP regression models are effective at modelling the kinds of count data we have here when there are two underlying processes determining whether a count is zero or non-zero; in our case, modelling households which may have children but have none now and those who may not go on to have children. ZIP regressions are comprised of two modelling stages. The first stage applies a standard logistic regression model, using our full set of predictors to determine if the outcome value is zero or not (that is, whether household heads report having any children or no children). The second stage then applies a standard Poisson regression approach to model the number of children in a household conditional on it not being zero. Poisson regression models are well suited to modelling count data like number of children (see Agresti, 2019 for further discussion). Finally, the two models are combined to arrive at the estimates for our predictor variables, presented in Table 5.2.

⁸⁷ Each coefficient shows the effect of a one-unit change in this predictor variable on the log of the expected number of children, given the other predictor variables in the model are held constant.

Controlling for differences in the socio-demographic composition of migrant and Irish-born groups accounts for a significant part of the lower number of children in migrant headed households compared to Irish-born headed households. In particular, the size of the gap is reduced for migrants from Poland, Other West EEA, Other East EEA, Other Europe, and to lesser extent for Central/South American groups. In other words, a significant part of why migrant headed households have fewer children compared to the Irish born group can be explained by differences in their socio-demographic characteristics, although even accounting for these differences many migrant groups do continue to have smaller family sizes. For the migrant groups that have a higher number of children than Irish-born in Model 1, MENA and Sub-Saharan Africa, the gap is reduced once we account for their socio-demographic composition. That said, even in Model 3, with all controls, these groups have somewhat higher numbers of children. South Asian and East Asian household heads initially appear to have slightly fewer children than the Irish born group. However, this is explained by socio-demographic factors and after accounting for these (in Model 3), differences are minimal.

The models also provide useful insights into what socio-demographic characteristics of household heads are important for understanding the number of children in a household. As might be expected, age is a key predictor, with younger heads of households reporting fewer children. Having no partner is associated with fewer children in the household, while household heads reporting 'no religion' also have fewer children in their household, compared to Catholic household heads. Household heads not in employment also report larger family sizes; especially those who are unemployed or who report have 'other' statuses, most of whom will likely have reported 'looking after home/family' as their current status. Again, it is unclear whether not being in employment may lead to having more children or whether those with more children experience obstacles to employment or are choosing to be homemakers. In addition, household heads with Irish partners are also more likely to have larger families than those with non-Irish partners, aligning more with Irish fertility rates. Those who are likely to have come through the protection system also tend to have more children (see Table 5.2). This is particularly relevant for the MENA and African groups, who have much higher likelihoods of having come through the protection system than other migrant groups (see Table A3.2).

The final model in Table 5.2 replicates Model 3 but restricts the sample to heads of household with a migrant background only. The socio-demographic factors operate in the same manner among migrants alone, as for all heads of households. What is especially interesting is that having an Irish partner, compared to a non-Irish partner or no partner, continues to predict a larger number of children even when we look at migrant household heads only. In other words, migrants who form

partnerships with Irish-born residents have more children than migrants who form partnerships with other migrants, even after accounting for their migration-background and socio-demographic characteristics. It is also the case that those who have migrated more recently (since 2010) are also likely to have fewer children. This gives some support to the notion that migration itself may be disruptive for childbearing, though further analysis would be required to confirm this. Further research could also investigate whether duration in Ireland is associated with ‘convergence’ in fertility behaviour for different migrant groups.

TABLE 5.2 FACTORS INFLUENCING NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN A FAMILY (HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS; AGES 20-54)

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4: Migrants only
Country of Birth	Ireland (RC)	0	0	0	-
	UK and NI (RC in Model 4)	0.084	0.024	0.024	0
	Poland	-0.456	-0.115	-0.121	-0.135
	Other West EEA	-0.254	-0.148	-0.148	-0.117
	Other East EEA	-0.392	-0.142	-0.159	-0.162
	Other Europe	-0.254	-0.063	-0.130	-0.162
	North America plus Oceania	0.015	0.066	0.066	0.048
	Central and South America	-0.396	-0.366	-0.367	-0.367
	MENA	0.196	0.19	0.097	0.061
	Sub-Saharan and other Africa	0.329	0.319	0.142	0.103
	South Asia	-0.059	0.017	-0.000	-0.019
East Asia	-0.155	-0.049	-0.056	-0.085	
Origin of Partner	Irish partner (RC)		0	0	0
	Non-Irish partner		-0.093	-0.095	-0.065
	No partner		-0.230	-0.230	-0.206
Age	Age 20 – 24		-0.745	-0.746	-0.787
	25 - 29		-0.353	-0.353	-0.358
	30 - 34 (RC)		0	0	0
	35 - 39		0.230	0.230	0.201
	40 - 44		0.322	0.319	0.270
	45 - 49		0.263	0.258	0.179
	50 - 54		0.075	0.071	-0.022
Sex	Male (RC)		0	0	0
	Female		-0.114	-0.112	-0.095
Education	Primary/No formal		0.118	0.116	0.152
	Lower secondary		0.070	0.070	0.096
	Upper secondary/Vocational		0.045	0.045	0.050
	Third level (RC)		0	0	0

Contd.

TABLE 5.2 CONTD.

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4: Migrants only
Employment Status	Employed high skill (RC)		0	0	0
	Employed non-high skilled		-0.022	-0.026	-0.031
	Unemployed		0.113	0.105	0.108
	Student		0.044	0.037	0.046
	Other		0.282	0.278	0.290
Religion	Catholic (RC)		0	0	0
	Church of Ireland Incl. Protestant		-0.018	-0.020	-0.006
	Other stated religions		-0.030	-0.038	-0.033
	No religions		-0.179	-0.180	-0.176
	Not stated		-0.085	-0.092	-0.078
Location	Less than 1,500 (Rural) (RC)		0	0	0
	1,500 through to 49,999		-0.074	-0.075	-0.062
	50,000 or greater		-0.181	-0.185	-0.201
Overcrowding	Ratio of rooms		0.480	0.474	0.455
Tenure	Own home		0	0	0
	Private rent		-0.196	-0.195	-0.160
	LA or AHB		-0.014	-0.020	-0.036
English Language Skills	Speak very well (RC)			0	0
	Well			0.013	0.026
	Not well			-0.007	0.016
Asyratio	Not at all well			-0.038	0.013
	Likelihood of arriving through protection system			0.165	0.183
	Before 1980				0
Arrival in Ireland	1980 - 1989				0.011
	1990 - 1999				0.097
	2000 - 2009				0.023
	2010 - 2016				-0.206
	Not stated				-0.046
Nationality	Non-Irish				0
	Irish				0.092
	Constant	0.585	0.487	0.495	0.491
	Observations	244,133	244,133	244,133	172,352

