



# Meeting the Information Needs of Migrants in Vulnerable Situations:

*A Citizens Information Perspective*



Report commissioned by the Citizens Information Board

**Authors**

Michelle Norris, Dorota Szelewa, Joanne Kelleher, Jack Bwalya  
School of Social Policy, Social Work and Social Justice  
University College Dublin  
Belfield, Dublin 4

## Glossary

CTA	Common Travel Area
CIB	Citizens Information Board
CIS	Citizens Information Service
CSO	Central Statistics Office
CU	Customs Union
DSP	Department of Social Protection
DP	Direct Provision – the direct provision system houses those seeking asylum in Ireland
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ED	Electoral Division
EEA	European Economic Area
ENPs	Emergency Needs Payments
EU15	the 15 countries that were members of the European Union prior to 2004 – Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and United Kingdom
GFA	Good Friday Agreement
GNIB	Garda National Immigration Bureau
HAP	Housing Assistance Payment
HRC	Habitual Residence Condition
INIS	Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service <sup>1</sup>
IRP	Irish Residence Permit
PPSN	Personal Public Service Number
RIA	Reception and Integration Agency
SUSI	Student Universal Support Ireland
SWA	Supplementary Welfare Allowance
TRC	Temporary Residence Certificate

---

<sup>1</sup> Immigration Service Delivery, Department of Justice

# Preface

Citizens Information Services (CISs) deal with almost 700,000 queries a year from over 350,000 callers. Almost one quarter of callers (where country of origin is recorded<sup>2</sup>) are migrants. This is significantly higher than the proportion of migrants in the total Irish population, which stands at 12%.

The Citizens Information Board (CIB) commissioned this policy-focused research to highlight the information needs of migrants who use the national network of Citizens Information Services (CISs) and to investigate the implications of this for the information, advice and advocacy services that we support. The research explores the experiences of migrants who use our services and identifies the barriers that inhibit their access to a range of benefits and supports. It also documents the experiences and perceptions of information providers in assisting migrants and locates these within the broader policy context.

Since this research on migrants information needs was completed, the context has shifted dramatically with the Russian war in Ukraine and the significant forced dispersal of Ukrainian refugees across Europe. Ireland has seen over 35,000 refugees enter the country. Citizens Information Services are providing advice and assistance in the Government supported information hubs and through outreach initiatives and endeavouring to respond to the complex information and advocacy needs of Ukrainian families in this crisis.

This report underlines CIB's ongoing interest in the policy environment<sup>3</sup> in relation to immigration, as it impacts the information needs of service users. For many years, CIB has drawn attention to the need for better integration across government departments and other agencies (both statutory and NGO) that provide services and supports to migrants.

When looking at the information needs of migrants, it should be remembered that they are not a homogenous group concerned only with clearly identifiable issues. Rather, migrants seek information and assistance from information services related to the broad range of social and public services to the same extent as the general population. But they will tend to have a wider variety of information requirements than Irish-born people and their information needs are likely to be more complex, given that they will have to fulfill different legal requirements to enter, live and work in Ireland.

While most of the migrants who have moved to Ireland during the past 20 years are not considered vulnerable, this report has a particular focus on those who are in more vulnerable positions - due to a combination of legal status and individual, family and socio-economic factors. These migrants will be in greatest need of the supports provided by information and advocacy services.

---

<sup>2</sup> Country of origin is a non- mandatory data field but is recorded for callers to the service nationally.

<sup>3</sup> CIB has contributed to public policy formation on migration in a range of policy submissions including responses to consultations on anti-racism and migrant integration strategies and departmental strategies, e.g. the Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth consultation on their Statement of Strategy 2021-2023.

This research indicates that some categories of migrants are more likely to find themselves at a particular disadvantage. This includes non-EU migrants, migrants' spouses, partners and families, undocumented migrants, migrants who speak little or no English, those who are members of 'visible minorities' (Black and Asian migrants), migrants who live in the private rented sector, and those leaving the Direct Provision system.

During the past two years, these vulnerabilities have been further exposed and exacerbated by the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic. In 2020, a Joint Statement from the Irish Permanent Mission to the United Nations highlighted the impact of Covid-19 on migrants and noted the over-representation of migrant workers in sectors hardest hit by the pandemic - such as in food and hospitality, retail and domestic work, the 'gig' and informal economy. A 2021 Working Paper from the National Economic and Social Council (NESC)<sup>4</sup> found that the pandemic had worsened existing disadvantages experienced by migrants and ethnic minorities in Ireland. This was particularly evident in the areas of employment and income, housing, social protection, health and well-being, education, immigration services and experience of racism – despite the swift policy response from Government in the form of a range of supports introduced since March 2020. During the past year, the Immigrant Council of Ireland<sup>5</sup> (a key partner of CIB in the delivery of specialist information) and other migrant rights organisations have highlighted how the Covid-19 related disruptions have served to magnify pre-existing cracks in the administration of the immigration system.

This report makes a series of recommendations intended to help information services meet the needs of migrants effectively. These recommendations cover a range of measures such as the provision of translation or interpretation services, and the delivery of targeted information services to those exiting Direct Provision. The wider policy context and legislative measures that can help to reduce migrants' vulnerability are also considered, with specific recommendations proposed. These observations and recommendations are made within the context of CIB's statutory role to provide evidence to Government of the ways in which policy, and the administration of policy, impacts citizens.

The recommendations in this report have particular significance for information, advice and advocacy services in a post Covid context. They are also particularly relevant as a range of broader policy opportunities converge. These include the publication of the White Paper on the international protection process in 2021, the development of legislation for the regularisation of undocumented migrants, the formulation of a new strategic policy approach to migrant integration in 2022, with the lapsing of the Migrant Integration Strategy 2017 – 2021 and the development of a new National Action Plan against Racism for Ireland.

We look forward to contributing to these policy initiatives - informed by this research – and are conscious of the key role that Citizens Information Services can continue to play in assisting migrants as they navigate the complexities of living and working in this country.

---

4 National Economic and Social Forum, Secretariat Covid-19 Working Paper Series: The Impacts of Covid-19 on Ethnic Minority and Migrant Groups in Ireland, Research Series Paper No. 18 2021

5 The Immigrant Council of Ireland is funded by the Citizens Information Board to provide a second tier support helpline to CISs in dealing with more complex immigration cases.

# Table of Contents

<b>Preface</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>List of Tables</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>List of Figures</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>9</b>
Recent Trends in Migration to Ireland	9
Migrants' Characteristics	11
Information, Advice and Advocacy for Migrants in Vulnerable Situations	12
Aims and Objectives	14
Definitions and Categorisations	15
Research Methods and Tasks	18
Organisation of the Report	20
<b>1. Review of Policy and Legislation</b>	<b>21</b>
Introduction	21
EU Migrants' Rights and Entitlements	21
Additional Rights of UK Migrants under the Common Travel Area	27
Rights and Entitlements of Migrants from non-EU Countries	28
Support for Integration of Migrants	30
Conclusions	31
<b>2. Immigration Status</b>	<b>33</b>
Introduction	33
Migrants from the UK and EU Member States	33
Non-EU Migrants	36
Asylum Seekers and Refugees	37
Migrants' Spouses, Partners and Families	39
Applications for Citizenship	40
Migrants on Student Visas	42
Undocumented Migrants and Loss of Immigration Status	43
Conclusions	45
<b>3. Incomes, Employment and Social Welfare</b>	<b>47</b>
Incomes, Employment and Social Welfare	47
English Language Proficiency	52
Immigration Status	54
Labour Market Discrimination	55
Employment Sector and Self-Employment	56
Information, Advice and Advocacy for Migrants in Vulnerable Situations	57
Conclusions	61

<b>4. Housing</b>	<b>62</b>
Introduction	62
Migrants' Housing Conditions, Affordability and Tenure	62
Drivers of Migrants' Housing Vulnerability	65
Private Rented Housing	68
Social Housing, Housing Assistance Payment and Rent Supplement	69
Leaving Direct Provision	70
Location	71
Migrants' Housing Information Needs	75
Conclusions	76
<b>5. Conclusions</b>	<b>78</b>
Introduction	78
Who are the Most Vulnerable Migrants?	78
The Role of Information, Advice and Advocacy Services in Supporting Migrants in Vulnerable Situations	79
Other Policy and Service Reforms that Would Reduce the Number of Migrants in Vulnerable Situations	82
<b>References</b>	<b>84</b>

## List of Tables

Table 0.1	Duration of Meetings with CIS Information Providers by Client's Country of Origin .....	14
Table 0.2	Indicators of Migrants' Vulnerability .....	16
Table 0.3	Organisations Interviewed for the Research.....	19
Table 1.1	Practical Implications of EU Freedom of Movement Provisions for EU Migrants to Ireland.....	22
Table 1.2	Practical Implications of EU Social Security and Pension Rights Provision for EU Migrants to Ireland.....	24
Table 1.3	Categories of EU Migrants With and Without the Right to Reside in Ireland, for Social Welfare Purposes.....	26
Table 1.4	Practical Implications of the Common Travel Area for UK Migrants to Ireland .....	28
Table 2.1	Details of Queries about Migration Status/Moving Country Submitted to the CIS, by Clients' Country of Origin .....	35
Table 3.1	Labour Market Activity Rates and Categories by Country of Birth.	48
Table 3.2	Level of Education by Country of Birth .....	50
Table 3.3	Claimants of Main Categories of Social Welfare Benefits by Nationality .....	52
Table 3.4	Details of Queries about Employment and Self Employment Submitted to the CIS, by Clients' Country of Origin .....	56
Table 3.5	Top Five Social Welfare-Related Queries Submitted to the CIS, by Country of Origin .....	60
Table 4.1	Housing Conditions and Tenure by Country of Birth.....	63

## List of Figures

Figure 0.1	Net Migration in Ireland during each Inter-Censual Period since 1961.....	10
Figure 0.2	Population of Ireland by Country of Birth, 2002-2016 .....	11
Figure 0.3	Top Ten Query Categories to the CIS Raised by Migrants (N) .....	13
Figure 2.1	Number of Queries about Migration Status/Moving Country Submitted to the CIS, by Clients' Country of Origin .....	34
Figure 2.2	Irish Citizen Residents of Ireland, by Country of Birth.....	41
Figure 2.3	Country of Birth of Students Aged 15 Years and Over in Ireland, 2002, 2016 .....	43
Figure 3.1	English Language Proficiency Among Irish Residents who Don't Speak English at Home, by Place of Birth, 2016.....	53
Figure 4.1	Homeless People by Nationality (%) .....	66
Figure 4.2	Number of Queries about Housing Submitted to the Citizens Information Services, by Client's Country of Origin .....	66
Figure 4.3	City and County Council Operational Areas where the Irish and UK-Born Population is Lowest, 2016.....	72
Figure 4.4	Migrant Concentrations in Fingal County Council.....	74
Figure 4.5	Migrant Concentrations in Galway City Council .....	75

# Introduction

Since the mid-1990s migration into Ireland has increased radically. People born outside Ireland comprised 11.3% of the population of Ireland in 2016, compared to just 5.9% in 2002 (Central Statistics Office, various years). Ireland had the fourth largest proportion of foreign-born residents in the EU in 2017 after Luxembourg, Cyprus and Austria (McGinnity *et al.*, 2018). As a result, over a relatively short period of time, Ireland has changed from quite a homogenous society into one which is much more diverse in terms of national and ethnic origins.

This development has given rise to an increased need for the information, advice and advocacy services provided, funded and supported by the Citizens Information Board (CIB) which commissioned this research. Meeting this need is particularly challenging because immigrants to Ireland are themselves a very diverse group, who have come to Ireland for a variety of different reasons and from a large number of different countries and therefore, may have different information requirements.

Most migrants who have moved to Ireland in recent years are in employment and many are younger people with high levels of education (Barrett, Bergin and Duffy, 2006; OECD, 2015; Darmody and Smyth, 2018). However, despite these advantages, the research evidence demonstrates that migrants are more vulnerable to experiencing socio-economic problems such as poverty, unemployment and poor housing than people born in Ireland (Gilmartin and Migge, 2015; McGinnity, Fahey, *et al.*, 2018).

This project aims to examine the scale and character of migration into Ireland and the implications of this for providers of information, advice and advocacy services, particularly those supported by the Citizens Information Board. It

focuses not on the whole migrant population but on those who are in more vulnerable situations – for instance, experiencing or at high risk of experiencing poverty or homelessness.

This introductory chapter sets out the background to the research. It summarises trends in migration to Ireland in recent decades, the socio-economic characteristics of this population and in their use of the CIB's funded services. The aims and objectives of the research are then set out and the methods used to conduct it are explained.

## Recent Trends in Migration to Ireland

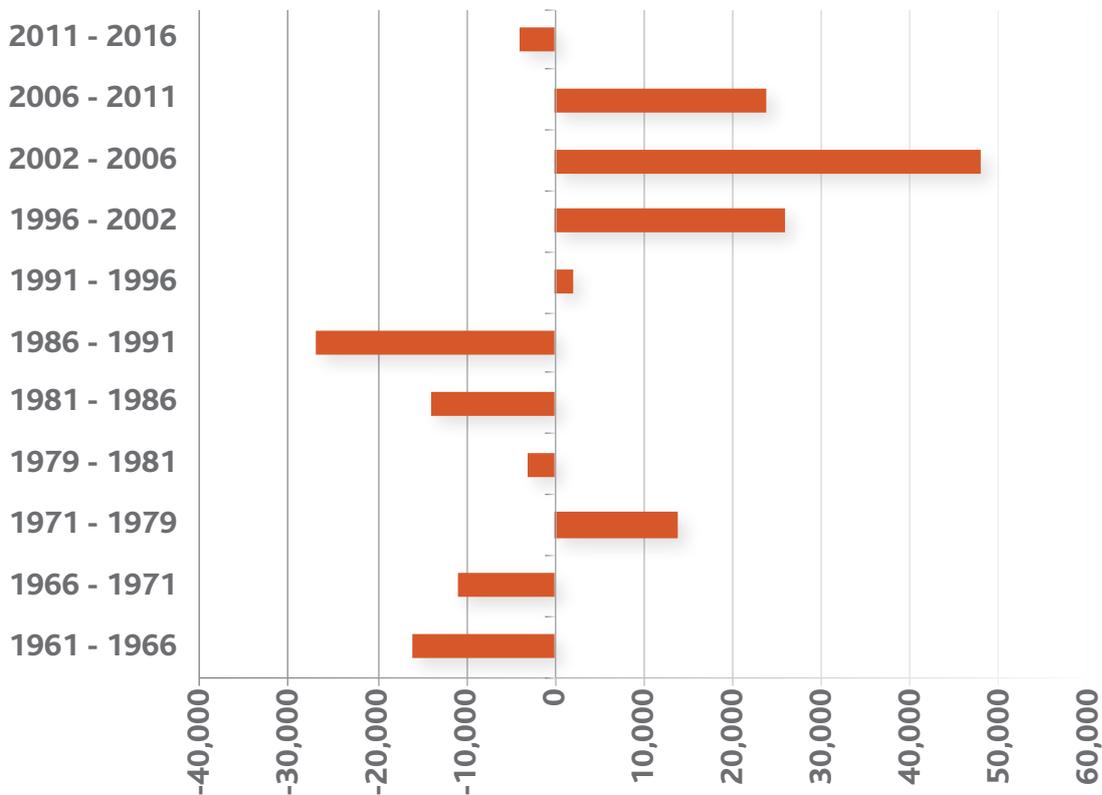
Compared to most other Western European countries, Ireland has an unusual and complex migration history. Until the 1960s, it had one of the highest emigration rates in Europe. The population of what is now the Republic of Ireland declined by just under half between the 1860s and Irish independence in the 1920s. It continued to fall, albeit at a lower rate, until the end of the 1950s (MacÉinrí and White, 2008). An improved economic climate in the 1960s and 1970s resulted in a steady decline in emigration. However, this trend was disrupted by the recession of the late 1970s and early 1980s, which prompted the re-emergence of emigration. As a result, 2% of the entire Irish population left the country in 1988/1989 alone (Kennedy, Giblin and McHugh, 1988).

This longstanding pattern of emigration and population decline has changed radically since the emergence of the 'Celtic tiger' economic boom in the mid-1990s. The 1996 census revealed a positive net migration flow for the first time in decades, and was one of the first signals of the impending boom (O'Connell, Joyce and Whelan, 2017) (see Figure 0.1). This

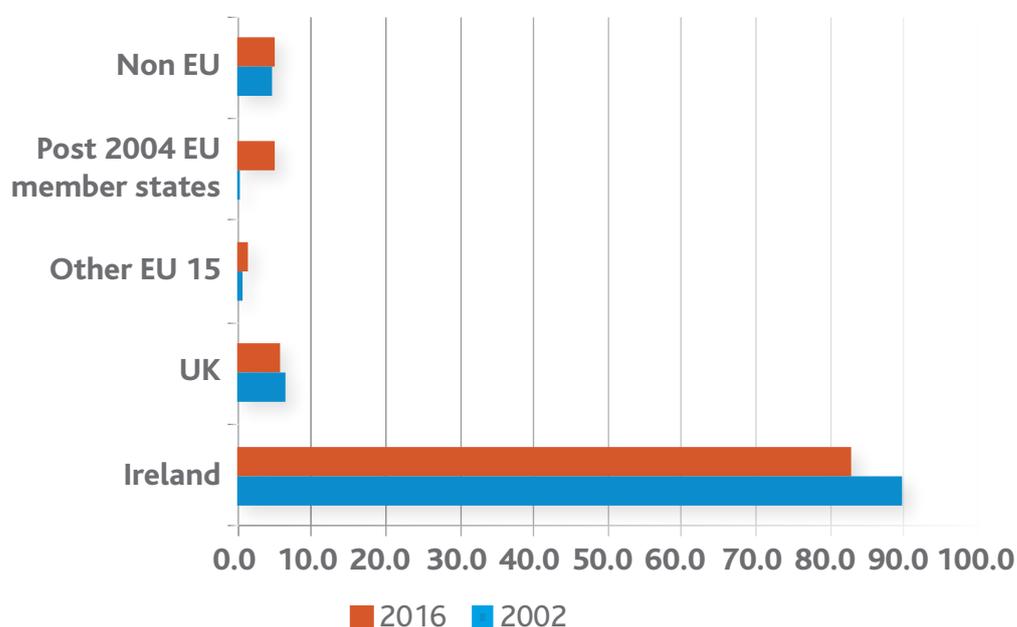
development was driven initially by high rates of returning Irish migrants, who accounted for approximately half of inward migration in the late 1990s (Barrett and Duffy, 2008). Therefore, due to its history of emigration, increased net migration into Ireland was not initially associated with cultural diversification. This began to change from 2000 as growing numbers of asylum-seekers, particularly from Nigeria and Romania, increased migration flows to Ireland (MacÉinrí and White, 2008). However, the biggest impulse for increased migration into Ireland came from the radical enlargement of the European Union in 2004 when 10 new members, predominantly former communist

Central and Eastern European countries, joined the EU. Ireland, the UK and Sweden were the only pre-2004 EU member states that opened their labour markets without restriction to migrants from the new EU member states. Ireland and the UK received most of the migration generated by this development, possibly due to migrants' preference for moving to English-speaking countries (Barrell, Fitzgerald and Riley, 2010). Rates of migration into Ireland declined after the economic crisis commenced in 2007, and the proportion of new arrivals from EU countries has also declined as migration from outside the EU has become more common.