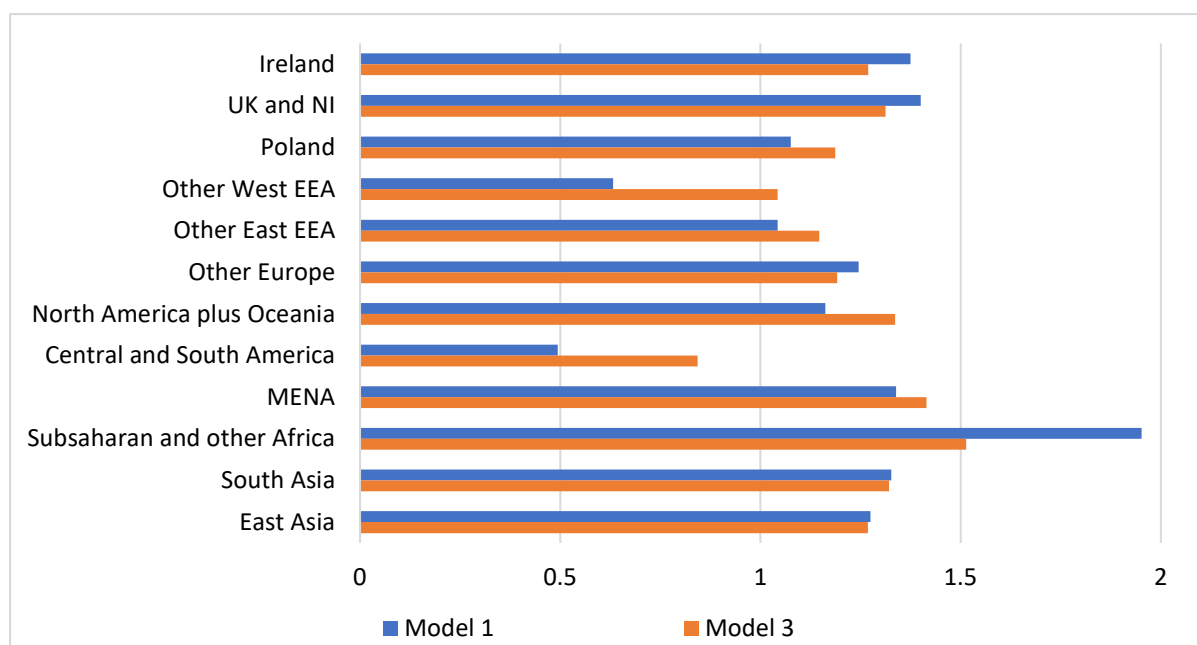
Source: Sample size n = 244,133 households consists of n = 172,352 migrant headed households and a ~10 per cent sample of Irish-headed households.

Note: RC denotes reference category.

Drawing on the models above, Figure 5.4 shows the predicted number of children in a household by the country of origin of the household head. It compares the predicted number of children before adjusting for socio-demographic factors (Model 1 scores) and after (Model 3 scores). For some groups – Irish-born, UK/NI, Other Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa – the predicted number of children falls after

controls, suggesting these household heads have characteristics associated with having more children. However a key takeaway is that for most migrant groups, the predicted number of children in their household increases, substantially in the case of Other West Europeans and Central Americans, once we control for their socio-demographic make-up. It indicates that the socio-demographic make-up of these migrant groups in Ireland therefore suppresses their average family size, compared to what it would be had they the same characteristics of Irish-born residents, in terms of age, education, employment profile and urban/rural residence.

FIGURE 5.4 PREDICTED NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE HOUSEHOLD BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD BEFORE (MODEL 1) AND AFTER (MODEL 3) INCLUDING CONTROL VARIABLES



Source: Census (2016).

Note: Description of variables entered into Model 1 and Model 3 are listed in Table 5.2. For both Model 1, n = 313,960; for Model 3, n = 297,301.

5.3 MIXED UNIONS

Marriage and cohabitation between migrants and native-born groups can be an important indicator of social integration in society. In societies where marriage/cohabitation between migrant groups and native-born is higher, this may signal that processes of social integration are deemed to be operating more effectively (Rodríguez-García, 2015). Previous research has also shown how mixed households can afford the children of migrants distinct advantages in early life, in particular through enhancing their English language ability, and improving the speed of integration among the 'second generation' (Darmody et al., 2022).

To explore the prevalence of mixed unions, we first divide up all households in the census by whether they contain: an Irish head of household and an Irish partner; a head of household born abroad and a partner born abroad; households where one partner is Irish and the other is born abroad (mixed unions); and finally households without a partner. We can then look at what proportion of households in Ireland contain each type of relationship, restricting ourselves to households in which the head is aged 25-54.

Looking first at all households (in which the head is aged 25-54), Figure 5.5 shows that 11 per cent of them contain a couple in which one partner is Irish-born and one is born abroad, while 11 per cent contain a couple in which both partners are born abroad.⁸⁸ On the other hand, in 38 per cent of these households both household head and their partner are Irish born. 40 per cent of household heads in this age group have no partner.

Overall, migrants are more likely to be married/cohabiting with an Irish partner (18 per cent) than Irish-born heads of households are to be with a migrant partner (9 per cent) (Figure 5.5). In other words, migrant heads of households are more than twice as likely to be in relationships with Irish born residents than vice versa. Such differences may be driven as much by the sheer difference in numbers of Irish born and migrants than anything else. With far more Irish-born people in Ireland, the chances of a relationship forming between two Irish-born residents is simply much higher. This has also been found in other countries (Rodríguez-García, 2015). However, as with household composition and the number of children, significant variation exists between different groups of migrants in their rates of marriage/cohabitation to Irish-born residents.

Migrant household-heads from the UK/Northern Ireland and North America (plus Oceania) have the highest rates of marriage/cohabitation with Irish-born residents (over 40 per cent). In fact, if we consider only the 60 per cent of these two origin groups living in partnerships, a greater proportion of both UK/Northern Ireland and North American migrants are living with an Irish-born partner than a foreign-born partner (see Figure 5.5). Rates are much lower but also relatively high among migrants from Western Europe (15 per cent). For all other migrant groups, rates of marriage-cohabitation with Irish born are very low. Elsewhere, among migrants from Europe, rates are lowest among Polish headed households (2 per cent), and similarly low among migrants from other Eastern European countries (3 per cent)

⁸⁸ This relatively high proportion of households (22 per cent) containing at least one migrant partner comes, in part, from the age cut-off selected (25-54). The Irish population is, on average, older than the migrant population. When we look at all households in Ireland, the proportion containing at least one migrant partner drops to 16.5 per cent. Note the focus on household heads to remain consistent with other analysis in the chapter. It is possible that a focus on the partners of household heads might yield slightly different results, if migrants in mixed partnerships are less likely to assign themselves as heads of household.