**Figure 0.1 Net Migration in Ireland during each Inter-Censal Period since 1961**



Source: Central Statistics Office (various years)

**Figure 0.2 Population of Ireland by Country of Birth, 2002-2016**

Source: Central Statistics Office (various years)

As detailed in Figure 0.2 the profile of the migrant population in Ireland is also distinctive compared to most other Western countries. EU nationals represented just over 70% of migrants resident in Ireland in 2016, with the largest group coming from Poland (122,515 persons), the UK (103,115), Lithuania (36,552) and Romania (29,186) (Central Statistics Office, various years). Ireland is one of a very small number of countries in Europe where intra-EU migrants make up the majority of migrant residents (Gilmartin and Migge, 2015).

### Migrants' Characteristics

Most migrants who have moved to Ireland in recent years are in employment and many are younger people. They are more likely to have degree-level education than the Irish-born population, and less likely to have low levels of educational attainment (Barrett, Bergin and Duffy, 2006; OECD, 2015; Darmody and Smyth, 2018). However, despite these advantages, the research evidence demonstrates that

migrants are more vulnerable to experiencing socio-economic problems such as poverty, unemployment and poor housing than people born in Ireland (Gilmartin and Migge, 2015; McGinnity, Fahey, *et al.*, 2018).

This situation reflects migrants' rights to live and work in Ireland and their entitlements to draw social security benefits and use social services. Except for UK citizens, who enjoy almost the same rights and entitlements as Irish citizens, migrants from other countries have fewer rights, particularly those who come from outside the EU. EU citizens have a right to reside in Ireland, but don't qualify for any payment under the social welfare legislation for the first three months of residence, except in limited circumstances (Anderson, 2015). Migrants from non-EU countries don't have the right to live and work in Ireland without a visa and cannot access many social security benefits or social services. Consequently, migrants and their families who are not self-sufficient on arrival in the state face a period of vulnerability

to poverty and/or homelessness, for instance, until they can access benefits or other relevant services such as social housing. When they qualify for access, migrants face the challenge of negotiating a benefits and services system that is complex and likely to be unfamiliar to them. Some migrants may also lack the language skills required to do so.

There is also evidence that, despite their high levels of educational attainment, migrants don't fare as well in the job market as people from a non-migrant background. Migrants are over-represented in sectors such as wholesale and retail trades, accommodation and food services, which are associated with lower pay and poorer working conditions (Murphy, Caulfield and Gilmartin, 2017). This may be because migrants are more likely to face discrimination in employment than the native population (Kingston, McGinnity and O'Connell, 2013; O'Connell, 2018). This risk is particularly strong for 'visible minorities' – those who are not white and Christian in background (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2008). Migrants to Ireland are also more likely to face discrimination in access to housing. This may reflect the fact that migrants are disproportionately concentrated in the private rented sector, which is associated with less security and affordability than other housing tenures (Grotti *et al.*, 2018). The 2016 census reveals that 72.9% of households headed by Polish nationals and 74.9% of households headed by Indian nationals lived in private rented accommodation, compared to 12.7% of households headed by Irish nationals (Central Statistics Office, various years).

In addition, the socio-economic characteristics of a minority of migrants means that they are more likely to find themselves in vulnerable situations. They may come from poor economic circumstances and may not have the standard of education or proficiency in English required

to secure good employment on arrival in Ireland. Others may have experienced a dramatic change in circumstances during transit, and may arrive in Ireland with little or no finances or immediate prospect of employment.

### **Information, Advice and Advocacy for Migrants in Vulnerable Situations**

The increase in inward migration to Ireland over the past two decades and migrants' higher risk of vulnerability has given rise to an increased need for information, advice and advocacy services. This is evident in migrants' use of the services supported by the Citizens Information Board (CIB), which commissioned this research. CIB supports a network of Citizens Information Services (CIS), which provide free, impartial and confidential face-to-face information, advice and advocacy services to the public from a network of over 200 offices across Ireland. The 'country of origin' of clients who requested information from CIS was recorded in almost 70% of cases in 2018/2019.<sup>6</sup> These data reveal that 24% of callers were from outside Ireland which is significantly higher than the proportion of migrants in the total population.

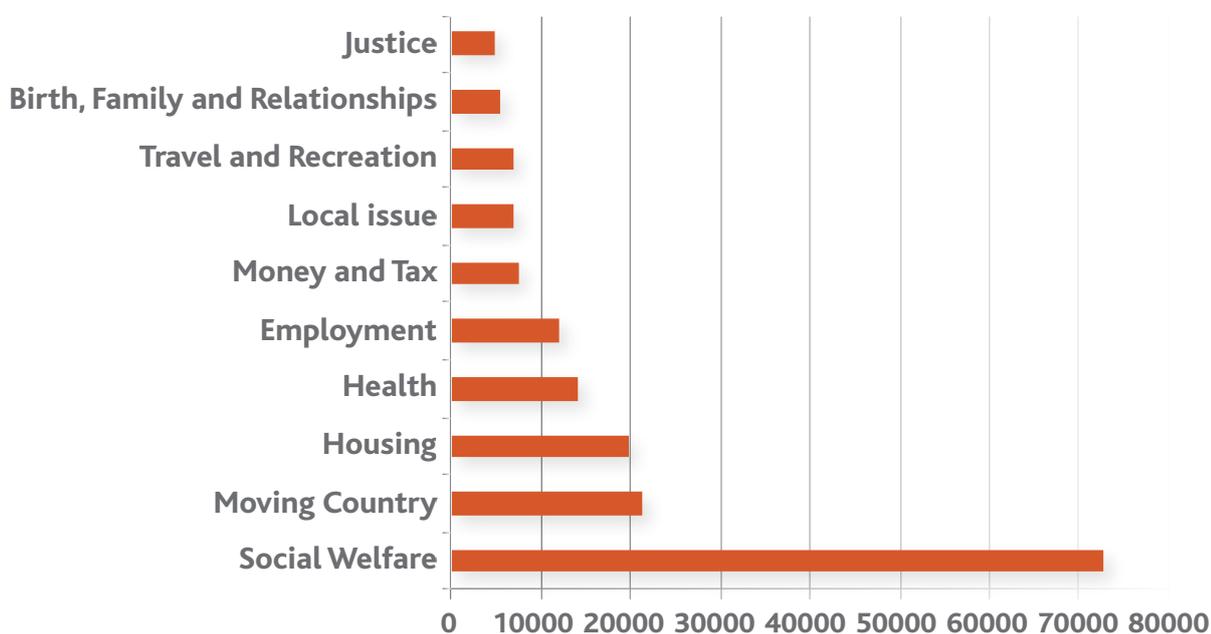
Migrants' needs for information, advice and advocacy are also evident in the focus of migrants' queries to CIS and the duration of their meetings with CIS information providers. The queries most commonly raised by migrants are summarised in Figure 0.3. These data reveal that migrants commonly experience difficulties in accessing social security supports, but also often raise queries about moving-country or migration status, housing and health. Table 0.1 disaggregates the duration of meetings with CIS information providers according to clients' country of origin. It demonstrates that being born abroad is associated with longer meeting duration.

<sup>6</sup> Country of origin was recorded for 63% of callers in 2020, 17% of whom were EU and non EU callers - non-national callers to CISs were down by 8% during the pandemic with the closure of face to face services.

The data on migrants’ queries to the Citizens Information Services also provide insights into the challenges that information providers face in meeting the information needs of this cohort. First of all, these challenges reflect the diversity of the migrant population. In 2018/2019, migrant CIS clients came from over

200 countries; they are likely to have come to Ireland for a variety of different reasons; their personal circumstances in terms of family status, age, education and English language ability vary and, depending on this, they are likely to require access to different income supports and health and social services.

**Figure 0.3 Top Ten Query Categories to the CIS Raised by Migrants (N)**



Note: Migrants are identified by 'country of origin'; these data refer only to the 70% of CIS clients for whom this was recorded in 2018.

Source: Generated by the authors from the Citizens Information Board Oyster Database.

**Table 0.1 Duration of Meetings with CIS Information Providers by Client's Country of Origin**

Duration of meeting	Ireland %	UK %	Other EU15 member state %	Post- 2004 EU member state %	Non-EU countries %
10 mins and under	33	21	19	20	18
11 - 20 mins	42	43	41	42	41
21 - 40 mins	20	27	33	30	33
41 – 90 mins	5	9	6	7	7
91 mins and over	0	1	1	1	1
Total (N)	564,298	16,190	14,740	76,532	72,118

Source: Generated by the authors from the Citizens Information Board Oyster Database.

Note: Migrants are identified by 'country of origin'; these data refer only to the 70% of CIS clients for whom this was recorded in 2017,2018.

Therefore, migrants have a wider variety of information requirements than Irish-born people.

Depending on their country of origin, migrants also must fulfil different legal requirements in order to enter, live and work in Ireland, claim benefits and use social services. Therefore, their information needs are likely to be more complex than those of the native population, and migrants are more likely to require specialist advice that is tailored to their legal status.

Migrants are also undergoing substantial change in their life circumstances: taking up residence in and integrating into a new country and a different society and culture. They may lack the English language skills required to access the information they need independently, and almost certainly lack the 'general knowledge' of their rights and entitlements in Ireland that a long-

term resident would have accumulated. Consequently, migrants' information needs are likely to be of a different order and scale than those of the rest of the population.

The challenges associated with meeting migrants' information, advice and advice needs are amplified by the number and variety of organisations involved in this work, and the unevenness of the service available in different parts of the country. In addition to the service provided by the Citizens Information Services, information for migrants is provided by local authorities, the HSE, Area Partnerships/Local Development Companies and many non-governmental organisations.

### Aims and Objectives

As mentioned above this project aims to examine the scale and character of migration

into Ireland and the implications of this for providers of information, advice and advocacy services, particularly those supported by the Citizens Information Board. It focuses not on the whole migrant population but on those who are in vulnerable situations – for instance, experiencing or at high risk of experiencing poverty or homelessness – because this cohort is in greatest need of information services. It also focuses on the period since 2000. This starting point reflects the timing of the marked growth in immigration into Ireland (as highlighted above).

To achieve this broad aim, this research will address the following objectives:

- Examine the level of migration into Ireland since 2000 and trends in migration over time and space (i.e. in different regions of the country, and in urban and rural districts)
- Profile the socio-economic characteristics of these migrants in order to estimate how many could be categorised as vulnerable
- Profile the rights of migrants compared to Irish citizens. This analysis will focus on the right to work, to access social security benefits, and to use public services, and examine how these rights affect migrants' vulnerability
- Document the experiences of the migrants who use the Citizens Information Services and other information services in accessing benefits and services, and identify any barriers that inhibit their access
- Examine migrants' experience of using Citizens Information Services-supported information services and other information, advocacy and advice services
- Document information service providers' perspectives on assisting migrants to access benefits and services
- On this basis, assess the extent to which information services meet migrants' information needs, particularly those of migrants in vulnerable situations
- Formulate recommendations on the effective and efficient provision of information to migrants in vulnerable situations by CIB and other relevant agencies. It is envisaged that these recommendations could inform CIB decisions on service development and organisational strategy, and also enable the Citizens Information Board to contribute to meeting the objectives of *The Migrant Integration Strategy 2017-2021* and its successor. (Department of Justice).

## Definitions and Categorisations

Migrations of vulnerable individuals and households is a widespread concern for policymakers and researchers internationally. Despite this, there is no accepted international definition of vulnerable migration. This research draws on the analysis of migrants most likely to be in vulnerable situations proposed by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (International Organization for Migration, 2017). The IOM defines vulnerable migrants by listing the factors that contribute to "diminished capacity of an individual or a group to resist, cope with, or recover from violence, exploitation, abuse, and violation(s) of their rights" (International Organization for Migration, 2017: 5).

**Table 0.2 Indicators of Migrants' Vulnerability**

Category	Specific factors that increase or decrease vulnerability	Potential examples of their operation in the Irish case
Individual factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Age</li> <li>• legal status in host country</li> <li>• ethnic background</li> <li>• sex and gender</li> <li>• sexuality</li> <li>• years spent in Ireland</li> <li>• level of English</li> <li>• employment status</li> <li>• housing status</li> <li>• beliefs/religion</li> <li>• physical and mental well-being</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• elderly, young adult, child</li> <li>• undocumented</li> <li>• Black, Asian (visible minorities)</li> <li>• female</li> <li>• LGBTQ</li> <li>• recent arrival</li> <li>• none or poor</li> <li>• inactive, unregistered, unemployed, in precarious employment, low-paid jobs</li> <li>• homelessness, private renter</li> <li>• non-Christian</li> <li>• physical or mental illness/disability, substance abuse</li> </ul>
Household and family factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• family status</li> <li>• family history and experiences</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lone parent, single person</li> <li>• Divorce/ family breakdown, lone parenthood, estranged from parents/ domestic and/or sexual abuse</li> </ul>
Community and geographic factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• availability of community-based support networks</li> <li>• regional factors</li> <li>• neighbourhood factors</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• underdeveloped</li> <li>• low employment/economically expanded region</li> <li>• neighbourhood dominated by other migrants</li> </ul>
Socio-economic factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• economic profile of the country</li> <li>• welfare system and entitlements</li> <li>• cultural factors</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• strength of the economy, availability of jobs</li> <li>• must meet habitual residence requirement</li> <li>• homogeneity vs cultural diversity of the population, readiness to accept migrants, openness, etc.</li> </ul>

Source: adapted from International Organization for Migration (2017)

The factors that the IOM identifies as contributing to an increase or decrease in vulnerability are summarised in Table 0.2 above. It shows that vulnerability reflects the interplay of individual, household and community factors, with wider socio-economic influences. The vulnerable status of migrants in Ireland may reflect:

- Their legal status in this country and the suite of rights and entitlements to social security benefits and services which depend on this
- Factors related to their own personal histories, which predate their arrival in Ireland (such as low education)
- Factors related to their experience since moving to Ireland (e.g. low-paid or precarious employment)

Structural, socio-economic factors (such as the availability of jobs or migrants' entitlement to benefits or to work).

In this report, an individual's status as a migrant is identified primarily on the basis of their country of birth. This approach was adopted to ensure that the analysis captured as many people from a migrant background as possible. Some sections in the report also identify migrants with reference to their nationality, but this approach is not used widely because it excludes individuals who migrated to Ireland and subsequently took Irish citizenship, and therefore underestimates the scale of migration, particularly from outside the EU (migrants from this background are more likely to take Irish citizenship).

Although the experience of migrants from individual countries is examined in this report, to ensure concision, throughout most of the analysis, migrants' countries of birth are organised into categories:

- the United Kingdom<sup>7</sup>
- 'Other EU15 countries': meaning the other 13 countries (i.e. apart from Ireland and the

UK) that were also EU members prior to EU enlargement in 2004 – Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Sweden

- 'Post 2004 EU member states': the countries that acceded to EU membership in or after 2004 (Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia)
- 'Non-EU' countries.

These categorisations reflect the factors that contribute to increased or decreased risk of vulnerability, as set out in Table 0.2. For instance, UK migrants are likely to be native English speakers and, as a result of the Common Travel Area (CTA) arrangements between the UK and Irish governments, UK citizens living in Ireland have rights that are almost identical to those of their Irish counterparts, and therefore much greater rights than migrants from other countries (Maher, 2017) (see Chapter Two). People born in the 'other EU15' countries enjoy similar rights to Irish nationals and in 2000 their level of economic development was broadly similar to that of Ireland, but they are unlikely to be native English speakers. People born in countries that acceded to EU membership in or after 2004 share many of the characteristics of migrants from the 'other EU15' countries, but the level of economic development of the 'post 2004 EU member states' was much lower in 2000 when their GDP per capita was only 40% of the average in the 15 old member states (the EU15) (European Commission, 2009). People born in countries outside the European Union are the fourth major category used in this analysis. This decision reflects the very different legal rights to live and work in Ireland and avail of social security benefits and public services that people from 'non-EU' countries enjoy compared to migrants from within the EU.

<sup>7</sup> This research was conducted prior to the departure of the UK from the EU.

## Research Methods and Tasks

This study was implemented in five steps or work packages (WPs). These encompassed the following research tasks.

**WP 1. Background research:** To clarify the context for the research, the study commenced by collating background information on the migration into Ireland since 1990. This included: an historical overview of migration trends, macro data on the dynamics of migration flows since 1990, the nationality of migrants, and analysis of statistics on developments in other Western European countries in order to locate the Irish experience in a comparative context.

**WP 2. Literature review:** A thorough review of the research on migration into Ireland, with a special emphasis on migrants most likely to be in vulnerable situations, was then conducted in order to:

- a. examine the definitions of vulnerable migrants that are offered in the literature,
- b. review the research evidence on the characteristics and experiences of the vulnerable migrant population and, on this basis,
- c. consider how vulnerable migrants should be defined in the Irish context.

**WP 3. Policy and legislative review:** Next, the policy and legislation relating to migrants' rights and use of benefits and social services was reviewed. This aspect of the research devoted particular attention to the differences between UK migrants, those from other EU countries and those from

outside the EU. Both international policy reports and research as well as Irish material was examined in this phase of the research. This included:

- Legislation and government strategies relevant to migration to Ireland
- Policy reports, including Citizens Information Board reports and policy briefs
- Statistical overviews and relevant reports published by the websites of public authorities and non-governmental organisations dealing with migration or providing benefits or services to migrants

**WP 4. Qualitative Research:** This phase of research involved in-depth, semi-structured interviews with representatives of organisations that provide information to migrants, particularly migrants in vulnerable situations, on their rights and entitlements. Representatives of nine of these organisations were interviewed and some were interviewed on two occasions. Details of the organisations interviewed and the dates of interviews are set out in Table 0.3 below.

In addition, details of a proportion of queries submitted by migrant clients of the Citizens Information Services were analysed. This information was sourced from the Oyster database of queries to these services. This analysis included queries submitted in 2017 and the first three quarters of 2018, which had been identified the CIS as flagging policy or administrative/operational barriers that prevent migrants from accessing services.

**Table 0.3 Organisations Interviewed for the Research<sup>8</sup>**

Organisation	Location
Crosscare Migrant Project	Dublin
Citizens Information Service	Blanchardstown, Dublin
Citizens Information Service	O'Connell Street, Dublin
Citizens Information Service	Balbriggan, Co Dublin
Citizens Information Service	Caherciveen, Co Kerry
Department of Justice	Dublin
Doras Luimní	Limerick
Immigrant Council of Ireland	Dublin
SIPTU Trade Union	Dublin
Threshold	Dublin



<sup>8</sup> Interviews conducted August 2018 - March 2019.

- This phase of the research was intended to:
- Capture the views of frontline agencies which provide information, advice and advocacy to migrants
- Scope the information, advice and advocacy needs of vulnerable migrants
- Scope and assess the effectiveness of the response by information service providers to vulnerable migrants' information needs
- Identify policy or administrative/operational barriers that prevent migrants in vulnerable situations from accessing services

**WP 5. Quantitative Research:** Next, a statistical profile of the migration into Ireland since 1990 and also of migrants' use of Citizens Information Services was assembled. This exercise focused on exploring the issues identified in WP4 in more detail, in terms of the categories of migrants identified by information service providers as the most vulnerable and also most in need of information, advocacy and advice services. The following quantitative data were employed for this purpose:

- a. Census of Population data. Census data on the characteristics of individual migrants from EU countries and their households were used to identify the level of vulnerable migration into Ireland, beginning in 2001. This exercise employed the 10% sample of census microdata which is made available by the Central Statistics Office (CSO) for reanalysis and can be downloaded from the website of IPUMS-International, Minnesota Population Center. A total of 10% sample data from all censuses conducted between 2001 and 2011 were analysed. This was supplemented with data from the full 2016 census, which was analysed on request by the CSO

because the 10% sample of this census was not available at the time of writing.

- b. Quantitative data on migrants' queries to the CIS in 2017, 2018 generated from this organisation's database of queries.

## **WP 6. Project Write-up and Drafting of Conclusions and Recommendations.**

### **Organisation of the Report**

This report is organised into the four further chapters, which examine the following issues:

- **Chapter One:** sets out the policy and legislative review. It examines the rights which migrants from different countries have when living in Ireland and reviews government policy and supports for migrants, their integration, and information supports for them.
- **Chapter Two:** uses census data to examine migrants' legal status and the extent to which this is associated with vulnerability risks. Information from the database of queries to the CISs and interviews with staff in CISs and other key informants are then used to examine the implications of this for information services.
- **Chapter Three:** employs the same approach to examine migrants' employment, language skills and social security benefits usage, and the implications of these for information services.
- **Chapter Four:** adopts the same approach in order to examine migrants' locational, housing and household characteristics.
- **Chapter Five:** sets out the 'key findings' research regarding the scale and implications of vulnerability among the migrant population, and sets out recommendations intended to enable information service providers to meet the needs of this population.

# 1. Review of Policy and Legislation

## Introduction

To contextualise the discussions of the scale, character and implications of migration of people in more vulnerable situations to Ireland, which is set out in the remainder of this report, this chapter reviews the rights and entitlements of migrants to live, work and access social security benefits and social services in Ireland, and the policies, treaties and legislation that underpin these. It also reviews Irish government policy on the integration of migrants, combatting discrimination against them and addressing any socio-economic disadvantages they experience.

The discussion presented here is organised into three sections. The first of these explains that citizens of European Union member states who migrate to Ireland enjoy a much more wide-ranging and robust set of rights to work and live in this country and claim benefits and use public services here than their counterparts from outside the EU. This is followed by discussion of the additional rights and entitlements enjoyed by United Kingdom citizens who move to Ireland, which are stronger than those available to migrants from other EU countries. Finally, the more limited suite of rights and entitlements enjoyed by citizens of countries outside of the European Union (non-EU migrants) is examined.

## EU Migrants' Rights and Entitlements

### Freedom of Movement

The right to free movement of workers between EU member states is one fundamental right associated with EU membership. It is one of the 'four freedoms' established in the 1957 Treaty of Rome, which is the founding treaty of the EU. This right has been extended since then

by other EU treaties and legislation and also by judgments of the European Court of Justice (ECJ): the court responsible for interpreting EU law (Anderson, 2015).

For instance, regulations introduced in 1968, and amended several times since then, stipulate that citizens of EU members states have the right to seek a job in another member state and, if they do so, must be treated equally with respect to conditions of employment, remuneration, taxation and social security (O'Keefe, 1985). These regulations also specify that the rights of family members living in the host member state should be equal to those of citizens of the host country (Guild, 1999). EU directives adopted in the 1990s expanded the definition of freedom of movement beyond workers to include certain economically inactive groups such as unemployed people and students. However members of these groups can only move to another member state if they have sufficient resources to ensure they are not a burden on the host country (Anderson, 2015).

The practical implications that these policies and legislation currently have for citizens of another EU member state who move to live and work in Ireland are set out in Table 1.1.

### Social Security and Pension Rights

To further facilitate freedom of movement and in response to a series of ECJ judgments regarding barriers to EU citizens exercising these rights, the EU introduced additional rights to claim benefits in another EU member state and to merge social security and occupation pension contributions accumulated in different member states (Anderson, 2015).

Notably this action, which commenced in the early 1970s, focused on the *coordination of*

social security benefit provision in EU member states. This emphasis on coordination means that EU intervention does not replace and harmonise the member states' individual legal frameworks, and it enables member states to disregard its provisions for several fields of social security (unemployment, sickness, maternity supports, for instance), which limits their use by migrant workers (Cornelissen, 2007). An EU regulation introduced in 2004 also stipulates that intra-EU migrants' access to social security benefits can vary depending on the duration of their residence in another member state. It distinguishes between EU citizens who reside in another member state for a) three months or less, b) three to five

years, and c) more than three years. It specifies that a member state is not obliged to provide social assistance benefits to individuals in the first of these categories, and requires these individuals to demonstrate that they have sufficient resources to maintain themselves independently in the host country. However, this regulation also requires member states to provide benefits to all EU citizens and their families who are resident for more than three months, and enables these individuals to seek permanent residency after five years of living in another member state, and thereby gain the same rights to access social assistance benefits as the native population (Jorens and Van Overmeiren, 2009).

**Table 1.1 Practical Implications of EU Freedom of Movement Provisions for EU Migrants to Ireland.**

Right to enter, reside and work in another EU member state	EU citizens have the right to enter another EU member state with few restrictions other than the requirement to hold a valid identity card or passport. They also have the right to reside and work in another EU member state for up to three months, with no restrictions such as visas.
	This right to freedom of movement covers workers and their families, those seeking employment, students and EU nationals returning to their country of origin after having worked abroad.
	This right applies equally to most but not all workers from EU member states irrespective of their contracts of employment or economic sector.
	Workers from other member states cannot be treated differently from nationals with respect to employment conditions (e.g., recruitment, dismissal, remuneration, trade union representation, training and taxation). They also cannot be discriminated against with regard to language requirements that go beyond those necessary for the job.

Rights of migrants' family members	For the purpose of freedom of movement, family members are defined as: a spouse or civil partner, descendants aged under 21, dependent children or dependent ascendants.
Right to remain after ceasing work	<p>Both family members who are and are not EU nationals are covered by these provisions. However, Irish law requires family members who are not EU nationals to register with the Garda National Immigration Bureau and receive an Immigration Certificate of Registration and, if necessary, a visa if they wish to work.</p> <p>After three months of residence in another member state, EU migrants who are not engaged in economic activity must demonstrate that they have sufficient resources to ensure they do not become a burden on the host country's social assistance benefits system, and that they have sickness insurance if they wish to remain living there.</p> <p>EU migrants who have worked in another member state for a period have the right to remain in the host country for a period exceeding six months after ceasing work if they continue to seek employment in the host member state.</p> <p>After five years of uninterrupted residency, EU migrants acquire the right of permanent residence in the host member state and are no longer subject to any conditions on their right of residency and can access social security benefits in the same way as its nationals can. However, these rights are lost if the migrant leaves the host country for two years or more.</p>

Source: Schmid-Druner (2018).

EU treaty provisions and legislation also enable EU citizens to move to another part of the EU and claim benefits from their original country. These provisions for 'exportability of benefits' apply to all categories of social security benefits, with two exceptions:

- As mentioned above, EU member states are not obliged to pay unemployment benefits for three months.
- Most social assistance benefits are non-exportable.

Since the mid-2000s, the EU has begun to extend its regulation of public social security benefits to cover occupational (i.e. private) pension schemes. EU legislation has regulated these pension funds and enabled them to

operate across borders, and also provided for the portability of occupation pensions between EU member states (Anderson, 2015).

The practical implications of these provisions for migrants from another EU member state who come to live in Ireland are detailed in Table 1.2.

### Education and Recognition of Qualifications

The European Union has been involved in funding educational provision in member states, particularly vocational education, and facilitating educational exchanges such as via the Erasmus programme for third-level students. However, EU involvement in coordinating educational provision has not been extensive to date (Anderson, 2015).

**Table 1.2 Practical Implications of EU Social Security and Pension Rights Provision for EU Migrants to Ireland**

Access to social security benefits in Ireland	<p>They do not qualify for any payment under the Irish Social Welfare Acts except for Emergency Needs Payments (ENPs) or Urgent Needs Payments (UNPs) for the first three months of residence.</p> <p>After that period, unemployed migrants may qualify for Jobseeker's Allowance and other social assistance benefits if they satisfy a means test as well as other conditions, including the Legal Right to Reside and the Habitual Residence Condition.</p>
Portability of social security benefits from country or origin	<p>However, they transfer unemployment benefit from their country of origin, to be paid in Ireland for up to three months in every case or in some cases up to six months.</p> <p>Like all EU migrants, if they have accumulated an entitlement to a social insurance benefit in another country, such as a contributory old-age pension, they can claim this when living in Ireland.</p> <p>Alternatively, they can have their record of contribution taken into account when accumulating sufficient social insurance contributions to qualify for benefits in Ireland.</p> <p>They are covered by the legislation of one country at a time so are only required to pay social insurance contributions in one country.</p>

Source: Schmid-Druner (2018).

EU law requires that the children of EU migrants are provided with the same access to education and associated supports such as grants that are available to citizens of the host country. To enable professionally qualified workers to move freely for work within the EU, the EU has also implemented measures to encourage automatic recognition and mutual evaluation of professional qualifications.

Separate from the formal EU institutions, discussions between EU governments has led to significant standardisation of higher-education qualification standards across Europe. The Bologna Process commenced in 1999 and was finalised in 2005. As a result, 47 countries (including EU member states and non-EU countries) now share a common basic degree structure and grant comparable degrees.

This has greatly facilitated the transferability of degrees across member states and thereby facilitated increased mobility (Anderson, 2015).

### Restrictions on EU Migrants' Rights

EU citizens' rights to live, work and claim benefits in another EU member state are not without restriction, however.

For instance, member states are allowed to refuse an EU national the right of entry or residency on the grounds of public policy, public security or public health. However, in practice, this can only be done in limited circumstances – if the person concerned represents a sufficiently serious and present threat to the fundamental interests of the host state.

As mentioned above, after three months of residence in another member state, EU migrants who are not engaged in economic activity must demonstrate that they can support themselves and will not become a burden on the host member state's social assistance benefits system and that they have sickness insurance.

Under EU law, member states can reserve certain public-sector positions for nationals. However, European Court of Justice judgments have restricted use of this provision to posts that safeguard the general interests of the state, such as internal or external security (Schmid-Druner, 2018).

Restrictions on the free movement of workers can also be applied for a period of up to seven years after a country joins the EU. However, these restrictions only apply to workers (travel to other EU member states for leisure or self-employment cannot be restricted), and Ireland has not applied any restrictions to citizens of any of the countries that have joined the EU since 2004.

Some of the social security benefit entitlements available to EU citizens who move to work in another EU member state don't apply to 'posted workers' – i.e. an employee who is sent by their employer to work in another EU member state on a temporary basis. Under current EU legislation, an employee can be posted abroad for a maximum of two years and, during this time, they remain attached to the social security system of their home country (Cremers, Dølvik and Bosch, 2007).

EU migrants' access to means-tested social assistance benefits provided by the Irish government is also subject to some restrictions that are not generally applied to Irish citizens. To qualify for social assistance payments in Ireland, applicants must have a legal 'right to reside' in Ireland and must also be 'habitually

resident' in the country. These are separate, but related, legal tests, both of which must be satisfied in order to receive social assistance benefits in Ireland (FLAC, 2016). The right to reside rules reflect the provisions of the relevant EU legislation, as outlined above. Details of the categories of people who have and don't have a right to reside in Ireland in normal circumstances are set out in Table 1.3. The Habitual Residence Condition relates to whether the claimant has established his or her centre of interest in the host state (see: It is assessed by the Department of Social Protection (DSP) (2018)<sup>9</sup>, with reference to the five criteria:

- the length and continuity of living in the State or another country
- the length and reasons for any absence from the State
- the nature and pattern of the person's employment
- the person's main centre of interest
- the future intentions of the person applying for social welfare

Legislation introduced in 2014 requires that intra-EU migrants who apply for means tested social security benefits and child benefit in Ireland must, in order to remain qualified for the benefit, be habitually resident in Ireland on the date when the application is made, and remain habitually resident thereafter. This means that claimants' habitual residence status may be reviewed and changed if, for instance, they leave Ireland for a significant period, and they may become ineligible for benefits as a result. Spouses, civil partners or cohabitants and any dependent children of EU migrants are not required to satisfy the habitual residence condition in their own right. For a self-employed person to satisfy the habitual residence condition, the claimant must register his or her

<sup>9</sup> [https://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/social\\_welfare/irish\\_social\\_welfare\\_system/social\\_assistance\\_payments/residency\\_requirements\\_for\\_social\\_assistance\\_in\\_ireland.html](https://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/social_welfare/irish_social_welfare_system/social_assistance_payments/residency_requirements_for_social_assistance_in_ireland.html).

business with the Revenue Commissioners, must demonstrate that the business is financially viable, and must comply with any statutory or official requirements for self-employed people generally.<sup>10</sup> There are some exemptions to the HRC condition, however.

According to EU law, an EU migrant worker has the same right to family benefits (such as Child Benefit) as an Irish national living in Ireland and, therefore, he or she does not have to satisfy the Habitual Residence Condition in order to qualify.

### Table 1.3 Categories of EU Migrants With and Without the Right to Reside in Ireland, for Social Welfare Purposes

#### Categories of EU migrants with a right to reside

- UK nationals from the Common Travel Area (CTA)
- EU nationals who are employed or self-employed in Ireland
- EU nationals who have been employed in Ireland for over a year and are now unemployed, provided they are registered as jobseekers with the Department of Social Protection
- EU nationals, who have been employed in Ireland for less than a year and are now unemployed, may stay for another 6 months provided they are registered as jobseekers with the Department of Social Protection.
- EU nationals who can support themselves, their spouse/civil partner and any accompanying dependents and who have comprehensive sickness insurance
- EU nationals who are visitors or jobseekers can stay for up to three months but cannot claim social assistance payments during that period.

#### Categories of EU migrants without a right to reside

- An EU citizen who is neither employed nor self-employed, nor a dependent family member of another EU citizen, has a right to reside in Ireland but has no entitlement to receive social assistance benefits in Ireland for the 3 months following their entry into the State.
- Those without sufficient means to support themselves, their spouse/civil partner and dependents and are therefore a burden on the social assistance system
- Those who are not students (with comprehensive sickness insurance)
- Those who have not been employed or self-employed in Ireland
- Those who have been employed in Ireland for more than a year and are now unemployed but have not registered with this Department as a jobseeker
- Those who have been employed in Ireland for less than a year and have been unemployed for more than six consecutive months, or who have not registered as a jobseeker

Source: FLAC (2016)

<sup>10</sup> [https://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/social\\_welfare/irish\\_social\\_welfare\\_system/social\\_assistance\\_payments/residency\\_requirements\\_for\\_social\\_assistance\\_in\\_ireland.html](https://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/social_welfare/irish_social_welfare_system/social_assistance_payments/residency_requirements_for_social_assistance_in_ireland.html) )

Family benefits include most (but not all) benefits intended to meet family expenses. In Ireland's case the following benefits fall into this category:

- Child Benefit
- Working Family Payment
- One-Parent Family Payment
- Guardian's (Non-Contributory) Payment, and
- Domiciliary Care Allowance.

An EU migrant worker who enters employment but subsequently becomes involuntarily unemployed or incapacitated is entitled to access Supplementary Welfare Allowance (SWA) without having habitual residence assessed<sup>11</sup> If the employment lasted less than twelve months, he or she is entitled to access SWA for six months; if the employment lasted more than a year, payment can continue indefinitely while the claimant continues to actively seek employment.<sup>12</sup>

### Additional Rights of UK Migrants under the Common Travel Area

The Common Travel Area (CTA) refers to an assortment of laws and agreements negotiated between the Irish and UK governments in the decades after Irish Independence. They confer on the citizens of both countries the right to travel freely between them and to vote and

access social security benefits and education in both jurisdictions. The emergence of the CTA reflects the failure to institute passport controls between Ireland and the UK after Irish independence and the fact that, until the establishment of the Republic of Ireland in 1949, Irish citizens were also British subjects and consequently had the right to live and work in the UK. These effectively 'open border' arrangements were formalised into law from the 1930s, beginning with the exemption of UK citizens from the Irish Aliens Act, 1935, and continuing in UK legislation such as the Ireland Act 1949 (which states that Ireland is not a foreign country for legal purposes) and the Immigration Act 1971, which exempts those arriving from Ireland from immigration controls (Maher, 2017).

Maher (2017: 3) argues that, "In essence", the CTA means that "British and Irish citizens' rights in the two countries are almost indistinguishable". She cites the inability of UK citizens to vote in referenda and presidential elections in Ireland as "being one of the very few differences" between the rights of UK and Irish citizens in Ireland (ibid). As a result of the CTA, UK citizens are entitled to live, work, claim benefits and access public services in Ireland without any conditions or restrictions (and *vice versa*). The practical implications of the CTA for UK citizens who migrate to Ireland are set out in Table 1.4.