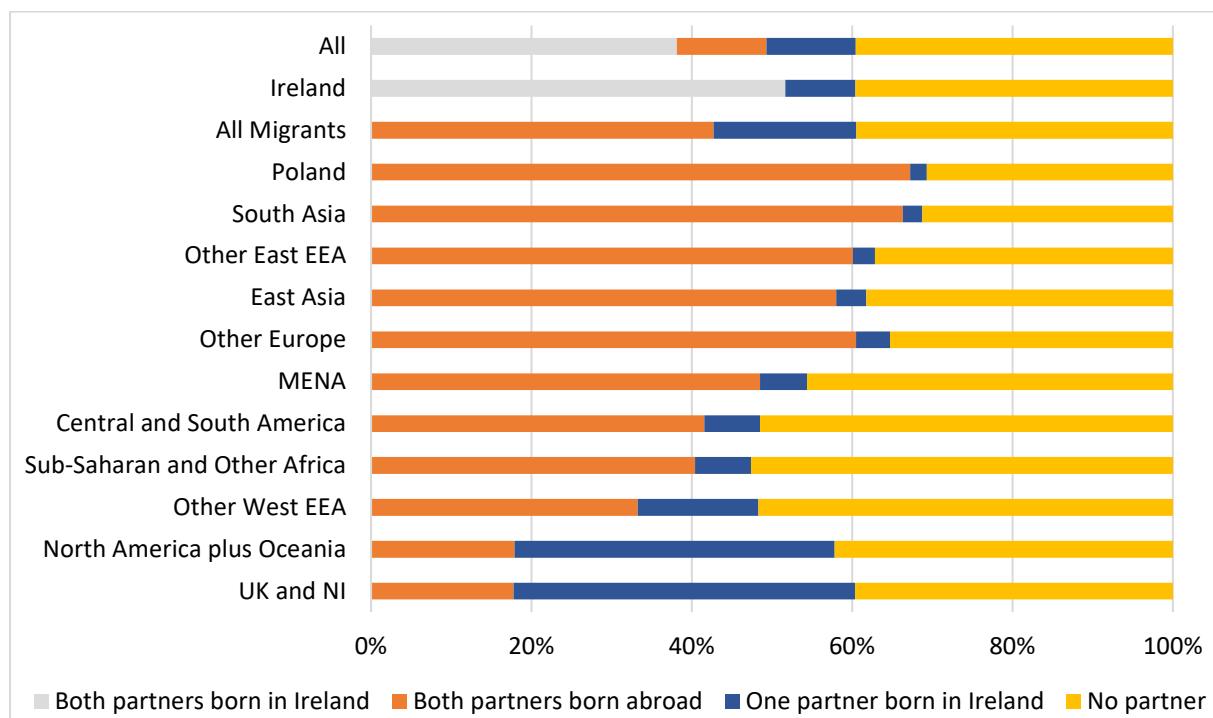
and other European countries (4 per cent). Outside of Europe and North America, rates range from 7 per cent for Sub-Saharan African and Central/South America, 6 per cent for MENA-headed households, and 4 per cent and 3 per cent for East and South Asian headed households.

When it comes to looking at the proportion of migrant-headed households married/cohabiting with a migrant partner, we do not distinguish the country/region of birth for the partners. However, in the majority of cases both partners come from the same region (as we have defined them, see Table A3.1 for details). Looked at this way, of all household head partnerships, 85 per cent of Irish-born are in endogamous relationships, with 15 per cent having a migrant partner. Some migrant groups have higher rates of endogamy (where both partners are migrant-origin) than Irish-born groups, including household heads from Poland, Other East EEA, South Asia, East Asia, and Other Europe. Other groups, however, appear to have lower rates of endogamy, such as MENA, Sub-Saharan/Other Africa, Central/South America, Other West EEA, North America/ Oceania, and UK/Northern Ireland.

The high rate of mixed unions between UK/NI migrants and Irish born in Ireland was also found by Lunn and Fahey, using the 2011 Census (albeit using a nationality rather than place of birth definition) (Lunn and Fahey, 2011). These authors also found high levels of endogamy among East European (EEA) migrants in Ireland, though as the majority of this migrant group had arrived in the two years prior to the 2006 Census, the authors suggest that this may have been a temporary pattern (*ibid.*). This analysis shows that ten years later, while a significant proportion of East European migrants have been in Ireland for ten years or more (McGinnity et al., 2020a), very high rates of endogamy persist among this group.⁸⁹

Unlike the modelling performed for lone parent households and number of children in the household, we do not model the socio-demographic predictors of mixed migrant/Irish born unions compared to endogamous unions. This is beyond the scope of the current report. We will discuss this issue further in the conclusion.

⁸⁹ Lunn and Fahey (2011) do not distinguish different non-EU groups in their study.

FIGURE 5.5 PARTNERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN (HOH 25-54)

Source: Census microdata 2016. N = 1,004,325 households. All household heads are usually resident in Ireland.

Note that with cross-sectional data such as these, however, we do not know when the partnership was formed, that is whether the partnership with an Irish person formed before the person migrated to Ireland, or since migrating to Ireland. For some groups, particularly migrants from the UK and US, an Irish partner may have been the reason they migrated to Ireland, given the history of Irish migration to these countries, and also of high return migration of Irish nationals, especially in the early years of economic boom known as the Celtic Tiger (see Hughes et al., 2007). It may not matter where the partnership was formed for other integration outcomes for these migrants or their children, but in cases where the partnership was formed prior to migration, being in a mixed union is hardly a signal that processes of social integration are deemed to be operating more effectively, as argued by Rodríguez-García (2015).

5.4 SUMMARY

The present chapter explored whether the household and family situation of migrant-headed households in Ireland differ in important ways to households headed by a person born in Ireland. In particular, the chapter considered three dimensions of household and family situation, which act both as a context for, and an indicator of, integration into Irish society. This includes the composition of migrant-headed households, and the presence of lone parent compared to two parent households; the number of children in migrant-headed households; and the proportion of migrant-headed households married to/cohabiting with Irish-born partners.

Overall, when migrants in Ireland are looked at as a single, broad category, their household and family situation is strikingly similar to that of Irish-born residents. However, this overall similarity hides key differences between natives and different groups of migrants depending on the countries from which they emigrate.

Migrants from the UK/Northern Ireland, North America/Oceania, and to a lesser extent Other West EEA countries, generally form similar types of households to Irish born groups, with comparable numbers of children in the household and similar proportions of lone parent (compared to two parent) households; especially after accounting for socio-demographic differences between the groups. These migrant groups also have by far the highest levels of intermarriage and cohabitation with Irish-born residents, particularly those migrants from UK/Northern Ireland and America/Oceania. One reason for this similarity in family and household situations may be that many migrants from these countries are themselves the children of Irish emigrants who have returned to Ireland, and thus their family formation behaviours may be shaped by similar familial social and cultural processes as the Irish born group. Many of these immigrants may also be the partners of returning Irish migrants, who emigrated to countries like the UK and North America, before returning to Ireland with their partners. The similarities in family structure may also reflect this group's higher degree of intermarriage/cohabitation with Irish born residents and its influence on their family formation behaviours. For example, we saw how migrants who marry/cohabit with an Irish born partner tend to have more children than those who marry/cohabit with a migrant-origin partner.

Other migrant groups in Ireland, however, show key differences with natives. Migrant heads of household from other European countries, especially those from Poland and other East EEA countries, are much less likely to be in lone parent households than Irish born household heads. This is also true of Asian migrants (South Asia and East Asia) as well as migrants from MENA countries. Kalmijn (2018) observes similarly higher rates of two parent households among these Asian immigrant groups compared to non-immigrant households across other North Western European countries. As noted above, the census data only record children living in the household, and some migrants may have children living abroad. Migrants may also be less likely to become lone parents due to the absence of other support networks like extended family, and/or their residence permission may be linked to that of their partner's.

A significant implication of this chapter, given that most migrants living in Ireland were born in other EU countries (with the exception of UK-born), is the observation that European migrants tend to have fewer children than Irish born. This is in stark

contrast to much of the research from across Western Europe documenting that immigrant families tend to be larger than non-immigrant families (Andersson 2021). This is instead consistent with lower fertility rates in some important migrant origin countries in Europe that have emigrated to Ireland (see Table 1.1); it will be interesting to see if this continues. An interesting study of Polish migrant families in Ireland and non-migrant families in Poland reveals fertility postponement and fewer families with children among migrant families; nonetheless, when they do have children, migrant parents in Ireland have more children than their counterparts in Poland (Klimek, 2017).

At the same time, non-EU migrant headed households in Ireland tend to have slightly larger family sizes than Irish headed households, particularly once we account for the socio-demographic differences between the groups. This is true for East Asian and South Asian groups, but especially so for MENA and Sub-Saharan/Other African migrant groups (see Figure 5.4).

Across all migrants, two groups have uniquely distinctive patterns of household composition and number of children. Sub-Saharan/Other African headed households are the most likely to be in lone parent headed households and also have the largest family size. These families may face particular challenges in terms of poverty and deprivation and integration. By contrast, Central and South American household heads are much more likely to live on their own or with unrelated adults, and have far fewer children. Whether this is an indication of the temporary nature of their stay, or will change in the future, remains to be seen.

Rates of mixed unions between migrants and Irish-born partners also significantly differ based on which countries migrants comes from. The highest rates occur among those from UK/Northern Ireland and North America/Oceania who are more likely to have an Irish partner than a partner of migrant origin. All other migrant groups are more likely to have a migrant origin partner, with those from Poland, other East EEA countries and South Asia having the lowest rates of intermarriage/cohabitation with Irish born partners (between 2-3 per cent). Such patterns can reflect a host of different reasons, such as English language ability, cultural (dis)similarity between groups, ethnicity, or intention and duration of stay in Ireland to name a few (Rodríguez-García, 2015). More detailed data on these and other factors which also allow us track when partnerships were formed will be important to further understand these patterns in the future.

In conclusion, these findings provide a uniquely detailed snapshot of the whole population of migrants in Ireland. In particular, the use of the full 2016 Census reveals distinct differences in partnership and family patterns between migrant groups from different countries. However, what the data cannot tell us is how or

when these partnerships and families were formed, or indeed whether they persist or how they change over time. We will return to these points in more detail in the conclusion.

CHAPTER 6

Summary and implications for policy and research

6.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This report uses census microdata from 2016 to examine some key integration outcomes in the area of housing and family. The use of census data allowed us to distinguish migrant groups to an extent not usually possible. Eleven origin country groups are compared to Irish born in terms of housing tenure, housing type, overcrowding, household composition, number of children and mixed unions. Homelessness among non-Irish nationals is also analysed using published data from the 2016 Census.

Comparing migrant outcomes to those of native born is a common approach to assess migrant integration (OECD, 2018). The logic underpinning the perspective is not a normative belief that migrant outcomes 'should' be the same, but rather to have a realistic benchmark that is appropriate to the host country (McGinnity et al., 2020a). Yet, it is also useful to bear in mind these particular native benchmarks when interpreting the results. For example, in comparative terms, and as discussed in Chapter 1, homeownership rates are very high in Ireland and overcrowding is low, while fertility is also high by European standards.

Housing is an essential element of quality of life and a key indicator of integration. Chapter 4 showed that on key indicators of housing, migrants in Ireland have very different patterns from Irish born. Irish housing stock is dominated by houses, but whereas only 6 per cent of Irish born live in apartments, 28 per cent of migrants do. Almost half of Central/South Americans live in apartments as well as a high proportion of those from MENA countries and South Asians. Compared to other country groups, a somewhat higher proportion of Sub-Saharan Africans and those from MENA countries live in communal accommodation, including Direct Provision accommodation, though communal accommodation accounts for less than 5 per cent of all accommodation for both of these groups in 2016.

Migrants are much less likely to live in owner-occupied accommodation than Irish born and thus are much more likely to live in private rented accommodation. Whereas 77 per cent of Irish-born lived in owner-occupied housing in 2016, only 33 per cent of migrants do. Patterns vary across migrant groups, but for example, even after accounting for age, family situation, employment, ethnicity and English-language skills, Polish migrants are 20 times as likely to live in private rented accommodation than Irish born. The models show that migrants who have lived in Ireland longer are more likely to own their home. This is particularly true of UK

nationals, the non-Irish group who have lived in Ireland the longest. Low homeownership among migrants has been a consistent pattern for the past 25 years (Duffy, 2007; McGinnity et al., 2012; Maître and Russell, 2017; Grotti et al., 2018). However, more recent challenges in the private rental sector with supply and cost mean that in total the private sector offers much less security and has the highest level of affordability problems (Russell et al., 2021). Some migrants may have a preference for rented accommodation, particularly if their stay is temporary, though we have no evidence on this. On the whole, long-term reliance on the private rental sector may have consequences for migrants' housing quality, security, family formation and quality of life.

Overcrowding is used as an indicator of housing quality or habitability; in this case inadequate space. It is defined in the 2016 Census as having more than one person per room and is also much higher among many migrant groups. Compared to 8 per cent of Irish born who live in overcrowded accommodation in 2016 – a relatively low proportion in international terms – almost 20 per cent of migrants do. Rates of overcrowding are particularly high among some groups; over 30 per cent of East Europeans (excluding Poles) and Central and South Americans live in overcrowded accommodation, using this definition. Overcrowding rates are particularly high among the following non-EU groups: MENA (37 per cent); Sub-Saharan/Other African (39 per cent); South Asian (41 per cent) and East Asian (37 per cent). Although part of this difference can be explained by the employment status, ethnicity, urban living, English language skills and housing tenure of these groups, after controls these migrant groups are still more likely than Irish-born to live in overcrowded accommodation. Not all migrant groups are more likely to live in overcrowded accommodation, for example West Europeans and UK/NI born. North Americans are much less likely to live in overcrowded accommodation than Irish born. Those with poor English language skills, those who have come through the protection system and those with a migrant partner are all more likely to live in overcrowded accommodation. Irish Travellers are particularly likely to live in overcrowded accommodation. Even after controlling for region of origin and many other factors, Travellers are almost nine times more likely to live in overcrowded accommodation than non-Travellers. After controls, migrants of Black ethnicity are twice as likely to live in overcrowded accommodation than White migrants.

Chapter 4 also presents some published figures from Census 2016 on homelessness, as an extreme indicator of problems accessing housing. Consistent with lower homeownership and higher rates of overcrowding for migrants, non-Irish nationals are more likely to be living in emergency accommodation for the homeless in April 2016. Compared to comprising only 11 per cent of the total population, non-Irish nationals make up one-quarter of homeless persons. Given that the end of a tenancy in the private rented sector is a key reason for accessing homelessness supports, this is consistent with very high rates of private rented

accommodation among migrants. Nigerian, Somali and other African females are particularly vulnerable to homelessness, relative to their size in the population. Note that these migrant groups do not include those born abroad who are Irish citizens. These figures also record those living in emergency accommodation, so if homeless migrants/non-Irish nationals do not avail themselves of these services, they will not be counted.

Given the role of family situation in migrants' integration outcomes, from housing to labour market outcomes, income/poverty and overall well-being, Chapter 5 considers some important indicators from the 2016 Census on their family situation. The focus is on heads of household aged 20-54, and the indicators include: household composition, with a focus on lone parent households in statistical models; number of children living in the household; and mixed unions (intermarriage/cohabitation). In general, the differences between migrants and Irish born are not as stark as for many housing outcomes.

In particular, those born in UK/NI and North America/Oceania tend to be more similar to the Irish-born group than other migrants – exhibiting a similar number of children and similar proportions of lone parent households (after controlling for their socio-demographics). They also have the highest levels of mixed households with Irish partners, with over half of those living in couple households from each of these groups having an Irish-born partner. While we do not know whether the partnership was formed before or after moving to Ireland, to the extent that mixed unions suggest closer ties with the host country, and family patterns are broadly similar, this suggests these groups are most integrated into Irish society in the domain of family.