11 [https://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/social\\_welfare/social\\_welfare\\_payments/supplementary\\_welfare\\_schemes/supplementary\\_welfare\\_allow.html](https://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/social_welfare/social_welfare_payments/supplementary_welfare_schemes/supplementary_welfare_allow.html)

12 *ibid*

**Table 1.4 Practical Implications of the Common Travel Area for UK Migrants to Ireland**

Right to enter and reside in Ireland	They do not need a passport when travelling to Ireland from within the Common Travel Area, although they can be asked for proof of UK citizenship.
	They do not need a visa, any form of residence permit or employment permit in Ireland.
	Unlike other EU citizens, UK citizens may retire to Ireland without having to establish that they have sufficient resources or that they have private health insurance.
Right to claim benefits and use public services in Ireland	UK citizens are entitled to avail of public services and social welfare payments on the same basis as Irish citizens living in Ireland.
Portability of social security benefits from country or origin	There is almost complete portability of social insurance benefits between the UK and Ireland; UK citizens have the same access to Irish public services as Irish citizens.

Source: Home Office (2017);

The Common Travel Area predates membership of the EU by both Ireland and the UK, and is not dependent on both countries' continued membership of the EU and has therefore remained in place after Brexit. The right of the UK and Ireland to continue to operate and extend the CTA is explicitly recognised in the 1992 EU Maastricht Treaty.

However, not all aspects of the CTA are underpinned by legislation; some merely reflect custom and practice, and treaty; Murray, O'Donoghue and Warwick (2018) suggested that any omissions may need to be rectified after Brexit, perhaps by a treaty between the UK and Irish governments or legislation in both countries. On 8 May 2019, the Irish and UK governments signed a [Memorandum of Understanding \(pdf\)](#) reaffirming the Common Travel Area and identifying the rights and privileges of Irish and UK citizens within the

CTA. It also reaffirms the [commitment to maintain the CTA following Brexit \(pdf\)](#).

Source: [citizensinformation.ie](#). The [Withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union \(Consequential Provisions\) Act 2019](#) places many of the Common Travel Area rights in legislation for the first time.

### Rights and Entitlements of Migrants from non-EU Countries

Compared to citizens of the United Kingdom and other European Union member states, migrants from non-EU countries have more restricted rights to live and work in Ireland, and to access social security benefits and public services. However, the details of these rights vary according to non-EU migrants' country of origin, and also the purpose of their migration to Ireland and their legal status here (Quinn, *et al.*, 2014).

### Right to Reside, Work or Study in Ireland

For instance, non-EU nationals' rights to enter Ireland and reside, work or study here are subject to some restrictions. Unlike UK and EU citizens, citizens of countries outside the EU must apply for and secure 'immigration permission' to visit or study in Ireland for more than 90 days, or apply for asylum in Ireland to seek protection from persecution in their home country. If applications for immigration permission are successful, migrants are issued with an Irish Residence Permit (IRP). This is time-limited, and on expiry non-EU nationals must apply for an extension or leave the country.

In addition, most non-EU migrants who wish to work must secure an employment permit, which in turn requires that they find a job and an employer to sponsor them prior to arrival in Ireland. Companies sponsoring non-EU nationals to work in Ireland can only do so if the skills required for the job cannot be found locally or within the EU (Kahanec and Zimmermann, 2011). There are different categories of employment permits and all applications for permits must be made at least twelve weeks before the employment start date.

Non-EU citizens who are habitually resident in Ireland can invite their families to visit or stay in Ireland provided they satisfy the requirements regarding the immigration permission of the sponsor (Arnold and Quinn, 2017). In recent years, the majority of family reunification-related applications by habitually resident non-EU nationals in Ireland have been for purposes associated with education (Barrett, McGinnity and Quinn, 2017).

Citizens of non-EU countries can also reside in Ireland for study but must secure immigration permission for this purpose. To do so, they must have been accepted onto a programme of study provided by a recognised education provider in Ireland, have private health insurance, and be able to demonstrate that they have adequate resources to pay the fees for their course of study and maintain themselves while resident in Ireland.

Citizens of countries outside the EU can apply for asylum in Ireland if they cannot return to their home country due to fear of persecution (this option is not available to EU citizens). After an initial interview, asylum seekers are provided with a Temporary Residence Certificate (TRC) and those who require accommodation are referred to the Reception and Integration Agency (RIA), which will house them in a type of institutional accommodation known as a 'direct provision centre' (DPC). Applicants do not have any choice with regard to the location of the DPC to which they are assigned. Following assessment of an asylum application, unsuccessful applicants no longer have the right to remain in Ireland. Successful applicants are granted refugee status or subsidiary protection, which gives them the same rights to live, work, claim benefits and access public services in Ireland as an Irish citizen. Some asylum applicants have received permission to remain in Ireland for another reason such as family or personal circumstances and also receive the same rights as an Irish citizen. On several occasions the Irish government has also accepted 'programme refugees' under the UNHCR 1951 Refugee Convention, most recently from Syria in 2014. These are automatically granted refugee status and thereby the rights of citizenship on entry to Ireland.

Under family reunification provisions, those who are granted refugee or subsidiary protection status, may apply to the Minister for Justice, within a period of one year, for permission for certain members of their family (such as a spouse, civil partner, unmarried children under 18 years old, and the parents and siblings of applicants under 18 years) to enter and reside in Ireland.

### Entitlement to Claim Social Security Benefits

Migrants from non-EU countries generally have more restricted entitlements to social security benefits than Irish and EU citizens. However, these entitlements vary depending on the non-EU migrant's country of origin, purpose of their

visit to Ireland, their legal status here and also the type of social security benefit (Timonen and Doyle, 2009). Quinn *et al.*, 2014) argue that, as a result of these complexities, non-EU migrants' entitlement to social security benefits is not always clear. For instance, citizens of non-EU countries who come to Ireland to study are not entitled to claim social security benefits. Nor are citizens of non-EU countries who have come to Ireland for the purpose of being with family members and have not been granted the right to work.

Citizens of non-EU countries who have the right to work in Ireland (and their family members who have been granted the right to work) may be eligible for a social insurance benefit if they have a sufficient record of social insurance contributions. Otherwise, to be eligible for a payment, they will have to pass a means test and prove an adequate connection with Ireland via the habitual residence condition. Citizens of non-EU countries who have come to Ireland seeking asylum and been granted a form of protected status may also qualify for social security benefits, subject to meeting the same conditions.

In addition, to qualify for certain Irish social insurance benefits, citizens of non-EU countries with which Ireland has bilateral agreements may be entitled to combine their social insurance contributions from their home country with contributions paid in Ireland. Ireland currently has bilateral agreements of this type with Australia, Canada, Japan, the Korean Republic, New Zealand and the United States of America.<sup>13</sup> These agreements enable claimants to access the following social insurance benefits: the State Pension (Contributory); Invalidity Pension; Widow's, Widower's or Surviving Civil Partner's (Contributory) Pension, and Guardian's Payment (Contributory).<sup>14</sup>

## Access to Healthcare

Access to state-subsidised healthcare in Ireland depends on residence and ability to pay, rather than citizenship, right of residence or a record of contributions. Everyone who is ordinarily resident in Ireland or intends to be resident in the Republic of Ireland for at least one year and meets Health Service Executive (HSE) requirements (e.g., satisfies a means test) has the same rights of access to publicly funded healthcare as an Irish citizen (see the Citizens Information Board [CIB]: Health Services for visitors to Ireland; European Union Commission, 2010).

In most cases, migrants from non-EU countries who meet these conditions are qualified to access state-subsidised healthcare, like the rest of the population. Non-EU migrants who don't meet these conditions – for instance, because they don't meet the residency test or the means test – can avail of health services but will be required to pay. However, non-EU migrants who are in Ireland for educational purposes or are the family members of work visa holders are required to have private health insurance.

## Support for Integration of Migrants

Since migration into Ireland has increased, government has also put policies and services in place to support the integration of migrants. A comprehensive strategy to achieve this is outlined in the *Migrant Integration Strategy* published in 2017 by the Department of Justice and Equality. This policy statement outlines a "long-term vision of Ireland as a society in which migrants and those of migrant origin play active roles in communities, workplaces and politics" (Department of Justice, 2017: 2).

Notably, from the perspective of this report, in order to achieve this vision, the strategy

<sup>13</sup> The [Convention on Social Security between Ireland and the United Kingdom \(pdf\)](#) maintains the recognition of, and access to, social insurance entitlements in both jurisdictions following the UK leaving the EU on the 31st January 2020. This means that the rights of Irish citizens living in Ireland to benefit from social insurance contributions made when working in the UK are protected and vice versa.

<sup>14</sup> [Citizensinformation.ie https://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/social\\_welfare/irish\\_social\\_welfare\\_system/claiming\\_a\\_social\\_welfare\\_payment/social\\_insurance\\_contributions\\_from\\_abroad.html#le949c](https://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/social_welfare/irish_social_welfare_system/claiming_a_social_welfare_payment/social_insurance_contributions_from_abroad.html#le949c)

identifies the need for better information provision to migrants by all government departments, including:

- Provision of information to migrants in language-appropriate formats
- Ongoing intercultural awareness training for all frontline staff
- Signage in public offices indicating where interpretation is available
- Clear information on how to make a complaint about racist behaviour by staff or another customer

The strategy also sets out other policy actions intended to increase migrant integration, including:

- a target of 1% for the employment of EEA migrants and people from minority ethnic communities in the civil service
- the establishment by local authorities of networks to reach out to hard-to-reach migrant groups so to help them to engage with government departments and to provide information on their needs
- the publication of the second National Intercultural Health Strategy
- the establishment of a Communities Integration Fund, intended to support sports organisations, faith organisations and other community organisations in promoting the integration of migrants into their communities
- the monitoring of current school enrolment policies over time to assess their impact on the enrolment of migrant students
- the inclusion of a language component in education and training programmes for unemployed migrants with poor English proficiency

- the establishment of initiatives to ensure that migrants' needs in relation to skills acquisition and labour-market activation are addressed and to encourage the business sector to play a role in promoting integration
- measures to encourage migrants to vote and to participate in local and national politics to the extent that these areas are legally open to them

The Office for the Promotion of Migrant Integration (OPMI)<sup>15</sup> is responsible for promoting migrant integration.<sup>16</sup> The OPMI develops, leads and coordinates migrant integration policy and its implementation across other government department, services and agencies. This office also coordinates Ireland's international reporting requirements relating to racism and integration, and overseeing the operation of the Irish Refugee Protection Programme (established in 2015). As well as working with government agencies, the OPMI works in partnership with civil society organisations to implement its plans to promote migrant integration. In recent years, for instance, the OPMI delivered a series of events across Ireland to promote the political participation of migrants, in partnership with the Immigrant Council of Ireland, Akidwa, Cairde, the International Organisation for Migration, Forum Polonia, New Communities Partnership, Places of Sanctuary Ireland and Wezesh. The OPMI funds civil society organisations that work on migrant integration and social inclusion, as well as providing small grants to support local community-based integration projects. It also funds the building of facilities such as community centres and creches in locations where the migrant population is large.

15 The Office for the Promotion of Migrant Integration at the Department of Justice ceased in 2020 and issues related to the integration of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees were delegated to the new Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth

16 Responsibility for migrant integration transferred to the new Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth in October 2020.

## Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed the relevant policies and legislation on migrant rights and entitlements to live and work in Ireland and access Irish government-funded social security benefits and social services. It has revealed a complex picture of rights and entitlements, which vary depending on the migrant's country of origin and therefore legal status in Ireland, the purpose and duration of their stay, and the social service and benefit in question.

UK citizens who move to Ireland enjoy an almost identical suite of rights and entitlements as Irish citizens. Citizens of other EU member states enjoy the right to enter, live, study and work in Ireland subject to few restrictions. They have the same rights to access health and education services as Irish citizens, but their right to access social security benefits varies depending on several factors. They can also draw on social insurance contributions made in their country of origin when living in Ireland, and claim Irish government means-tested social assistance benefits after three months

of working in Ireland. However, the latter is subject to restrictions. To qualify for social assistance payments in Ireland, applicants must have a legal 'right to reside' in Ireland and must also be 'habitually resident' in the country. Compared to citizens of the UK and other EU member states, migrants from non-EU countries have more restricted rights to live and work in Ireland, and to access social security benefits and public services. However, the details of these rights vary according to non-EU migrants' country of origin, the purpose of their migration to Ireland and their legal status here.

This complex picture greatly increases the need for information, advocacy and advice services provision to emigrants, particularly vulnerable migrants, on the one hand, and the challenges associated with providing these services on the other. To help enable information, advocacy and advice service providers to meet these challenges, the three chapters that follow identify those migrants who are most in need of their support because they are most likely to find themselves in a vulnerable situation.



## 2. Immigration Status

### Introduction

Chapter Two explained the differences in the right to enter, live, study and work in Ireland held by migrants from the UK, from other EU member states and from outside the EU. As a consequence, country of origin and citizenship have substantial implications for migrants' experience in Ireland and for the information, advice and advocacy supports they require. This was emphasised by an interviewee from the Blanchardstown Citizens Information Service, who explained: "So really the status that they are in Ireland with really determines what they can and can't do and what they can and can't access in terms of employment and education. We find that this filters down to the children as well".

These issues are explored in more depth in this chapter, which uses census data, qualitative and quantitative information from the database of queries to the Citizen Information Services, and interviews with information service providers to examine the implications of migrants' immigration status for their vulnerability, and information, advice and advocacy service provision.

### Migrants from the UK and EU Member States

Migrants from within the EU have the right to enter, live, study and work in Ireland and also to access social security benefits and public services in Ireland, subject to few restrictions. As a result, there was a consensus among the information providers interviewed for the research that, in terms of their immigration status, migrants from these countries are less vulnerable than their counterparts from outside the EU and also require less intensive advice and information on issues related to their immigration status.

This view is largely, but not entirely, supported by the data on the migration status-related queries submitted to the Citizens Information Services in 2017/2018 (see Figure 2.1). These data reveal that 5.5% of queries about legal status or moving country were submitted by clients born in the UK, 4.0% by clients born in EU15 countries and 14.5% by clients born in post-2004 EU member states. In the case of the first two of these categories, the level of queries broadly reflects that which would be expected in view of their representation in the population-at-large: 7.3% of Irish residents were born in the UK and 1.4% were born in other EU15 countries, according to the 2016 census (see Figure 0.2). In contrast, people born in post-2004 EU member states represented just 4.9% of the Irish population in 2016, which indicates that their rate of queries regarding immigration status is higher than expected. Further analysis of the details of queries about immigrant status reveals that migrants from the UK and other EU countries most commonly raised issues related to 'moving to Ireland' and 'Irish citizenship' (see Table 2.1).

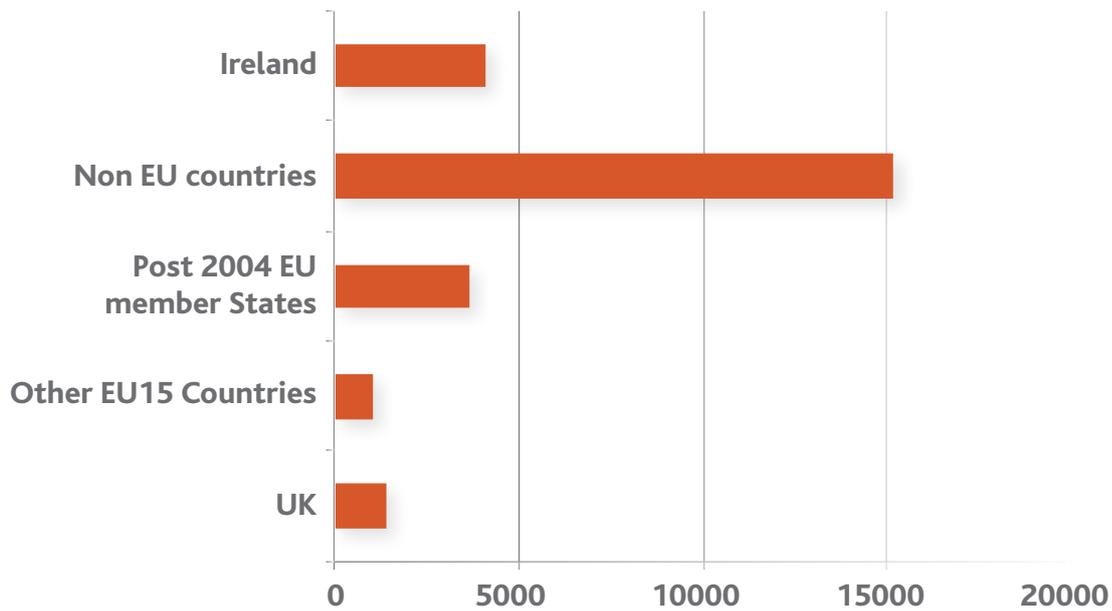
Interviews with information service providers reveal that many of the queries raised by UK and EU migrants related to incorrect legal interpretations of their rights and entitlements and inconsistencies in this regard between different government departments and agencies. In this vein, a representative of Blanchardstown CIS reported:

In general... the law is really, really protective of EU migrants and where it falls down sometimes is a lack of understanding or lack of standardisation in ways of applying the law, or delays not to do with Ireland but waiting on other countries to provide information and this is where people get caught.

The database of the details of queries submitted to the Citizens Information Services reveals some examples of this type of challenge. For example, a CIS in the Midlands region reported the case of a Romanian client

who was required to provide proof of residency by the Department of Social Protection (DSP) even though, as an EU citizen, this requirement did not apply to them. Romanian citizens have the same rights as other EU Citizens since 2014.

**Figure 2.1 Number of Queries about Migration Status/Moving Country Submitted to the CIS, by Clients' Country of Origin**



Source: Generated by the authors from the Citizens Information Board Oyster Database.

Note: Migrants are identified by 'country of origin'. These data refer only to the 70% of CIS clients for whom this was recorded in 2017/2018.