Significantly, given that most migrants living in Ireland were born in other EU countries, European migrants tend to have fewer children than Irish born, with the exception of UK-born. This challenges the narrative in Western Europe that migrant families are typically bigger (Andersson, 2021), but is consistent with lower fertility rates in some important migrant origin countries in Europe, and of course, a relatively high fertility rate among Irish born. Non-EU migrant households tend to have slightly more children than Irish-headed households, particularly after accounting for socio-demographic differences between migrant and Irish households, though this varies between non-EU groups, and for the most part, the differences are not large.

In terms of household structure, while migrants from Eastern Europe and Asian migrant groups (South Asia, East Asia, and also MENA) differ from Irish born in terms of household composition, among those with children these groups are less likely to be lone parent households. As noted in Chapter 5, we do not know

whether this is associated with family norms in their origin country or that migrant status itself may be linked to the propensity to be a lone parent. It may be that partnered migrants rely on their partner more, given fewer family or other social support networks, and/or, for some groups at least, there may be a tendency for migrant lone parents to return to their country of origin. This would require further investigation.

Of all groups, two are exceptional in terms of their household composition and number of children: Sub-Saharan and Other African headed households are most likely to be in lone parent headed households and also have the largest family size. These families may face particular challenges in terms of poverty and deprivation, and thus integration. As noted above, African nationals are also particularly vulnerable to homelessness. By contrast, Central and South American household heads are much more likely to live on their own or with unrelated adults, as well as have far fewer children. This may be related to the fact that their stay is temporary, although whether this is an indication of the temporary nature of their stay, or will change in the future, remains to be seen.

Family situation and housing situation are linked, as we would expect. Those living in couples with children are more likely to live in owner-occupied accommodation; single people, unrelated persons and lone parents are more likely to be privately renting. Couples with children are more likely to live in overcrowded accommodation, and models in Chapter 5 indicate that the more children, the higher overcrowding risk. Lone parents, other things being equal, are less likely to live in overcrowded accommodation than couples with children. While the analysis here could not model homelessness, evidence from Russell et al. (2021) found lone parents at very high risk of homelessness.

Mixed partnerships, that is whether migrant household heads are married or cohabiting with an Irish partner, is often used as an indicator of integration in its own right, but is also associated with other integration outcomes. In housing, having an Irish partner is associated with much lower rates of private renting/higher homeownership, and migrants with an Irish partner are only half as likely to live in overcrowded accommodation than migrants who have a migrant partner. Having one Irish parent is also associated with much better English-language skills for migrant-origin children living in Ireland. In fact, the English-language skills of children with one Irish parent do not differ significantly from those of children with two Irish parents (Darmody et al., 2022). So which migrant groups are more likely to be married to, or cohabiting with, Irish partners? As noted above, by far the highest proportion of mixed unions are among UK and US nationals – in both groups around 70 per cent of all partnerships are with Irish born. For other migrant groups, while many household heads are living in couples, the proportion of mixed unions is very low indeed – particularly among East Europeans (including Polish)

and Asian groups (South Asians, East Asians, MENA countries). For example, 3 per cent of Polish household heads have an Irish-born partner. Some migrant groups are in a more intermediate position. For example, among Central/South Americans and Sub-Saharan/Other Africans, a higher proportion of migrants have Irish partners (around 14 per cent of all couples), while 31 per cent of West Europeans do, though it is important to note these groups have lower partnership rates overall. Further research would be needed to investigate the factors associated with forming mixed unions in more depth; this is a point we return to below.

6.2 IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

The report is based on census microdata from 2016. Since then, rent-to-income and house price-to-income ratios have increased, and this has further affected affordability (Kennedy and Myers, 2019). There is thus no indication that the situation has changed for the better, though a number of policy initiatives have been introduced, and are discussed below.

This report shows that overall migrants face greater challenges in the Irish housing market than Irish born, which are linked to lower quality of life and integration challenges. Migrants are much more likely to live in the private rental sector, with its lower security and greater affordability problems (Corrigan et al., 2019b). Many migrant groups, particularly non-EU groups, are more likely to live in overcrowded accommodation. Non-Irish nationals are also overrepresented in the homeless population, making up one-quarter of the homeless population but only 11 per cent of the total population. African migrants are particularly vulnerable to homelessness. This is consistent with other recent evidence that migrants are disadvantaged on other housing indicators using smaller samples – poverty after housing costs, housing insecurity, and, particularly for non-EU nationals, housing deprivation – though as with this report, there is migrant group variation in the extent of this (Russell et al., 2021). The evidence in this report indicates that housing should be a priority area for migrant integration policy. In particular, given that housing is not included in the *Migrant Integration Strategy 2017-2021*, housing should be incorporated into the successor to the Strategy as a matter of urgency.

Clearly, addressing major current challenges in the Irish housing market will benefit migrants, as they are disproportionately found in the private rented sector, in overcrowded accommodation and in homeless shelters. As noted in Chapter 2, throughout the world first-generation migrants tend to live in rented accommodation, particularly newly arrived migrants, for a variety of reasons (Borchgrevink and Birkvad, 2021). In many countries, this may not be such a problem. However, the fact that homeownership is the ‘dominant’ tenure in Ireland and that the private rented accommodation is considered a ‘residual

sector', but one that has grown rapidly in recent years (see Chapter 1), means that addressing challenges migrants may face in this sector is an urgent priority. Addressing general tenants' rights issues such as security of tenure in the private rental market; protection from rising rents and adequate standards and effective enforcement of same will benefit all those in the private rented sector, including many migrants.

Some migrants may lack English language skills to negotiate with landlords and also lack knowledge of the 'rules of the game' in securing appropriate or high-quality private rented accommodation that is not overcrowded. Multiple sources document direct discrimination against migrants in access to housing in Ireland. In a recent field experiment, Guscute et al. (2020) found that Irish applicants for an apartment receive more invitations to view than equivalent Polish applicants, while Nigerian applicants record the lowest invitation rate. This is consistent with higher rates of discrimination in access to housing reported by non-Irish nationals and particularly ethnic minority groups, from surveys, relative to White Irish individuals (Grotti et al., 2018; CSO, 2019). It is also consistent with the vulnerability of African migrants to homelessness shown in the 2016 Census.

Given the housing policy shift to accommodating those with housing needs in private rental accommodation supported by HAP, this raises additional issues around the security and quality of housing for low-income migrants. As Hearne and Murphy (2018) point out, the fact that tenants must now source the accommodation themselves has caused difficulties for those experiencing homelessness and other vulnerable groups. This shift towards private renting from social housing increases the onus on the State to address quality issues through regulation and enforcement, though a recent review revealed a range of weaknesses in the regulation of standards (NOAC, 2016). All of this underlines the importance of effective measures to combat discrimination against migrants and ethnic minorities in the Irish housing market, highly relevant given the current development of a *National Action Plan Against Racism in Ireland* (Anti-Racism Committee, 2021).

Hearne and Murphy (2017) also conclude that the Rent Supplement, Rental Accommodation Scheme and HAP are costly market-oriented schemes and unlikely to provide satisfactory long-term housing solutions, and that only a significant increase in the provision of social housing by local authorities and housing associations can provide security and durable solutions for disadvantaged groups. Greater provision of social housing would also benefit vulnerable migrants and protect them from the risk of homelessness. While overall this report does not show that migrants are less likely to be living in social housing, Chapter 1 showed how some low-income migrants are at a significant disadvantage when seeking social housing in Ireland. Eligibility criteria exclude certain migrant groups – those

who do not have a long-term right to reside, non-EEA nationals who have lived in Ireland less than five years,⁹⁰ and all migrants born outside the UK/Ireland who do not meet the employment criteria. These groups may be at greater risk of homelessness if excluded from access to social housing.