**Table 2.1 Details of Queries about Migration Status/Moving Country Submitted to the CIS, by Clients' Country of Origin**

	UK %	Other EU15 Member State %	Post 2004 EU Member State %	Non-EU Country %	Total %
Asylum Seekers and Refugees	0.2	0.5	0.3	5.6	3.6
Brexit	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.3
EU Treaty Rights	3.2	7.9	2.0	2.9	2.7
Family Reunification	3.7	3.8	1.1	6.9	5.1
Irish Residence Permit Applications and Renewals	1.4	3.5	1.4	10.8	3.5
Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service	1.2	2.8	2.3	5.8	4.7
Irish Citizenship	44.6	23.1	64.8	33.7	36.7
Leave to Remain	0.9	1.6	1.0	5.4	3.9
Moving Abroad	1.9	9.4	7.4	0.8	3.4
Moving to Ireland	30.9	33.7	10.2	7.8	14.2
Other	9.4	7.9	7.0	7.8	8.3
Visa	1.4	5.8	2.6	12.4	9.8
Total (N)	1387	1023	3684	15177	25400

Source: Generated by the authors by the Citizens Information Board Oyster Database.

Note: Migrants are identified by 'country of origin'. These data refer only to the 70% of CIS clients for whom this information was recorded in 2017/2018.

## Non-EU Migrants

Figure 2.1 reveals that the Citizens Information Services received much higher levels of queries regarding immigration status from people born outside the EU. Clients born in these countries accounted for 59.8% of all queries regarding immigration status submitted to the CIS in 2017 but accounted for only 5.1% of the Irish population in 2016 (see Figures 2.1 and 0.2).

As explained in Chapter Two, since December 2017, the registration certificate for non-EU migrants has been called the Irish Residence Permit (IRP) (it was previously called a GNIB – a Garda National Immigration Bureau – card, and this term was used by many of the informants interviewed for this study). There was a strong consensus among the information providers interviewed for this research that the requirement to secure an IRP and the risk of losing it rendered non-EU migrants inherently more vulnerable than their counterparts from EU member states, and this means that they require more intensive support from information service providers. The reasons for this were summarised by an interviewee from Crosscare:

So when people come to us it is either immigration status, homeless issue or social welfare issue to a large extent and then their circumstances determine whether we consider them very vulnerable or a little bit vulnerable but they are almost by definition vulnerable in that something is happening to them that could have a very big impact on their lives. Immigration status is enormous. If somebody loses it, it cuts out their ability to work, their access to social welfare, to anything.

A key problem flagged by the majority of the information providers interviewed is that non-EU migrants are at significant risk of losing their immigration status due to marked difficulties in securing appointments with INIS (the Irish

Naturalisation and Immigration Service), which issues the IRP. The application system for IRP is different in Dublin and in the rest of the country. Applicants in the Dublin area must apply online for an INIS appointment and, according to the representative from the Dublin City Centre CIS:

It is practically impossible to get online appointments and people are looking 2-3 months ahead and it is impossible to get online appointments because the system is all booked out. The emergency appointment system very rarely comes to fruition... It is unfair because people who are in Dublin must use that system whereas people in other parts of the country can still rely on the Garda offices. I understand that the new system was put in to try and avoid the huge queues people were meeting but it doesn't seem to work. People come in very stressed and worried because they can't get appointments. People could be waiting for appointments for weeks and we have some who waited 3 months. You can only book 10 weeks in advance and if you go on and there are no available appointments then you are thrown out of the system.

Not being able to access online appointments is a huge source of stress for non-EU migrants and, according to this interviewee, this generates a large number of queries to the Dublin City Centre CIS and other CIS offices: "We are inundated here at the moment and up to 50% of our appointments are due to people worrying about not having IRP appointments". This claim is supported by the data on the focus of queries tabled by non-EU migrants to the CIS, which demonstrates that 10.8% related to the requirement to secure an IRP and a further 5.8% to securing INIS appointments (while 12.8% relate to visas; these are nationwide data) (see Table 2.1)<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> In July 2020, the renewal of all IRPs for applicants in the Dublin area switched to an online only system (as part of a range of measures to deal with pandemic restrictions). First time applicants (and those with new passports) must continue to present in person to the Burgh Quay Registration Office.

In addition to challenges in securing appointments with the INIS, the information providers interviewed also raised concerns about perceived lack of coordination between different sections of the Department of Justice responsible for policy on immigration status and its implementation, which results in different approaches in different INIS offices and even variations in decision-making between officials in the same office. Interviewees linked this situation to the fact that many of the procedures and regulations relating to non-EU citizens' immigration are not based in legislation. A Crosscare representative explained why this situation creates challenges for non-EU migrants and necessitates intensive support from information service providers:

...the reason information is so important is because there is very little legislation – EU treaty rights and citizenship have a legislative basis but everything else is policy-based. So you can't rely on a law to support you and you can only rely on a discretionary application and a general policy.

The information provider representatives interviewed detailed why the implications of not having a valid IRP were so serious for non-EU migrants. For instance, a representative of Dublin City Centre CIS reported: "I have just been speaking to someone who has been trying to get an appointment for a number of months. Their employer has been understanding and has made allowances but from tomorrow if he doesn't have an IRP he will lose his job". An interview with Balbriggan CIS highlighted the potential implications that difficulty in renewing Irish Residence Permits may affect any future citizenship application:

They can only make online appointments, but people come in here and we are constantly trying to get appointments and the GNIB card [i.e. IRP] is about to expire

which means there will be a gap in their stamps which then potentially impacts on any future citizenship application. This issue makes people very nervous because they are required to keep their card in date and they can't prove that they have been trying to get on to the system because there is no record of attempts.<sup>18</sup>

Several interviewees also highlighted challenges in ensuring that non-EU migrants are aware of the need for their children to secure their own Irish Residence Permit if they are living in Ireland when they turn 16. One information service provider explained that, if the children of non-EU migrants failed to do this, "it can actually preclude them from applying for SUSI" (higher education grants provided by Student Universal Support Ireland) and taking up employment. He reported that there seems to be limited awareness of this requirement, and, to rectify this situation, suggested: "as part of the immigration process that, when people turn 16, they should be sent a letter to tell them that they can now apply under their own name under GNIB [i.e. for an IRP] and outline the reasons why they should do it".

## Asylum Seekers and Refugees

The *Migrant Integration Strategy* and the Irish Refugee Protection Programme recognise that asylum seekers and refugees have particular vulnerabilities and needs that must be addressed (Department of Justice, 2017). This was also acknowledged by a Department of Justice official who was interviewed for this study:

Obviously there are particular needs for those that come in through our protection system. So, refugees that come on our own programmes and then asylum seekers who come spontaneously themselves and who may spend years in the protection system.

<sup>18</sup> A temporary automatic extension was implemented for all GNIB card holders that were valid in March 2020 with the extension going up to 20 September 2021. <https://www.gov.ie/en/press-release/8a1d5-minister-mcentee-announces-further-temporary-extension-of-immigration-permissions/>

There are particular integration needs there that are driven by distance from the labour market, what has occurred in their lives and so on, and we need to focus in a targeted way on those issues.

There was a consensus among the information providers interviewed that programme refugees who had entered Ireland at the invitation of the government under the terms of the UN Convention on Human Rights were less vulnerable than “asylum seekers who come spontaneously themselves”, This is because the latter are housed in direct provision centres on arrival in Ireland, often for lengthy periods, and, if they subsequently secure permission to remain in the State (because they are granted refugee status, for instance), transitioning from direct provision can be very challenging. An interviewee from Doras Luimní acknowledged that, although supports are provided for a period after people are granted permission to leave the asylum-seeker protection system, “there is no cohesive plan of action for people transitioning out of direct provision. It is extremely stressful for my clients”. An interviewee from the Department of Justice agreed that until recently it hadn’t been “government policy to integrate [the category of] asylum seekers because we didn’t know if they would be staying and so on”. However, since June 2018, all asylum seekers gained the right to work after nine months in Ireland. The Department of Justice representative acknowledged that these migrants will need to be given access to integration programmes to enable them to take advantage of this opportunity. She pointed out that these migrants already have access to health services and primary and secondary schooling, which support their integration.

In terms of the factors that render ‘spontaneous’ asylum seekers who receive permission to remain in the State vulnerable, the interviewee from Doras Luimní reported that, after people receive notification of their

permission, they can face a wait of up to six months to receive their official letter from the Department of Justice in relation to their status. In her view:

the major information gap is what you do next after you are granted your status. The first thing is you must wait for the official letter from the Minister and those letters come very late on and delay the process. So, if we are looking for fluidity in getting clients out of the DP centre into the community, we are facing our first hurdle with waiting for up to six months for the formal letter which they need to register their permission.

These challenges are amplified in the case of former asylum seekers who have been granted permission to remain in Ireland by the Department of Justice but lack the personal documentation required to enable them formally register this permission. The interviewee from Doras Luimní reported that some of this organisation’s clients do not have passports and therefore are “effectively stateless... people are stateless if they have never had a passport. They may have been a refugee as a child or moved and grew up in a Nepalese refugee centre or camp and were never formally declared a nationality”. Therefore, she argued, the treatment of people in this category needs to be reformed because:

... these things are frustrating and there is no clear legislation, so we are in continual conversation with the Department [of Justice] over these issues that take up a lot of time. It is cyclical, and we have to do the same thing over and over again.

The Doras Luimní representative said that people felt under pressure to leave the direct provision centre as soon as they were granted status and also wanted to find a family home. As explained in Chapter Five, in the currently very competitive housing market, this often proves very challenging. Therefore,

this interviewee argued, during the period of transition from direct provision, former asylum seekers are likely to find themselves vulnerable and to require intensive information, advice and advocacy support:

... we want people to get out [of direct provision accommodation] and continue with their lives, but it is a roller-coaster of emotion for them. They are elated when they get their permission but then they have to wait for their status. But when the reality of the situation kicks in there are some real lows and clients get very disheartened and almost disengaged and it takes a lot of resources to support clients with all of those issues.

### Migrants' Spouses, Partners and Families

Although the research and policy on immigration tends to focus on the individuals who have come to work or study in Ireland, the information services providers consulted for this study identified the migrants' spouses, partners and families as more vulnerable than migrants themselves in many cases, and therefore in greater need of information, advice and advocacy services, but also as often more difficult to reach by providers of these services.

There was a consensus among interviewees that situations in which *neither* the migrant *nor* his/her family members were citizens of another EU member state are associated with the greatest risk of vulnerability. This is because family members who are EU citizens have extensive rights to enter, live, work and study in Ireland. Furthermore, migrants from other EU member states also have well-developed rights to bring their non-EU citizen family members to Ireland; indeed, several interviewees made the point that Irish citizens have weaker rights in this regard.

Non-EU migrants who wish to bring non-EU citizen family members to live with them in

Ireland have to make an application under the Department of Justice and Equality's family reunification scheme (Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service, 2016). Several of the information providers interviewed for this study complained that this system is slow and onerous. In this vein, an interviewee from the Dublin City Centre CIS reported:

The sponsoring person here must have a certain level of earnings. ... You need a fairly good job to get your wife and children to join you in Ireland.

He also mentioned that applicants need to be able to demonstrate that they can provide appropriate accommodation for family members "and that by itself would rule out a lot of people because of the housing crisis".

In addition, information service providers pointed out that once non-EU citizen family members had moved to Ireland, their right to reside here depended entirely on the sponsoring migrant. Coupled with language difficulties and the impact of gender roles, this rendered family members in this situation potentially vulnerable. This point was made by an interviewee from Doras Luimní:

The most vulnerable are those with least supports in place and that would be those who come as family members through the Family Reunification Programmes... the family reunification clients have nothing – no information... so those family members I would say are the most vulnerable because they have the least supports. It is almost up to the family member who sponsored them to navigate for them and advocate for them. And those sponsors have themselves only recently been given status in the country so it is not as though they are in the best place themselves to navigate.

As noted above, migrants transitioning from direct provision centres have difficulty finding accommodation for themselves. However,

when their extended family members join them under the Family Reunification scheme, access to accommodation becomes even more critical. The Doras Luimní representative interviewed pointed out:

The family members have to be in the State before they can be declared homeless. Those who are in the resettlement programmes or the relocation programmes at least have supports in terms of direct provision or the emergency centres and, once they transition out, they are allocated a resettlement officer who can help, but the family reunification clients have nothing – no information.

An Interviewee from CIS Blanchardstown agreed that the insecure immigrant status of non-EU citizen family members of migrants increased their vulnerability, particularly in cases of relationship breakdown or domestic abuse, and this is sometimes compounded by poor English language skills and social isolation:

... issues of domestic violence occur across all nationalities. But, one of the issues that makes people particularly vulnerable is if they are here on a residency permission – and this is especially true for non-EU women – that connects them to an abusive partner. If they are here as the family member of somebody on a work permit or if they are here as a family member of somebody with refugee status, then their right to be here is connected to a continuing relationship with somebody. The fact that they are in an abusive relationship means that the right to reside can be used against them by the abusive partner. INIS has made changes and has tried to make people aware that if they are in an abusive relationship that they can apply for independent status and so on. But if you are in an abusive relationship and you have language difficulties and you don't know the system, it is very hard to get that information across.

Other interviewees highlighted the practical impediments to providing information to migrants in this situation. For instance, a Doras Luimní representative reported:

We try to put supports in for vulnerable clients, especially if their immigration status is linked to a violent partner, but trying to get an independent status application granted is not easy and a lot of evidence is required which might not be practical in terms of the client and it leaves them very vulnerable and there is a lot of psychological and physical threats and securing independent status is vital. It is not the easiest application.

A Crosscare representative pointed out:

Refuges can only provide accommodation to people who are legally resident. Some are more strict than others... then a domestic violence refuge can't claim the cost of your overnight stay and can't accommodate you... it's an intersection of immigration status and everything else that someone needs to live and it's a really critical one.

## Applications for Citizenship

Taking the citizenship of the host country is considered to be both an important indicator of migrants' social integration and an enabler of further integration, because it affords migrants the right to vote and participate in all elections. All of the CIS information providers interviewed for this study reported an increase in queries relating to applications for Irish citizenship in recent years. Table 2.1 reveals that, in 2017/2018 queries regarding Irish citizenship applications accounted for 36.7% and 40% respectively of all queries submitted to the CIS by people born abroad. Some of the information providers mentioned that supporting citizenship applications was a substantial demand on their service. In Blanchardstown CIS, the number of queries is such that this service office holds an immigration clinic every week to deal with

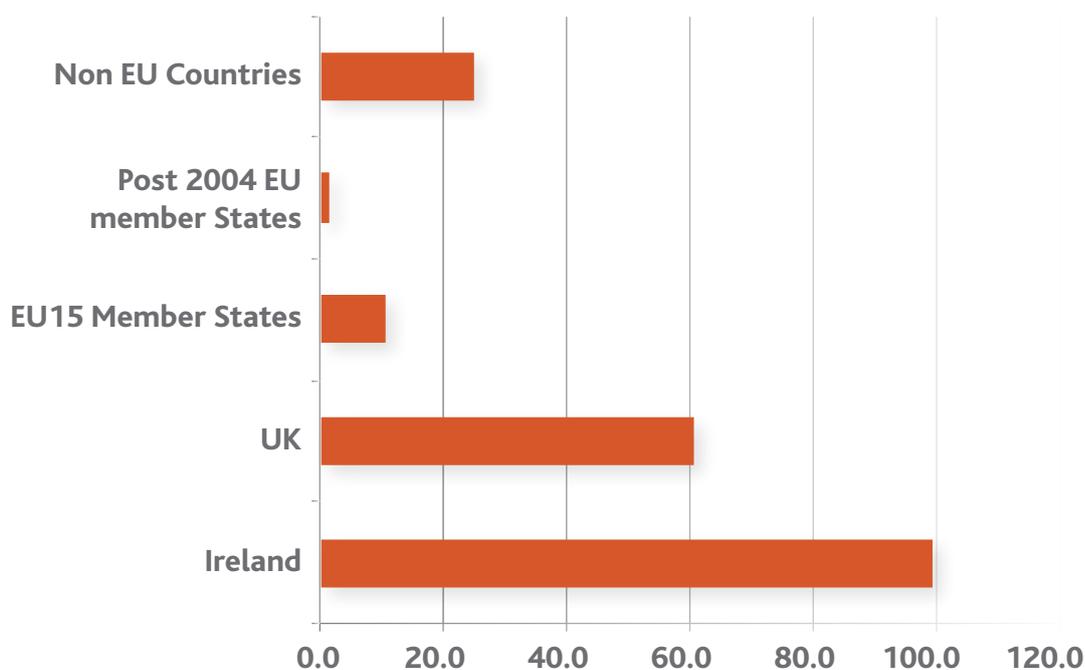
the volume of queries relating to visas and citizenship, and they also provide the services of a peace commissioner to validate applications.

Table 2.1 reveals that CIS clients born in the post-2004 EU member states were most likely to submit a query regarding applying for Irish citizenship; 64.8% of all queries submitted by this group in 2017 related to citizenship applications. However, in absolute terms, migrants from non-EU countries submitted a greater number of queries about this issue than their counterparts from within the EU (5,114 compared to 3,241). This pattern reflects the research evidence and also data from the Irish Census. Huddleston, Niessen and Dag Tjaden (2013) note that in most European countries immigrants from less-developed and politically unstable countries are more likely to naturalise in their host countries, whereas intra-EU migrants have fewer incentives to acquire the citizenship of another EU country because they already hold many of the rights

of citizenship. Figure 2.2 compares the country of birth of Irish residents to their country of citizenship in 2011 (the latest year for which these data was available). It reveals that 99.4% of Irish residents born in Ireland held Irish citizenship in 2011, as did 60.5% of their UK-born fellow Irish residents. In the same year, 24.8% of Irish residents born in non-EU countries were Irish citizens – but the equivalent figures for people born in other EU15 member states and post-2004 EU member states are much lower, at 10.4% and 1.5% respectively.

Information service providers raised some concerns about arrangements for submitting and processing applications for Irish citizenship. The price of the citizenship application was widely flagged as a concern, particularly where there is an error in the application and the application fee must be paid a second time in order to reapply.

**Figure 2.2 Irish Citizen Residents of Ireland, by Country of Birth**



Note: The data refer to the proportion of Irish residents born in each world region who are Irish citizens. Data are adjusted to remove 'not stated'.

Source: Generated by the authors from the 10% Sample of the 2011 Census of Population of Ireland.

In addition, as mentioned above, migrants can encounter difficulties with citizenship applications if there are gaps in their residency permission. Many interviewees argued that this was not fair in cases where the gaps were due to the problems in securing appointments with the Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service to renew their Irish Residence Permit. An interviewee from the CIS Blanchardstown noted: "It is at the discretion of the Department [of Justice] whether those gaps would be accounted for and it is very unfair because it is a systems failure".