The recent *Housing for All: A New Housing Plan for Ireland* strategy sets out ambitious targets to increase housing supply, including that of social housing. If successfully implemented these will have a positive impact on the accessibility and affordability of housing for both natives and migrants alike. Objectives of the plan also include supporting homeownership and addressing affordability issues using rent pressure zones, though as some authors have found, average rents have risen significantly despite rent pressure zones (Russell et al., 2021).

Given the lack of supply, particularly in the private rented market, and low homeownership among migrants, one strategy would be to support migrants to buy homes, particularly migrants with high skilled jobs and associated higher incomes whose intention is to settle in Ireland permanently. Indeed there is some evidence that non-Irish nationals currently renting have strong preferences for homeownership (Corrigan et al., 2019a). There are a number of measures in the Housing for All plan to support homeownership (Government of Ireland, 2021b). Under the Affordable Housing Act 2021, those on low and moderate incomes will be facilitated to buy their first home by a shared equity scheme between the State and the banking sector, though this is a controversial policy measure and has been criticised by a wide number of commentators about its potential inflationary implications. An affordable purchase and cost rental scheme will be delivered by local authorities. For migrants, additional steps may still be required. Clear information about these schemes and summary information on the complex steps involved in buying a house in Ireland would be a relatively cheap way of supporting migrants. Liaising with the banking sector on finding a way to reduce some of the barriers to accessing mortgage credit for migrants who would like to buy a house might also be a strategy worth pursuing. The recent change in identification requirements for refugees and asylum seekers to open a bank account in Ireland following liaison with IHREC may be a promising precedent in this regard.⁹¹

Those who have come through the protection system may face particular difficulties in the housing market. Chapter 4 showed, for example, that even after controlling for region of origin, duration and ethnicity, those who are likely to have arrived in Ireland through the protection system are more likely to live in overcrowded accommodation. As discussed in Box 1.1, the *White Paper to End*

⁹⁰ Non-EEA nationals who have been granted Refugee, Programme Refugee, or Subsidiary Protection status are eligible to apply for social housing supports.

⁹¹ See <https://www.ihrec.ie/access-to-bank-accounts-confirmed-forasylum-seekers/>.

Direct Provision and to Establish a New International Protection Support Service published in 2021 represents a major policy shift in accommodation policy for protection applicants. Given this recent shift in policy, it follows that consideration should be given to including this group within the scope of the successor to the *Migrant Integration Strategy 2017-2021*, as those seeking international protection awaiting a decision are excluded from the current strategy. Any change in policy here would usefully be accompanied by initiatives to follow-up and monitor the housing situation of protection applicants and refugees in Ireland to assess the impact and effectiveness of this policy change, as there is currently no way of doing this in Ireland, for housing, or indeed any other outcomes for refugees (McGinnity et al., 2020a).

While in some ways family situation is less amenable to policy change than housing situation, Andersson (2021) argues that support for families in the host country, in terms of cash benefits and services, also plays an important role in understanding family behaviour of migrants. For example, support for people with children can impact the behaviour of migrants and whether they have children. While there are some residence requirements for social welfare benefits (see McGinnity et al., 2020a, Box 4.1), another element of supporting migrant families would be raising awareness of entitlements, for example to childcare services, child benefit, housing assistance, and potentially also through foreign language communication (see Crosscare, 2018).

The lack of a coordinated approach to English language provision for adults has been repeatedly highlighted as a policy gap in migrant integration policy in Ireland (Arnold et al., 2019a; McGinnity et al., 2020a). In addition to previous reports showing the role of English language skills in securing decent work (McGinnity et al., 2020b), this report shows that poor English language skills are associated with negative housing outcomes such as overcrowding. Fahey et al. (2019), in their analysis of spatial segregation, found that migrants with poor English language skills are also more likely to live in deprived areas. Darmody et al. (2022) argue that within families, parental English language skills can help facilitate children's learning. Several actions in the current *Migrant Integration Strategy 2017-2021* address English language provision but have been experiencing difficulties in implementation (Kett, 2018). This underscores the need for English language training provision to be prominent in the successor to the *Migrant Integration Strategy 2017-2021* (Department of Justice and Equality, 2017).

6.3 LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This is the second study to use microdata from the full census for research on migrant integration, and it illustrates its tremendous potential to contribute to our understanding of integration outcomes, in particular our ability to uncover the

sometimes vastly different experiences of migrants from different countries/regions of origin in Ireland (see also McGinnity et al., 2020b). Inevitably, limitations of space and scope meant that we could not explore all potential research questions using census microdata.

One clear avenue for future research would be to explore mixed unions in more depth using census microdata. What factors influence the partnership patterns observed? Why do the proportion of mixed unions differ so much between different origin-country groups? Are migrant men more or less likely to be in a relationship with Irish born/in endogamous relationship than migrant women, and is there origin country variation in these patterns? Modelling mixed unions were beyond the scope of this report, but future research could investigate the role of factors like ethnicity, English language skills, duration of stay in Ireland, and whether the Irish partner had lived abroad.

The primary focus of this report was on migrants and migrant integration. Yet, the models of overcrowding show particular disadvantage experienced by ethnic minority groups in terms of overcrowding. Further research could consider the housing outcomes of ethnic minority groups, both those born in Ireland and those born abroad. Analyses of patterns of mixed union formation and the children of mixed unions would be particularly interesting as a mixed race/ethnicity second generation emerges in Ireland (King-O'Riain, 2019).

It was beyond the scope of this report to consider in depth whether housing or family outcomes differed for migrant men and women, with the exception of housing tenure and homelessness. The potential 'double disadvantage' faced by migrant women is receiving EU policy attention: the *European Commission Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027*, for instance, has acknowledged the need for gender-specific processes and targeted integration supports addressing gender-related challenges. Similarly, the *EU Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025* has emphasised the need for policies that include both gender mainstreaming and targeted measures (Stapleton et al., forthcoming).

Despite the large number of migrants and comprehensive coverage of the census data, there are a number of limitations. Household income is not measured, and may explain part of the difference in the housing situation of migrants and Irish-born. The census only allows us to distinguish first generation migrants: children of migrants born in Ireland are included as 'Irish born', as parents' country of birth is not collected in the census in Ireland. Yet, in some life domains integration may take decades, and only happen over generations. For example, 'integrating' into a housing market can take time, particularly one dominated by homeownership. In the family literature, one important question is whether family outcomes, for

example completed fertility, converge over immigrant generations (Wilson, 2019). Indeed, the OECD (2018) has argued that it is how the second-generation fare in their host society that is the 'litmus test' for the success (or otherwise) of integration. Up until 2020, neither the census nor any repeated representative Irish national survey regularly collects this information.⁹² In a promising recent development, a question on parents' country of birth has been included in the standard social surveys (LFS, SILC) since 2021. This will allow future research to distinguish and compare both first- and second-generation migrants in these surveys, at least to some extent, though the numbers in both these surveys are considerably smaller than in the census.