### Migrants on Student Visas

The information providers interviewed for this study reported that migrants from outside the EU who come to Ireland on student visas are at particular risk of finding themselves in vulnerable situations. This is a significant problem in view of the scale of student migration into Ireland. According to Groarke and Durst, (2019), students were one of the largest category of non-EU migrants into Ireland – 28.2% of the first residence permits issued to this category of migrants in 2017 were issued for 'study' purposes. Figure 2.3 shows that the proportion of students aged 15 and over born in non-EU member states increased from 4.3% in 2002 to 9.9% in 2016, although not all of these would have migrated to Ireland for the purpose of education and some may be long-term residents.

Interviewees reported that migrants are vulnerable if their economic circumstances change, particularly if they lose a job or cannot find part-time work. Students whose circumstances change while they are in Ireland can become vulnerable very quickly. For example, a Crosscare interviewee stated:

If someone comes on a student visa and gets sick or pregnant and then they can't pay their fees, they are at risk of not being

able to renew it [their student visa] – in lots of these cases they go home but you have cases where somebody comes from a very conservative society or family and going home is not an option.

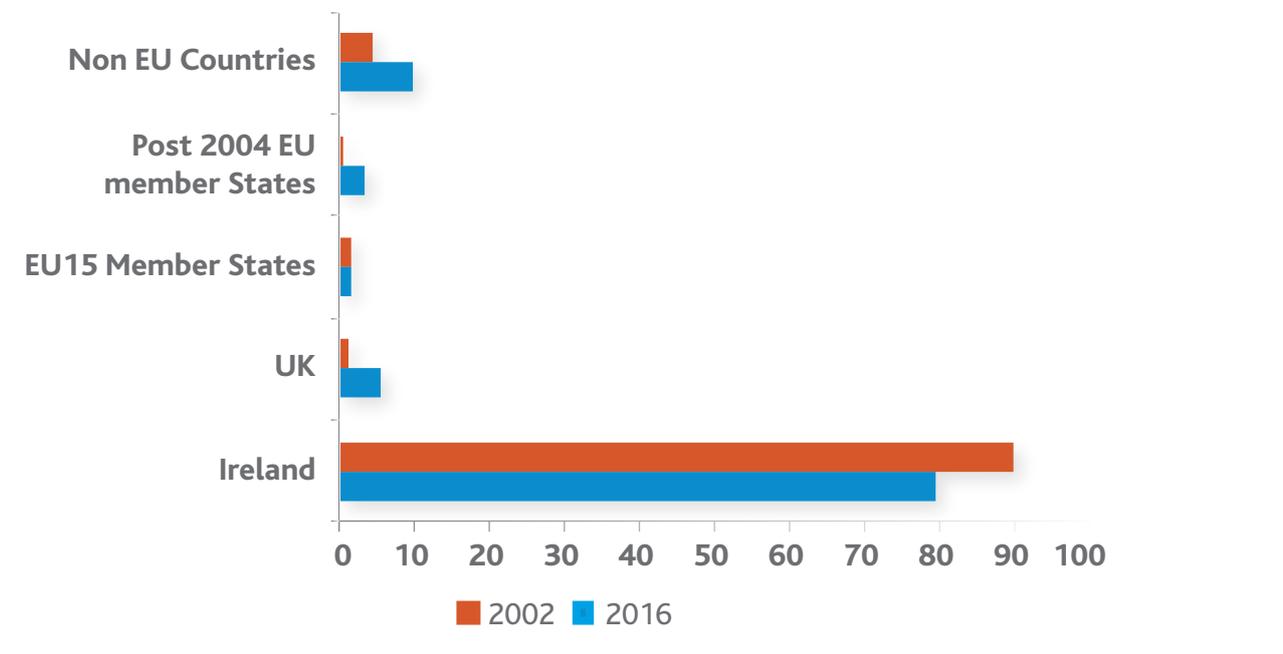
Similarly, Dublin City Centre CIS interviewee believed that many students are not well prepared for the reality of coming to Ireland on a student visa:

There are some agencies abroad that are quite aggressive in selling their courses in Ireland. They seem to be selling a field of dreams and a lot of students coming here don't realise that their entitlement to work here part-time is actually a bonus. It is not meant to be the reason why they are here and in fact it is an added extra because they are actually here to study. We find that if anything happens with that part-time job they are actually in dire straits because they are not properly prepared to be here without that part-time job when it really is actually a bonus. It is not the reason for the student visa, but it is sold as that. They should have the means to support themselves without the job. We have students who are homeless because they don't have their jobs.

Some migrant students may also experience problems after several years of living in Ireland. The interviewee from Crosscare explained that student migrants in this category:

are the ones who it is really problematic for because they don't fit into the INIS determination of how migrants should progress. The Department of Justice and INIS would say that you have had seven years here as a student and you can get a graduate visa if you don't get a job and then you are done. But if you have someone who is here for eight years and they have a family, it is not quite as simple as that.

**Figure 2.3 Country of Birth of Students Aged 15 Years and Over in Ireland, 2002, 2016**



Note: Data are adjusted to remove 'not stated'.

Source: Generated by the authors from the 10% Sample of the 2011 Census of Population of Ireland and generated by the Central Statistics Office from the 2016 Census.

In October 2018, a new scheme was announced by the Department of Justice which provided for undocumented immigrants who originally came to Ireland on a student visa between 2005 and 2010 to apply for permission to remain in the State. The Department of Justice estimated that between 3,500 and 5,000 undocumented migrants could be eligible to apply.<sup>19</sup> However, the Doras Luimní representative argued that this scheme “doesn’t cover all of those who are undocumented” and suggested that:

there is a need for regularisation programmes in Ireland.<sup>20</sup> This new scheme is a great start but it is very limited... more proactive schemes that take into account

the length of time they have been here and the contribution that they have made are required – some of these people are volunteering as well as working.

### Undocumented Migrants and Loss of Immigration Status<sup>21</sup>

Several publications from the Migrant Rights Centre Ireland highlight the particular vulnerability of migrants who have irregular immigration status or are undocumented. *Undocumented migrants* are defined as those who have entered the country unknown to the authorities, who have overstayed their visas, or have breached the terms and conditions of their permission to reside. A report from

19 A total of 3,097 applications were received. (ANNUAL REPORT ON MIGRATION AND ASYLUM 2018: IRELAND – ESRI 2019).

20 Commitment in the Programme for Government 2020 to create new pathways for long-term undocumented people and their dependents, meeting specified criteria to regularise their status.

21 Further to the Programme for Government 2020 commitment, the Department of Justice opened a scheme to regularise the status of undocumented migrants in Ireland in January 2022.

this organisation titled *Ireland is Home* estimates that between 20,000 and 26,000 undocumented adults live in Ireland (Migrant Rights Centre Ireland, 2014). A survey of 540 of these undocumented migrants found that the vast majority are not recent arrivals to Ireland and that 81% of the respondents had been living in Ireland for more than five years, while of this number over 20% had been living in the country for more than 10 years. A total of 86.5% indicated that they had entered the country legally and then fallen into irregularity. The research revealed some common characteristics among this category of migrants that increase their vulnerability. These include: little or no access to social protection and a life lived on the margins in employment sectors where they were generally low-paid. Public services were often not available to them, the research concluded.

All of the information service providers interviewed for this study reported that they receive a large number of queries from migrants who are undocumented or whose permission to reside has expired or lapsed. This issue generally does not apply to those who have come through the system of protection for asylum seekers and refugees. The information providers reported that the vast majority of undocumented migrants who approach them for information have come to Ireland on student visas or with work permits, or have come to join family members. A CIS Blanchardstown interviewee summarised the typical histories of undocumented migrants supported by his service:

Sometimes when people become irregular, they try to stay under the radar until things come to a head. They do have a number of options but people are fearful, but they try to stay under the radar until they can't do so any longer... unless they are familiar with the system in Ireland and confident in English and in themselves, we find that even though they can retain their status they

are not sure and a number of years go by without rectifying it.

The vast majority of the information providers interviewed agreed that undocumented migrants are among the most vulnerable of the migrant population. For instance, the Doras Luimní representative said "there are thousands of undocumented people in Ireland who are working and are tax-compliant". She suggested that in many cases they have families and said that if they have been in Ireland for 10-20 years, this causes big challenges:

They have families and their children grow up and then the reality kicks in because the children can't avail of third-level education, they can't go on school trips out of the State, they can't go back home to see grandparents. In terms of mental health, it is an awful way to subsist... it is heartbreaking to see the effect on children's lives, it is not so much a glass ceiling for them, it is a concrete bunker and no chance of availing of future prospects. They are very vulnerable – those that are coming of age. The Migrant Integration Strategy doesn't specifically address this group. It is a case of advocating for regularisation programmes.

The Crosscare representative reported that some migrants find themselves in a situation whereby they lose their job and their immigration status expires, and then they can't get long-term accommodation and must rely on emergency homeless accommodation. Crosscare does outreach work with homelessness services to raise awareness of the immigration system so that they can identify issues early and improve their support mechanisms for vulnerable clients.

On the information, advice and advocacy needs of undocumented migrants, the Crosscare interviewee pointed out that these vary depending on the length of time they have spent in Ireland:

... someone who has been in the country for a while and has a decent trajectory and move along the line towards citizenship – they tend to have straightforward information needs. It is the people who have gaps in their permission or who are coming to the end of their time on a student visa but who have been here for many years and have families here – they are the ones who it is really problematic for because they don't fit into the INIS determination of how migrants should progress.

Several of the information providers interviewed suggested that a key challenge they face when supporting undocumented migrants is the fact that the migration system is policy-based, in contrast to the refugee system, for instance, which is legislation-based. The Crosscare representative argues that, because of this, “information is critical because the people we see are not well informed. And that is not because they can't be, it is because the systems are tricky”. As a result, this interviewee reported, the work of Crosscare has moved from information provision and reliance on factsheets alone and onto “advanced advocacy... what is needed now is more complex bespoke information that almost inevitably leads into other types of support”. This issue was also highlighted by an interviewee from the Immigrant Council of Ireland, who pointed out that they received several queries from migrants seeking information on “temporary resident status” as well as about gaining “more permanent status and access to citizenship”.

## Conclusions

This chapter has examined the implications for migrants' vulnerability of their immigration status and the challenges they face in maintaining or changing this status. It has also examined the role that information, advice and advocacy services play in helping migrants to manage these challenges and therefore in mitigating the associated vulnerabilities.

The analysis presented here suggests that individuals from the UK and other EU member states are the least vulnerable category of migrants in this regard. This is because their immigration status affords them most of the rights and entitlements enjoyed by Irish citizens. However, the information providers interviewed reported that this cohort of migrants sometimes receive inaccurate information on their rights and entitlements from social service and benefits providers, and that they need information, advocacy and advice services in order to enable them to manage this situation.

Migrants from outside the European Union in general generate a higher proportion of more complex queries to the Citizens Information Service. This reflects, first, the greater vulnerability associated with their immigration status; unlike their counterparts from within the EU, non-EU migrants have no automatic entitlement to enter, live, work or study in Ireland. It also reflects the complexity of their immigration status and the challenges associated with maintaining this. For this

cohort of migrants, entitlement to benefits and services varies depending on nationality and also employment record, and individuals living in Dublin in particular have faced difficulties in securing appointments with the Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service, required to secure and renew their Irish Residence Permit. Information providers in Dublin reported that the latter problem was generating large volumes of queries and significant challenges in meeting this demand for help.

Information service providers also raised concerns that problems in renewing IRPs were generating breaks in migrants' immigration status, which may undermine future applications for citizenship or mean that migrants become undocumented. Information providers reported receiving many queries from undocumented migrants; in most cases, these individuals had come to Ireland on student visas or work permits, or to join family members, but their immigration status had lapsed. These migrants and their children were identified

by these interviewees as being particularly vulnerable to poverty, exploitation in the workplace and homelessness. The provision of advice and guidance on regularising their immigration status and accessing benefits and services is challenging, and requires specialist, face-to-face advice, rather than information provided online or in leaflet form.

Non-EU spouses, partners and families of migrants were identified by information providers as a particularly vulnerable group. This is because the status of the spouses, partners and families is entirely dependent on their relationship with the migrant, and this renders them very vulnerable in cases of family breakdown or domestic violence. This vulnerability is sometimes compounded by poor English language skills and social isolation, and the fact that domestic-violence refuges can only provide services to people who are legally resident. However, reaching migrants in this category is difficult for information providers.



## 3. Incomes, Employment and Social Welfare

Extensive research evidence demonstrates that some categories of migrants have lower incomes and as a result are at higher risk of poverty than the rest of the Irish population (Maître and Russell, 2017). This situation in part reflects the fact that most migrants have more restricted rights to access social security benefits than Irish citizens. It also reflects problems in accessing employment among a minority of migrants, and more widespread problems of low-paid and poor-quality employment among migrants who are in the workforce (André, 2010; Kingston, McGinnity and O’Connell, 2013; O’Connell, 2018).

This chapter examines migrants’ incomes and poverty levels, and the extent to which these are influenced by their experiences in the labour market and access to social welfare. To do this, it uses census data, and qualitative and quantitative information from the database of queries to the Citizen Information Services. On the basis of this evidence and interviews with policymakers and information service providers, the categories of migrants who are most vulnerable to poverty and low incomes and the drivers of their vulnerability are identified. The closing section of the chapter examines the role that information, advice and advocacy services can play in enabling migrants to alleviate these income and labour-market vulnerabilities.

### Incomes, Employment and Social Welfare

Many migrants who come to Ireland are well educated, highly mobile and in employment commensurate with their qualifications. However, for many others this is not the case, and they are more vulnerable to poverty and social exclusion than people born in Ireland. Using data from the 2014 EU Survey of Income

and Living Conditions, Maître and Russell (2017: 47) found that, although the income of migrants from other EU15 countries does not differ significantly from that of Irish nationals, UK migrants had the lowest median income of any national group in the population (€31,000) followed by non-EU migrants (€34,000) and migrants from the post-2004 EU member states (€37,000). Moreover, in their assessment, Maître and Russell (2017: 47) found that migrants from the UK are “particularly disadvantaged” on both income and deprivation measures. This, they suggest, is due to their low employment rate and older age profile (this group contains a significantly higher portion of pensioners) and their poorer educational profile. These findings are consistent with the results of previous research on this issue (eg, Barrett, McGinnity and Quinn, 2017).

In 2014, 16% of all Irish households were at risk of poverty compared to 21% for non-Irish households. However, the risk of poverty for UK nationals was 23% and the equivalent rate for non-EU nationals was 46% (Maître and Russell, 2017). The poverty rate for the latter has risen in recent years. Maître and Russell (2017) attribute this to the increase in the number of students in this group, and students’ higher risk of poverty compared to the population at large. This finding is supported by other research on Ireland which has highlighted the difficulties faced by students working in low-paid employment in areas such as childcare and domestic service (Migrant Rights Centre Ireland, 2015a, 2015b).

Like the Irish population-at-large, migrants’ incomes and risk of poverty are determined primarily by the extent and nature of their labour-market participation. Data from the 2016 Census, summarised in Table 3.1, offer

some insights into the most significant of migrants' economic activity. These data reveal that the employment rates of the population born outside of Ireland and aged over 15 years are on average higher than that of the native population. While the share of Irish-born individuals at work was 51.7% and the equivalent figure for people born in the UK was similar (51.93%), a significantly higher proportion of people born in other EU member states were in employment (70.97%). Employment rates were particularly high for people born in post-2004 EU member states (71.86%), but lower than average for migrants from Africa (47.53%).

Table 3.1 also reveals differences in the type of work in which migrants from different world regions engage, which have a significant impact on their income and poverty levels. For most Irish residents, their main source of work is employment. People born in post-2004 EU member states are most likely to be employees (93.2%), while people born in the UK are least likely to be employees (82.38%). Self-employment follows the opposite pattern. It is most prevalent among UK-born individuals (17.40%) and lowest among migrants from post-2004 EU countries.

**Table 3.1 Labour Market Activity Rates and Categories by Country of Birth**

Total Population	At Work					Not at Work								Total
	Country of Birth	Total at Work %	Among Total at Work				Unemployed looking for first regular job %	Unemployed (having lost or given up previous job) %	Student or pupil %	Looking after home or family %	Retired %	Unable to work due to permanent sickness or disability %	Other economic status %	
		Employee %	Self-Employed %	Assisting Relative %	Total									
Ireland	51.73	82.98	16.80	0.22	100	0.83	7.14	11.27	8.22	14.44	4.28	0.38	100	
UK	53.94	82.38	17.40	0.21	100	0.69	6.62	11.20	8.36	16.49	4.57	0.34	100	
Other EU15 Countries	70.97	89.99	9.71	0.30	100	0.71	8.46	9.02	8.75	13.62	5.07	0.44	100	
Post-2004 EU Member States	71.86	93.20	6.59	0.22	100	1.12	5.36	10.73	5.38	4.73	1.33	0.39	100	
Non-EU	53.82	87.46	12.17	0.37	100	2.28	10.02	19.38	8.63	2.96	1.80	1.12	100	

Source: Generated by the Central Statistics Office from Census, 2016.

Census 2016 also reveals notable differences in the predominant occupations of people born in Ireland compared to migrants from different world regions. For Irish workers, the most common occupations are administrative positions (9.6% of workers), followed by business and public service associate professionals (6.2%) and corporate managers and directors (5.7%). The occupational profile of Irish residents born in the UK is similar. In contrast, the most common occupations for migrants from post-2004 EU member states are administration and service jobs – more than 20% of migrants from these countries are employed in these sectors. Machine operatives (9.5%) and sales (9%) are the second and third most common occupations among people born in post-2004 EU member states. Yet another distinctive occupational profile is evident among migrants from Asia; the three most frequent occupations among this group are health professionals (21%), administration (11%) and textiles, printing and other skilled trades (9%). Migrants from Africa are most frequently employed in caring and personal services (14%), followed by health professionals (10%) and administration and service (9%).

Education has an important influence on the level and nature of labour-market participation and therefore in turn on employment rates, earnings and poverty. This is the case for the entire population but there is evidence that education levels have a particularly significant impact on differences between the employment and earnings of migrants and non-migrants (Huddleston, Niessen and Dag Tjaden, 2013).

Kenny, Darmody and Smyth (2017) point out that the relatively recent advent of high levels of immigration into Ireland means that most non-Irish nationals are first-generation immigrants, having arrived in Ireland as adults who had already completed their education. In this respect, Ireland differs from most other European countries. They also conclude that non-Irish nationals are significantly more likely to have third-level education compared to Irish nationals. This in large part reflects the young age profile of the migrant population because younger people are more likely to be more highly educated than their older counterparts. Data from Census 2016 supports their analysis, but also reveals some important nuances in the migrants' education and skills profiles, which are likely to influence their labour-market participation (see Table 3.2).