Another limitation of the census microdata is that while they give a rich and detailed snapshot of the household and family situation of migrants in Ireland, they focus on a particular point in time: April 2016. Apart from country of birth/origin (and for some migrants, when they came to Ireland), we know little about the sequence of events preceding this date, or pre-migration history. We do not know, for example, whether partnership formation was before or after migration to Ireland. Nor do we know whether children of the household head were born in Ireland or in their parents' country of origin. It has been argued that 'migration events typically precede, happen in tandem with, or follow shortly after these family demographic events' (Andersson, 2021: 263), where family events include leaving the parental home, union formation and dissolution, and becoming a parent. Yet, it may make a difference in which sequence these events occur in terms of the influence of origin country versus host country factors on the family patterns observed. A survey of migrants with detailed migration, family and labour market histories, as well as attitudes to family formation and intentions to stay, would considerably enhance our understanding of these outcomes. This survey could also include migrants' family members living abroad; as noted the census just captures children and partner of the household head living in the household. Longitudinal data that followed migrants over time would be even better (see Andersson, 2021), and an excellent complement to the *Growing Up in Ireland* cohort study of children.

There is no measure of whether a migrant has come through the protection system, including time spent in the system and whether the migrant is a refugee. This is likely to have future implications for integration in the Irish context, particularly for second-generation migrants (that is children who have spent a very long time within the Direct Provision system). Monitoring outcomes for this group is particularly important. The findings about migrants that we estimate are based on how *likely* they are to have come through the protection system and suggest

⁹² An important exception is the *Growing Up in Ireland* study, which collects information on parents' country of birth. As this focuses on parents of children of a particular age group, it is not a representative survey of adults, though it can be used to investigate outcomes of the children of immigrants in Ireland (Röder et al., 2018; Darmody et al., 2022).

that it is very important that we accurately capture the outcomes of this group. A recent addition to the Labour Force Survey captures ‘reasons for migration’, distinguishing those who came to Ireland to work (with a job prior to migration); those who came to seek work (without a pre-arranged job); those who came for family reasons; those who came to study; those who sought international protection; and those who came for other reasons. Motives are not always straightforward – they may change over time and migrants may also have mixed motives, and these distinctions may not reflect that (Platt, 2019). Despite these caveats, knowing whether someone has come through the international protection process would be particularly instructive, though not a substitute for a more detailed follow-up of refugee outcomes, discussed above.

Of course, migration is a dynamic phenomenon: Chapter 1 shows how the scale and composition of immigration flows to Ireland have varied considerably over the past 30 years. Some of this 2016 cohort of migrants may have left the country already or may do so in the future, while new waves of migrants have come to Ireland since then. Future research – using the next census, for example – will show whether the results found in this report are also true of other migrant cohorts or whether the housing and family situation of migrants in Ireland is changing over time.

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APPENDICES

TABLE A3.1 COUNTRY/REGION OF BIRTH CLASSIFICATION BASED ON CENSUS 2016

UK (including NI)	Poland	Other West EEA	Other East EEA	Other Europe	North America plus Oceania	Central and South America	MENA	Sub-Saharan and Other Africa	South Asia	East Asia
United Kingdom	Poland	Austria	Bulgaria	Albania	America	Argentina	Algeria	Angola	Afghanistan	Burma
		Belgium	Croatia	Belarus	Australia	Brazil	Bahrain	Botswana	Bangladesh	China
		Denmark	Cyprus	Bosnia	Canada	Chile	Egypt	Cameroon	India	Hong Kong
		Finland	Czech Republic	Georgia	New Zealand	Columbia	Iran	Congo	Malaysia	Indonesia
		France	Estonia	Kosovo		Cuba	Iraq	Ethiopia	Nepal	Japan
		Germany	Greece	Moldova		Guatemala	Israel	Ghana	Pakistan	Mongolia
		Italy	Hungary	Russia		Jamaica	Jordan	Ivory Coast	Sri Lanka	Philippines
		Netherlands	Malta	Serbia		Mexico	Kazakhstan	Kenya		Singapore
		Norway	Romania	Turkey		Peru	Kuwait	Liberia		South Korea
		Portugal	Slovakia	Ukraine		Trinidad	Lebanon	Malawi		Thailand
		Spain	Slovenia	Other Europe		Venezuela	Libya	Mauritius		Taiwan
		Sweden	Latvia			Other America	Morocco	Nigeria		Singapore
		Switzerland	Lithuania				Oman	Sierra Leone		South Korea
							Saudi Arabia	Somalia		Thailand
							Sudan	South Africa		Taiwan
							Togo	Tanzania		Uzbekistan
							Tunisia	Uganda		Vietnam
							United Arab Emirates	Zambia		
							Syria	Other Africa		
								Zimbabwe		

Source: Census 2016.

TABLE A3.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT COUNTRY-OF-ORIGIN GROUPS

	Asyratio	Under 30	Under 15	Male	Female	Working	Unemplo yed	Student	Other	<5 yrs (All)	<5 yrs (Excluding missing)	Speak English Very Well
Ireland	0	40.94	24.26	49.59	50.41	39.33	5.55	8.2	46.91	1.85	NA	92.25
UK and NI	0.000	23.89	7.59	49.24	50.76	50.12	8.48	7.89	33.51	9.38	15.91	93.06
Poland	0.013	29.55	9.77	50.32	49.68	66.45	9.94	5.89	17.72	10.67	23.7	40.59
Other West EEA	0.001	37.89	9.11	47.69	52.31	64.56	5.81	9.54	20.09	35.41	50.59	70.65
Other East EEA	0.111	35.93	9.16	48.18	51.82	63.88	11.53	6.49	18.1	19.04	41.03	42.08
Other Europe	0.404	34.46	10.71	49.28	50.72	53.01	12.98	10.23	23.79	20.69	39.46	46.21
N. America plus Oceania	0.001	46.34	18.89	46.09	53.91	44.07	4.87	17.16	33.90	25.09	34.71	93.46
C. and S. America	0.019	48.44	5.95	45.8	54.2	51.03	10.26	25.12	13.59	37.47	70.4	49.05
MENA	0.498	44.36	14.81	57.85	42.15	32.39	14.75	23.4	29.47	24.59	52.45	53.28
Sub-Saharan & Other Africa	0.942	32.25	7.22	47.71	52.29	44.48	17.07	18.83	19.61	11.53	29.17	76.8
South Asia	0.159	36.87	11.32	58.32	41.68	50.53	11.64	12.19	25.64	22.8	50.85	57.75
East Asia	0.055	34	9.71	40.33	59.67	54.81	7.21	16.87	21.11	15.6	40.06	48.54
Total	0.018	39.37	21.67	49.5	50.5	42.04	6.26	8.55	43.15	4.39	25.71	88.04

Source: 2016 Census microdata.

TABLE A4.1 FACTORS INFLUENCING ODDS RATIOS FOR LOCAL AUTHORITY RENTING

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4: Migrants Only
Country of Birth	Ireland (RC)	1	1	1	1
	UK and NI (RC in Model 4)	1.137	1.371	1.344	1
	Poland	6.263	5.708	4.31	1.67
	Other West EEA	0.994	1.098	0.957	0.534
	Other East EEA	6.257	5.205	3.685	1.523
	Other Europe	3.851	3.376	1.989	1.089
	North America plus Oceania	0.651	0.712	0.692	0.594
	Central and South America	3.173	2.356	1.439	0.848
	MENA	5.724	4.665	1.893	1.145
	Sub-Saharan and other Africa	9.193	7.604	1.515	1.062
	South Asia	2.429	2.392	1.486	0.878
	East Asia	1.33	1.313	0.828	0.522
Age	0 - 4		0.626	0.522	0.655
	5 - 9		0.595	0.578	0.785
	10 - 14		0.597	0.616	0.898
	14 - 19		1.054	1.057	1.182
	20 - 24		1.017	1.019	1.444
	25 - 29		1.293	1.284	1.534
	30 - 34 (RC)		1	1	1
	35 - 39		0.733	0.728	0.788
	40 - 44		0.671	0.645	0.771
	45 - 49		0.591	0.561	0.737
	50 - 54		0.493	0.473	0.633
	55 - 59		0.414	0.403	0.547
	60 - 64		0.314	0.31	0.417
	65+		0.157	0.157	0.231
Sex	Male (RC)		1	1	1
	Female		0.852	0.865	0.849
Household Composition	One person		4.423	4.663	3.636
	Married/Cohabiting couple		1.297	1.352	1.245
	Married/Cohabiting couple w/ children (RC)		1	1	1
	One parent with children		4.566	4.656	2.601
	Other		1.917	1.846	1.438
	Unrelated persons only		3.606	3.599	2.043
Employment Status	Employed high skill (RC)		1	1	1
	Employed non-high skilled		3.235	2.898	2.415
	Unemployed		10.43	8.324	5.858
	Student		3.044	2.794	2.862
	Other		6.971	5.912	4.193

Contd.

TABLE A4.1 CONTD

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4: Migrants Only
Location	Less than 1,500 (Rural) (RC)		1	1	1
	1,500 through to 49,999		3.139	2.96	2.624
	50,000 or greater		3.244	3.113	2.593
Asyratio	Likelihood of arriving through protection system			1.696	1.775
Ethnicity	White (RC)			1	1
	Traveller			17.05	17.52
	Black			4.031	2.528
	Asian			1.228	0.947
	Other			1.597	1.403
English Language Skills	Speak very well (RC)			1	1
	Well			1.623	1.539
	Not well			2.858	2.786
	Not at all well			2.902	3.289
Arrival in Ireland	Before 1980				1
	1980 - 1989				1.46
	1990 - 1999				1.343
	2000 - 2009				1.36
	2010 - 2016				1.871
	Not Stated				2.113
Head of Household	HoH: Both partners born in Ireland				0.156
	HoH: Both partners born elsewhere (not Ireland) (RC)				1
	HoH: One partner born in Ireland (the other born elsewhere)				0.499
	HoH: No partner				0.862
Nationality	Irish national				1
	Non-Irish national				0.635
	Observations	897,638	897,638	897,638	529,007
	Pseudo R-squared	0.197	0.295	0.306	0.27

Source: Census (2016).

TABLE A4.2 DOES TENURE TYPE VARY BY GENDER ACROSS MIGRANT GROUPS?

		Private Renting	Social Housing
Country of Birth	Ireland (RC)	1	1
	UK and NI	2.179	1.351
	Poland	23.8	5.264
	Other West EEA	7.358	1.215
	Other East EEA	20.39	4.362
	Other Europe	8.172	2.388
	North America plus Oceania	3.39	0.739
	Central and South America	13.05	2.305
	MENA	10.3	2.289
	Sub-Saharan and other Africa	6.69	1.666
	South Asia	8.227	1.873
	East Asia	4.205	0.926
	Sex	Male (RC)	1
Female		0.977	0.992
Interactions: Gender by Country of Birth	UK and NI # Female	0.889	0.99
	Poland # Female	0.729	0.681
	Other West EEA # Female	0.718	0.644
	Other East EEA # Female	0.783	0.729
	Other Europe # Female	0.855	0.708
	North America plus Oceania # Female	0.946	0.882
	Central and South America # Female	0.583	0.436
	MENA # Female	0.825	0.67
	Sub-Saharan and other Africa # Female	0.895	0.847
	South Asia # Female	0.723	0.609
	East Asia # Female	0.75	0.816

Source: Census (2016).

Note: In addition, this model includes all the controls included in Model 3 in Table 4.1.

TABLE A4.3 MEAN NUMBER OF ROOMS AND MEAN NUMBER OF PEOPLE (USUALLY RESIDENT)

	Mean N rooms	Mean N people
Ireland	5.92	3.63
UK and NI	5.98	3.35
Poland	4.10	3.50
Other West EEA	4.73	3.23
Other East EEA	3.91	3.64
Other Europe	4.21	3.68
North America plus Oceania	6.03	3.63
Central and South America	4.10	3.64
MENA	4.02	3.85
Sub-Saharan and Other Africa	4.27	4.12
South Asia	3.95	3.97
East Asia	4.22	3.86
Total	5.74	3.61

Source: Own calculations from census microdata. N for number of rooms is 4294518; N for usually resident is 4,575,686.

TABLE A5.1 ZERO INFLATION COMPONENT OF POISSON REGRESSION

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4: Migrants only
Country of Birth	Ireland (RC)	0	0	0	
	UK and NI (RC in Model 4)	-0.092	-0.230	-0.236	0
	Poland	-1.907	-0.984	-1.186	-0.951
	Other West EEA	1.376	0.745	0.664	1.074
	Other East EEA	-0.692	-1.047	-1.233	-1.027
	Other Europe	-1.062	-1.378	-1.559	-1.251
	North America plus Oceania	0.625	0.138	0.116	0.388
	Central and South America	1.566	0.704	0.566	0.87
	MENA	0.678	-0.410	-0.588	-0.392
	Sub-Saharan and other Africa	-0.297	-1.056	-1.216	-1.058
	South Asia	-0.241	-0.885	-1.005	-0.739
	East Asia	-0.631	-1.256	-1.429	-1.144
Origin of Partner	Irish partner (RC)		0	0	0
	Non-Irish partner		-0.018	-0.0211	-0.0137
	No Partner		5.089	5.1	5.357
Age	Age 20 - 24		1.083	1.083	1.521
	25 - 29		0.551	0.549	0.823
	30 - 34 (RC)		0	0	0
	35 - 39		-0.757	-0.765	-0.766
	40 - 44		-1.125	-1.144	-1.18
	45 - 49		-1.322	-1.35	-1.446
	50 - 54		-1.403	-1.438	-1.579
Sex	Male (RC)		0	0	0
	Female		-3.942	-3.922	-4.204
Education	Primary/No formal		-0.160	-0.231	-0.226
	Lower secondary		-0.523	-0.564	-0.329
	Upper secondary/Vocational		-0.579	-0.612	-0.46
	Third level (RC)		0	0	0
Employment Status	Employed high skill (RC)		0	0	0
	Employed non-high skilled		-0.301	-0.339	-0.143
	Unemployed		-0.364	-0.41	-0.256
	Student		0.446	0.397	0.577
	Other		-0.940	-0.982	-0.954
Religion	Catholic (RC)		0	0	0
	Church of Ireland Incl. Protestant		-0.257	-0.258	-0.238
	Other stated religions		0.114	0.119	0.0403
	No religions		0.408	0.418	0.325
	Not stated		0.429	0.427	0.538
Location	Less than 1,500 (Rural) (RC)		0	0	0
	1,500 through to 49,999		-0.092	-0.093	-0.139
	50,000 or greater		0.732	0.734	0.78

Contd.

TABLE A5.1 CONTD

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4: Migrants only
Overcrowding	Ratio of rooms		-1.817	-1.828	-1.803
	Own home		0	0	0
Tenure	Private rent		1.045	1.017	1.354
	LA or AHB		0.233	0.212	0.797
Asyratio	Likelihood of arriving through protection system			0.030	
English Language Skills	Speak very well (RC)			0	
	Well			0.314	
	Not well			0.363	
	Not at all well			0.356	
	Constant	-1.248	-2.562	-2.51	-3.297
	Observations	244,133	244,133	244,133	172,352

Source: Census (2016).

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