**Table 3.2 Level of Education by Country of Birth**

	Ireland	UK	Other EU15 Member States	Post-2004 EU Member States	Non-EU (total)	Non-EU from:		
						Africa	Asia	America
No formal education	1.5%	1.4	0.3	0.6	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.4
Primary	10.5	5.3	1.3	2.1	2.2	1.8	2.2	1.4
Lower secondary	13.5	12.6	2.7	4.3	3.6	3.3	3.2	2.8
Upper secondary	16.0	16.4	8.2	15.1	9.9	9.7	7.3	9.4
Tech/vocational	6.8	8.0	4.8	16.3	7.9	6.8	4.0	4.3
Advanced certificate/ apprenticeship	46.9	5.7	5.2	5.4	3.9	3.4	1.7	2.6
Higher certificate	3.9	5.6	5.6	5.0	5.0	4.6	2.9	3.9
Ordinary Bachelor's degree/ professional qualification or both	5.9	7.0	11.2	5.4	7.6	7.1	9.9	10.8
Honours Bachelor's degree/ professional qualification or both	8.7	11.3	11.3	4.0	9.4	8.8	11.6	12.7
Postgraduate diploma or degree	7.1	9.0	17.7	6.3	7.5	7.4	9.6	11.9
Doctorate (PhD)	0.6	1.3	2.9	0.3	1.2	1.1	1.3	2.1
Not stated	5.4	3.5	3.6	5.0	5.3	4.4	3.8	2.6
Economic status: total at school, university, etc.	11.2	9.0	10.7	6.9	11.7	19.5	18.5	25.1
Economic status: other	4.0	3.6	14.5	23.2	24.2	21.2	23.2	10.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Generated by the Central Statistics Office from Census 2016.

Although these data confirm that, on average, migrants, especially those from the European Union, are better qualified than people born in Ireland, not all migrant groups have equally high educational levels. For example, immigrants from other EU15 countries and Africa have the lowest proportion of third-level qualifications, although the former are more likely to have vocational qualifications, which reflects the focus of the educational systems in their country. Migrants from post-2004 EU member states are more likely to have upper secondary and technical/vocational education than individuals born in Ireland, but less likely to have higher education than Irish citizens. In addition, a striking feature of the Irish labour market is a very high share (46.1%) of Irish-born individuals with advanced certificate/completed apprenticeship. Most of the migrant population lack these particular skills, which suggests that access to certain segments of the labour market is not open to them.

Table 3.1 also provides information on individuals outside the labour market, which is associated with lower incomes and higher risk of poverty. It reveals that the share of individuals looking for a first regular job is

relatively small among the population of people born in Ireland (just 0.83% of this group) and is much higher for people born in African countries (3.40%). The same pattern is evident in the working-age population who are unemployed following the loss of their job; 7.14% of people born in Ireland are in this category, compared to 15.36% of migrants from Africa. Migrants from post-2004 EU member states are more likely to be economically active than people born in Ireland and tend to be employees rather than self-employed.

These patterns are not reflected in the proportion of social welfare benefits claimed by migrants, which are set out in Table 3.3. These indicate that migrants from the post-2004 EU member states made up 9.57% of claimants of jobseeker supports (primarily Jobseeker's Allowance and Benefit) in 2019, (this percentage is similar in 2019 at 9.57%)<sup>22</sup> but only 4.9% of the Irish population. Conversely, migrants from non-EU member states accounted for 2.7% (increases to 3.65% in 2019)<sup>23</sup> of claimants of jobseeker supports compared to 5.1% of the Irish population in the same year (see Figure 0.2 in the Introduction).

22 Statistical Information On Social Welfare Services Annual Report 2019

23 Ibid.

**Table 3.3 Claimants of Main Categories of Social Welfare Benefits by Nationality**

Category of Social Welfare Benefit	Ireland %	UK %	Other EU15 Member States %	Post-2004 EU Member States %	Non-EU Countries %
Retirement pensions	96.2	2.5	0.4	0.4	0.4
Jobseeker supports	82.4	4.1	1.1	9.7	2.7
Other working age, on income supports	82.6	2.8	0.9	7.6	6.1
Return to employment supports	81.4	4.2	1.3	8.8	4.4
Supports for people with disabilities	90.5	3.6	0.5	3.5	2.0
Total child-related payments	79.4	3.3	1.5	11.3	4.5
Total supplementary payments	94.1	3.1	0.4	1.5	0.9
Grand total	89.8	3.2	0.7	4.3	2.0

Source: Department of Social Protection (various years)

These differences probably reflect the much stronger rights to claim social security benefits in Ireland enjoyed by migrants from other EU member states compared to migrants from non-EU members.

### English Language Proficiency

The Census of Population asks respondents whether they speak English or Irish at home and, if not, about their level of proficiency in English. These data indicate that 612,018 individuals (13% of all Irish residents) don't speak English or Irish at home; of these, just 0.4% report they don't speak English at all and

5.8% speak English 'not well' (Central Statistics Office, various years). English language fluency among individuals who don't speak English at home is disaggregated according to place of birth in Figure 3.1. These data demonstrate weaker proficiency in English is most widespread among migrants from post-2004 EU member states; in 2016, 18.7% of individuals in this category who don't speak English at home reported that they don't speak English at all or speak English 'not well'.

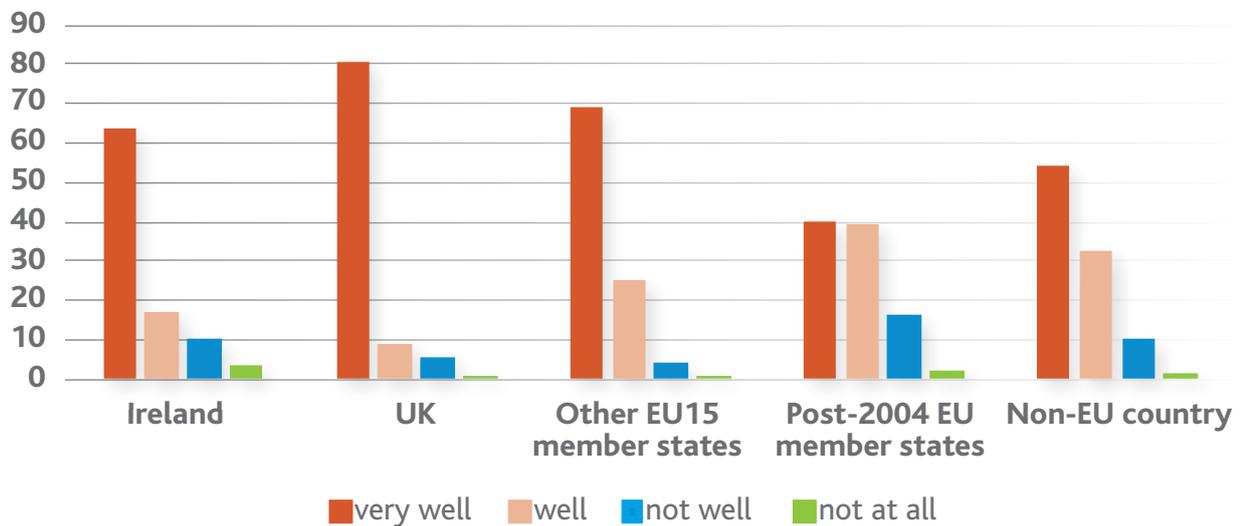
The interviews with information providers and policymakers that were conducted for this study indicate that these official statistics on proficiency

in English capture the scale of the problem among the migrant population. All interviewees highlighted poor or no English language skills as a very significant issue. For instance, a Department of Justice interviewee noted:

People who don't have English language skills – that is possibly the biggest barrier to integration. I guess the reason for that is

because the two big drivers of integration are education and access to the labour market and if migrants are doing well in our education system or are integrating well into the labour market then their chances of integration are so much higher. Those areas are effectively locked off from you if you don't have adequate English.

**Figure 3.1 English Language Proficiency Among Irish Residents who Don't Speak English at Home, by Place of Birth, 2016**



Source: Generated by the Central Statistics Office from Census, 2016



Similarly, the interviewee from Crosscare identified language skills as a key indicator of vulnerability:

We have different levels of needs. We run four volunteer interpreter clinics: Somali, Roma/Romanian, Chinese and Polish. So, they cover four nationalities and this is a key bit of our work in terms of marginalised – not necessarily vulnerable – [people.] We distinguish anyone who needs the services of an interpreter as having a higher need because they are not going to be able to engage with statutory services.

The CIS Balbriggan interviewee also stressed the importance of language skills for all migrants and argued that, from this perspective, those who come through the protection system are fortunate because they can often access English classes and other supports, which makes them less vulnerable than other migrants. In her view: “Any migrant whether EU or from outside EU, language is the issue. Other things that make them vulnerable is a general lack of knowledge of their rights, and again people who come through the protection process are better prepared”.

Research by Darmody and Smyth (2018) concludes that immigrant skill levels and labour-market prospects are determined first and foremost by proficiency in English. They assert that language proficiency overrides country of birth in determining labour-market success, with foreign-born, foreign-language speakers tending to have lower success, and that this factor may result in immigrants working below their qualification level. As a result of lower English language proficiency, migrants from Eastern European, Asian and African countries in particular may face “considerable obstacles in entering the labour market”, according to Darmody and Smyth (2018: 109).

## Immigration Status

Interviewees also noted that migrants’ employment status is often influenced by their immigration status. For example, to effectively apply for a PPS number, migrants must have an address. However, in the current housing market, finding accommodation is difficult, and it is even more problematic for migrants who are searching for employment, as landlords and estate agents tend to require proof of employment (see Chapter Five). The representative of Dublin City Centre CIS reported that it was easier to obtain a PPS number previously, but this had changed recently and, in addition to the requirement to have an address in Ireland, the new rule is that the migrants must now also present the job offer:

“To get a PPS number now you have to show you have a need for it – the need being to engage with a public body. So when the rule changed there was stricter interpretation which was you must have a job offer on paper in order to get a PPS number. Because once you had a job offer you needed to engage with Revenue so therefore you needed a PPS number.”

Moreover, according to an interviewee from CIS Blanchardstown, lack of formal employment is likely to complicate the process of setting up a bank account:

“We do have queries about setting up a bank account – it tends to be very difficult if people don’t have a contract of employment. Once people have a contract of employment, it tends to be much easier. But for somebody who is looking for work, it is very hard to get a PPS number and bank accounts set up.”

The CIS Kerry interviewee stressed that non-EU migrants are more likely to find themselves in vulnerable situations because they face additional visa requirements, which can impede their access to employment. Employers might

be unwilling to hire non-EU migrants, because they need to apply for a work permit for their employees, and must prove their skills are unique and necessary for Irish employers. There are additional requirements regarding the level of salary (minimum €30,000 a year)<sup>24</sup>, which the interviewee reported "is not always obtainable". This point was also highlighted by other service providers. For example, the Immigrant Council of Ireland interviewee mentioned that "the third most common issue in 2018 was queries related to employment status and the type of employment permit held".

### Labour Market Discrimination

There is substantial research evidence indicating that discrimination in the labour market negatively affects migrants, particularly black Africans, but there is some disagreement about the importance of this factor. Kingston, McGinnity and O'Connell's (2013) research reveals that the low level of employment among black African migrants has persisted throughout the economic recession and recovery of the last decade. They attribute this to discrimination in the labour market and also cite the fact that many black Africans in Ireland would have spent long periods in direct provision and been excluded from the labour market during this time. In contrast, O'Connell and Kenny (2017) suggest that, while discrimination does contribute to the high unemployment rate among Africans, it is not the only contributory factor. African females have a significantly lower employment rate than African males (31% compared to 50%). O'Connell and Kenny (2017) attribute this to the fact that Africans have more children (double the rate of Irish national families) and therefore more childcare demands, and that African mothers also have less favourable educational qualifications than the rest of the female population.

However, analysis of queries regarding employment and self-employment submitted to the Citizens

Information Services reveals only marginal differences between the level of queries submitted by clients of Irish and non-Irish origin (see Table 3.4 below). Furthermore, the information providers interviewed reported the volume of queries to CIS offices on workplace discrimination against migrants was not high, despite concerns. For instance, the representative of Balbriggan CIS stated: "Regarding queries about discrimination in the workplace/recruitment /promotion in the workplace... no we don't get a lot of those queries on that topic". The SIPTU interviewee was aware of some cases of serious discrimination against migrant employees, but stated that this was less common nowadays. However, he did raise concerns about discrimination against black African employees and wage disparities in some industries:

Migrant workers present with queries that are similar to those of Irish people. However, data suggests that migrants are discriminated against on average. For instance, there is a huge difference in how black Africans are treated in comparison to white people and it is our understanding from the ESRI that they are discriminated against. Maybe it is not in a very direct way because it is always hard to prove discrimination. For example – when I came to Ireland I was involved in a big campaign in the red meat sector. Sometimes whole factories were closed down and redundancy payments were given to Irish employees and then a few weeks later it was open again with a new influx of migrant employees, Polish people or Brazilian people and they were paid minimum wages and Irish people were paid high wages... I think the attitude was that they came from Poland where they were working for a euro and then they came here, and they said I don't mind not being paid for this and that etc., and employers were using that to their advantage. This is less and less the case though.

<sup>24</sup> With some limited exceptions [https://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/moving\\_country/working\\_in\\_ireland/employment\\_permits/work\\_permits.html](https://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/moving_country/working_in_ireland/employment_permits/work_permits.html)

**Table 3.4 Details of Queries about Employment and Self Employment Submitted to the CIS, by Clients' Country of Origin**

Specific reasons for query related to employment:	Ireland %	UK %	Other EU15 Member States %	Post-2004 EU Member States %	Non-EU Countries %	Total %
Employment Rights and Conditions	66.1	56.8	56.3	65.7	50.8	64.6
Unemployment and Redundancy	12.3	8.5	6.7	10.2	7.3	11.5
Self-employment	7.0	14.2	14.1	9.5	11.1	7.9

Source: Generated by the authors from the Citizens Information Board Oyster Database.

### Employment Sector and Self-Employment

The Census statistics on work set out in Table 3.1 do not flag any overrepresentation of migrants in self-employment, and the data on CIS clients in Table 3.4 do not point to a higher than expected level of queries from self-employed migrants. Despite this, the problem of forced self-employment among migrants was commonly raised by the information providers interviewed for this study. The SIPTU representative mentioned that this is an issue for all employees but he argued that it more commonly affects migrants. The Dublin City Centre CIS interviewee was concerned especially that migrants are not aware of what self-employment means, in legal terms, which created further difficulties related to tax obligations and social contributions:

Again the cleaners – there was a stage when cleaners were forced to set up as self-employed even though they didn't even know what that was. They were told by their employers that they would have

to be – it wouldn't be put that way – but it would be that we don't pay your tax or your PRSI for you and then they were left to sort out themselves with Revenue and then they come in to us and they say 'I want to be self-employed'. And then they would describe the work they were doing and we would say that is not self-employment – acting as a cleaner is not self-employment.

In addition, interviewees reported that migrants working in certain industries are particularly vulnerable. This view is supported by the research evidence. For example, research by the Migrant Rights Centre Ireland (MRCI) (2015b) indicates that a high proportion of domestic and childcare workers are migrant women. This sector is characterised by low pay and poor conditions, isolation, immigration issues and poor enforcement of labour law. In addition, the MRCI claims that changes to the employment permits system for non-EU workers have further reinforced the use of informal and irregular workers in the childcare sector, carried out by both au-pairs and undocumented

migrants. Both of these groups experience barriers when attempting to access their rights – such as potential loss of housing in the case of au-pairs – and as a result frequently remain in exploitative positions (see also: Migrant Rights Centre Ireland (2012)).

Migrant Rights Centre Ireland (2015b) also highlights the vulnerability of international students, who they say tend to find employment in low-paid and unregulated sectors, many working as au-pairs in the domestic work sector. It notes that Ireland has not signed up to any international agreement governing au-pair relationships, and that domestic law is meant to govern all employer/employee relationships, even though this lacks enforcement in the case of au-pairs and other domestic workers. The report suggests that statutory bodies and information providers such as Citizens Information Centres and others should issue clear statements on the rights and entitlements of au-pairs as workers in Ireland and that undocumented migrants be provided with an avenue to regularise their undocumented status. A publication from Migrant Rights Centre Ireland (2015a), *All Work and Low Pay*, examined the experience of migrants working in the hospitality, security, homecare and domestic service sectors, and highlighted problems of low pay, precarious working conditions, breaches of employment law and underpayment. It reveals that migrant women in particular are more likely to work in poorly regulated sectors. In addition, domestic workers (who are predominantly women) and in particular domestic workers such as au pairs who rely on their employer to provide accommodation, are more at risk.

The information providers interviewed for this study also highlighted instances of exploitation of migrants in certain industries. According to a representative of Dublin City Centre CIS, “non-payment of wages is pretty basic, and you see a lot of that with migrant workers”. The same

interviewee speculated: “I’m not sure if it’s because employers think that they don’t know their rights or are not going to enforce their rights”, but linked the instances of exploitation to certain employment sectors and also to language skills:

There is a lot of exploitation in those areas anyway like the restaurant jobs, bars, that sort of thing. But I think a lot of it is because employers think those people are not staying around and they feel freer to exploit them because maybe they aren’t going to know their rights – their English isn’t fantastic and maybe they won’t be around too long... small businesses, those are generally the types of people who approach us. The one who tend to disappear and reopen under another name – those are the ones where enforcing your rights is difficult even if you go to the Workplace Commission – sometimes there is not a lot you can do about getting your money because the business has gone and opened up again under a different name. Again this is not just specific to EU migrants – it’s more to do with lack of enforcement, I suppose.

### **Information, Advice and Advocacy for Migrants in Vulnerable Situations**

The information providers interviewed provided numerous examples of how they had successfully supported migrants who are vulnerable to poverty and exploitation in the labour market.

In relation to the latter, there was a widespread view among interviewees that the need for their support has diminished in recent years as the law relating to workers’ rights has been strengthened. In this vein, a representative of Doras Luimní stated: “We are seeing chinks of light there and there is access to the labour market with new legislation and court judgment so that has helped and that is positive”.

Interviewees identified access to interpreting services as the biggest barrier that migrants in vulnerable situations face in negotiating the labour market and social security system, and argued that the increasing availability of these services and of English language classes is vital to reducing migrants' vulnerability. Although interpreting services are usually made available in hospitals and for social welfare appeals cases, interviewees argued that their lack of availability in DSP, local authority and other government agencies is problematic.

Difficulties with access to interpreters vary depending on the part of the county, the type of public offices and the availability of resources. A Crosscare representative reported:

There was a phase where you could get lots of resources in different languages. Different services have different approaches. There is no issue getting an interpreter in the health services because I assume you have pragmatic health practitioners saying 'I need it – I might kill someone if I don't know what is going on'. In other departments it is non-existent or very piecemeal.

Similarly, an interviewee from the Immigrant Council of Ireland echoed this concern and pointed out that lack of proper information makes service providers face difficulties in relation to giving accurate information, "... Particularly if they (migrants) have very acute health needs such as cancer or HIV". The representative of CIS Kerry flagged difficulties in accessing interpreting services in rural areas: "We don't have interpreting services here in Caherciveen but some flexibility in Tralee. If somebody is taking a social welfare appeal, then we need an interpreter for that day and social welfare will pay for it". An interviewee from Doras Luimní identified lack of coordination between the central administration and local offices of public service providers was one cause of difficulties in accessing interpreting services:

As mentioned above, access to English classes was also identified by interviewees as a crucial support for vulnerable migrants, but one that was often not provided. The representative from Doras Luimní stressed: "If [the office] had more resources [they] would run more English classes and broaden the eligibility for those. We would open up meet and greet groups and we would go out more regularly to the DP centres and that would harness confidence". A CIS Blanchardstown representative recommended that "for people who are on social welfare there should be a focus on providing people with affordable English classes as part of their engagement with social welfare". She believed that "this would enhance integration and engagement".

In the preceding chapter, the spouses and partners of migrants were identified as potentially vulnerable, particularly in domestic violence cases. Several of the information providers interviewed mentioned that lack of interpretation services can pose particular problems in sensitive cases such as these. Lack of interpretation can also lead to breaches of privacy and data protection. For example, the CIS Kerry interviewee noted that on occasions males present with queries because their female family member doesn't speak English and that "there has been a couple of families where I wondered if it was a control thing but in other instances it was that the wife was very nervous and would have basic English but was too embarrassed to talk". This concern was flagged by several information providers on the CIS data collection system. For instance an information provider from a CIC in the midlands raised concerns about the case of a client who has to take a friend with him to translate each time he attends his local DSP office 'who he does not want to share his information with; unfortunately he does not have much choice'. Information providers were most concerned about situations where migrants have no option but to resort to using their own children to interpret for them. A representative of CIS

Blanchardstown pointed out that this practice raises child welfare concerns: “For example, in a situation where a family is facing homelessness it isn’t appropriate for the children to be involved in translation and communication. That is a protection that should be given to children, especially if they are very young”. This concern was echoed by an interviewee from Threshold:

There are issues from an organisational point of view, and we have obligations under child safety law that we have to be mindful of doing that. Sometimes it is very difficult to get the information across because we don’t have a translating service and a lot of the information is lost.

As mentioned in the preceding chapter on immigration status, inaccurate information provided to migrants can impede their access to their rights and entitlements. The information providers interviewed suggested that this is a significant problem in relation to social security benefits. For instance, inconsistent and/or incorrect advice regarding the Habitual Residency Condition was cited by interviewees as a common problem. As explained in Chapter Two, the HRC determines access to social security benefits and other services, but an interviewee from Balbriggan CIS argued that the HRC is a difficult concept to grasp and also explain clearly to migrants. As a result, migrants were regularly given unclear advice on the implications of the HRC for their benefit claim. An interviewee from Dublin City Centre CIS echoed this concern and reported that they encounter EU migrants

who are misinformed about the necessity to meet the HRC, particularly in relation to family payments and the basic supplementary allowance payment. Concerns about the length and complexity of the HRC information form which migrants are required were also raised in the detailed database of queries to the Citizens Information Service. An information provider from Ballyfermot CIC used this database to raise the point that large sections of the HRC form are not applicable to citizens of other EU member states and returning Irish citizens and a shortened version of the form should be made available to these groups. A colleague from Roscommon CIC raised a similar concern that the HRC forms are too long and repetitive with similar information being requested at several stages within the suite of forms. The scale of the challenges for migrants created by the HRC requirement is further evidenced by the fact that the CIS dealt with over 3,300 queries relating specifically to HRC in 2018 and 2019.

Several interviewees also raised concerns about inaccurate advice given to migrants by frontline officials regarding the Irish Residence Permit and its precursor the GNIB card. Instances of this type of error were also evident in the detailed qualitative data on queries to the Citizens Information Services. For instance, one CIS in Leinster reported that a client who held a valid GNIB card was told that, to process a Child Benefit application, they would have to produce a current IRP card. However, the Department of Justice has issued instructions that migrants should not apply for an IRP card until their current GNIB expires.

**Table 3.5 Top Five Social Welfare-Related Queries Submitted to the CIS, by Country of Origin**

Country/Region of Birth	Ireland %	UK %	Other EU15 Member States %	Post- 2004 EU Member States %	Non-EU Countries %	Total %
Extra Social Welfare Benefits	18.3	15.6	4.3	5.5	6.5	15.9
Families and Children	12.6	9.2	25.1	28.2	26.0	15.3
Disability and illness	14.9	10.5	9.8	17.2	11.6	14.7
Older and Retired People	13.8	16.8	6.1	4.7	4.4	12.1
Unemployed People	10.9	11.9	19.2	15.0	16.7	11.9

Source: Generated by the authors from the Citizens Information Board Oyster Database.

Note: Migrants are identified by 'country of origin'. These data refer only to the 70% of CIS clients for whom this was recorded in 2017/2018.

There was a consensus among the information service providers that many of the instances of inaccurate advice to migrants regarding social security benefits relate to family benefits. This is supported by the data on the social security-related queries submitted by migrants to the Citizens Information Services in 2017, set out in Table 3.5. It demonstrates that the level of queries regarding children and family benefits submitted by migrants was significantly higher than would be expected in view of the proportion of these benefits claimed by migrants (see Table 3.3 for details of benefit claim rates).

A common concern logged by CIS information providers on their database of client queries relates to the fact that communications with other EU member states to access information

for Child Benefit claims in Ireland are carried out by post, rather than email or telephone.

This adds considerably to delays and means that applications can wait for up to seven months for a reply. Interviewees acknowledge that these delays reflect standard procedures across the EU and resolving them requires coordination and standardisation of procedures in all member states. Carer's Benefit and Allowance was also the subject of a significant proportion of the queries submitted to the CIS by migrants. If migrants need to care for dependent family members, they may be entitled to these benefits, but if they need to return to their country of origin to care for a relative, they are not entitled to these benefits even if the country in question is within the EU.

## Conclusions

This chapter explored the issues that migrants encounter when accessing the employment and social welfare benefits they require to ensure they are not vulnerable to poverty. A key issue highlighted here is that many migrants are over-qualified for the jobs they are doing. Lack of English language proficiency is a key reason for this. The chapter has also demonstrated that lack of these language skills can impede migrants' access to social security benefits because translation services are often not available unless a benefit application is under appeal.

It is evident from the data, the literature and comments from interviewees in this study who work at the frontline with migrants that English language acquisition is the most important facilitator of integration for migrants and is key to ensuring access to social welfare and other

services, and avoiding or mitigating the effects of poverty and social exclusion. It is evident that migrants who do not speak English or who cannot access interpretation services are vulnerable. Improving access to interpretation services, providing information in different languages and increasing availability and access to English language classes is an important recommendation in this regard. However, it is also clear that migrants experience other barriers that also contribute to their vulnerability. Therefore, addressing institutional barriers such as lack of coordination of information-sharing across the EU region and ensuring there is consistency in policy and legislative interpretation in state services is an important factor. It is also evident that spouses, partners and families of migrants can often find themselves in vulnerable circumstances. Measures to specifically address the needs of this group are required.



## 4. Housing

### Introduction

Affordable, accessible and appropriate housing is vital to supporting the social inclusion and integration of migrants. Housing has a critical influence on migrants' ability to feel 'at home' and thereby on their emotional and physical health and well-being, and on their ability to access education and employment (Huddleston, Niessen and Dag Tjaden, 2013; Ager and Strang, 2008). However, in many European countries, foreign-born households more often live in overcrowded housing and in worse conditions compared to the rest of the population (Huddleston, Niessen and Dag Tjaden, 2013). Mayock, Sheridan and Parker (2015) note that a distinct Europe-wide problem of migrant homelessness has become increasingly apparent (see also: Mayock and Bretherton, 2016).

The importance of housing as a concern for migrants to Ireland is evidenced by the number of housing-related queries they submitted to the Citizens Information Services. In 2017 and 2018 housing was the third most commonly raised issue (see Figure 0.3). The level of these queries reflects the very constrained supply of housing, particularly in cities where most migrants live, and the associated housing affordability, accessibility and quality problems that the research evidence indicates are particularly severe among the migrant population (EY Ernst and Young, 2014).

This chapter explores migrants' housing concerns and vulnerabilities in depth. Like the preceding two chapters, the analysis presented here uses census data, qualitative and quantitative information from the database of queries to the Citizen Information Services and interviews with information service providers to examine the implications of migrants' housing situation for their vulnerability and

for information, advice and advocacy service provision.

### Migrants' Housing Conditions, Affordability and Tenure

There was a strong consensus among the information service providers interviewed that migrants are much more likely to live in sub-standard and overcrowded accommodation than the population at large. For example, the Threshold representative stated: "Migrants are more vulnerable and susceptible to living in poor standards of accommodation". The Doras Luimní representative agreed and reported: "... the landlords that allow migrants into their accommodations aren't of the best standard and [...] it is word of mouth – once one person moves out another person hears about it and moves in". Several interviewees raised concerns about the incidence of overcrowding in migrant households. The representative from Dublin City Centre CIS commented: "We have heard stories about overcrowding and people not even recognising their fellow tenants". The Blanchardstown CIS representative said: "We know of several families who are sharing a house – so you might have two sets of families sharing common areas and a kitchen and taking a room or two bedrooms each, maybe in a four-bedroom house. Two sets of families in a house – that wouldn't be uncommon at all". Involuntary sharing among migrants is also an issue in rural areas, according to the representative from South Kerry CIS:

Yes, we have overcrowding and involuntary sharing with family members. In one case the father is sleeping on the couch in order to give his daughter and her baby a room of their own. I have another woman who had a two-bed council house that she got years

ago. Now she has two teenagers – a girl and a boy – and she is sleeping on the couch because the council can't accommodate them.

There is some evidence to support these concerns in the data from Census 2016, which is set out in Table 4.1. These data demonstrate that people born in Ireland and the UK are significantly less likely to live in one and two-roomed dwellings and in flats and apartments than people born in other countries. People

born outside Ireland and the UK are also more likely to live in dwelling types often associated with poor accommodation quality, such as bedsits, and in buildings converted into flats or apartments rather than in purpose-built blocks of apartments. Only a tiny proportion of dwellings in Ireland lack central heating but these also are more likely to be occupied by people born outside Ireland and the UK. On the other hand, Table 4.1 reveals no significant differences in the age of dwellings occupied by people born in Ireland and people born abroad.

**Table 4.1 Housing Conditions and Tenure by Country of Birth**

Housing Characteristics		All Countries %	Ireland %	UK %	Other EU15 Member State %	Post-2004 EU Member State %	Non-EU country %
Housing standard	No central heating	1.1	1.0	1.3	2.3	0.9	1.9
Dwelling type	Detached house	45.3	47.9	54.0	27.2	17.8	23.2
	Semi-detached house	29.4	29.3	25.5	24.3	36.8	30.8
	Terraced house	15.9	16.1	13.2	15.0	16.2	14.9
	Flat/apartment in a purpose-built block	8.0	5.6	5.8	28.5	25.5	26.3
	Flat/apartment in a converted house or commercial building	1.1	0.8	1.1	4.5	3.2	3.8
	Bedsit	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.1
	Caravan, mobile or other temporary structure	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.2

Housing Characteristics		All Countries %	Ireland %	UK %	Other EU15 Member State %	Post-2004 EU Member State %	Non-EU country %
Dwelling size	1 room	0.9	0.5	0.6	3.5	3.3	4.1
	2 rooms	3.9	2.7	2.7	12.1	13.7	13.4
	3 rooms	9.4	7.7	7.0	17.8	26.7	20.8
	4 rooms	9.6	8.8	9.1	13.9	17.7	14.6
	5 rooms	22.8	23.2	22.2	18.3	22.7	17.9
	6 rooms	19.2	20.2	20.4	14.0	9.8	11.7
	7 rooms	15.7	16.9	16.9	10.3	3.9	7.9
	8 rooms	10.4	11.3	11.5	5.9	1.4	5.2
	9 rooms	4.6	5.0	5.2	2.3	0.5	2.3
	10 rooms or more	3.5	3.7	4.3	2.0	0.4	2.0
Year built	Pre 1919	6.7	7.31	9.38	12.03	3.83	7.57
	1919 – 1945	5.3	6.14	5.63	5.23	2.33	3.63
	1946 – 1960	6.4	7.51	5.78	5.38	2.90	4.37
	1961 – 1970	6.0	6.96	5.53	5.20	3.38	4.35
	1971 – 1980	11.6	13.45	11.18	8.10	5.90	7.30
	1981 – 1990	9.9	11.18	9.95	8.79	7.74	8.43
	1991 – 2000	15.6	16.80	17.86	16.96	17.98	19.32
	2001 – 2010	27.9	28.51	32.53	4.67	52.80	41.05
	2011+	2.1	2.14	2.16	3.63	3.13	3.98

Housing Characteristics		All Countries %	Ireland %	UK %	Other EU15 Member State %	Post-2004 EU Member State %	Non-EU country %
Housing tenure	Owner with mortgage/loan	39.5	42.2	40.4	24.8	12.1	24.3
	Owner occupied without loan/mortgage	31.3	34.6	32.5	13.0	2.1	10.4
	Rented from private landlord	18.3	12.3	16.9	56.1	73.9	52.7
	Social housing	9.6	9.6	8.9	4.8	11.2	10.6
	Occupied free of rent	1.3	1.3	1.5	1.3	0.6	1.9

Source: Generated by the Central Statistics Office from Census, 2016.

Note: Data are amended to remove 'not stated'.

Census 2016 also includes data on homelessness, disaggregated by nationality in Figure 4.1. These data indicate that in 2016 migrants made up 14.1% of the homeless population as compared to 11.6% of the entire population, and that some categories of migrants experienced greater levels of homelessness than Irish-born people (Central Statistics Office, 2017). Irish, UK and Polish citizens are slightly under-represented in the homeless population in comparison with their representation in the Irish population at large. Romanian, Croatian and Lithuanian citizens and those of African countries are over-represented in the homeless population.

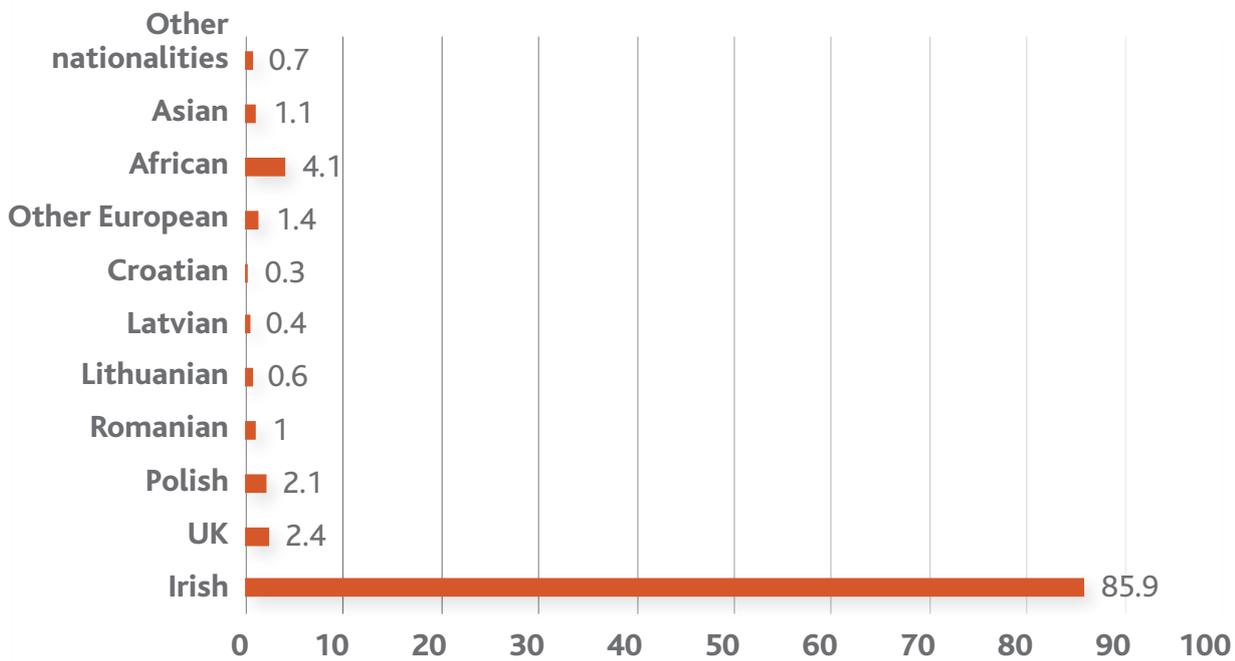
These trends in housing vulnerabilities are reflected in the characteristics of clients who submitted housing queries to the Citizens Information Services in 2017 (see Figure 4.2). These data show that people born in Ireland accounted for a lower proportion of queries about housing than would be expected in view of their representation in the population-at-large (61.8%

of total). The proportion of queries from people born in the UK and other EU15 member states is broadly similar to the representation of these groups in the general population. On the other hand, people born in post-2004 EU member states and non-EU countries are much more likely to submit housing-related queries to the CIS than would be expected in view of their representation in the population-at-large. Migrants from post-2004 EU member states and non-EU countries submitted 17.9% and 15.3% of housing-related queries respectively in 2017 while they made for 4.9% and 4.7% respectively of the Irish population in 2016 (see Figure 0.2).

### Drivers of Migrants' Housing Vulnerability

The information advocacy and advice providers interviewed identified several factors that contribute to migrants' vulnerability in the housing system and to the higher rates of homelessness among some migrant groups.

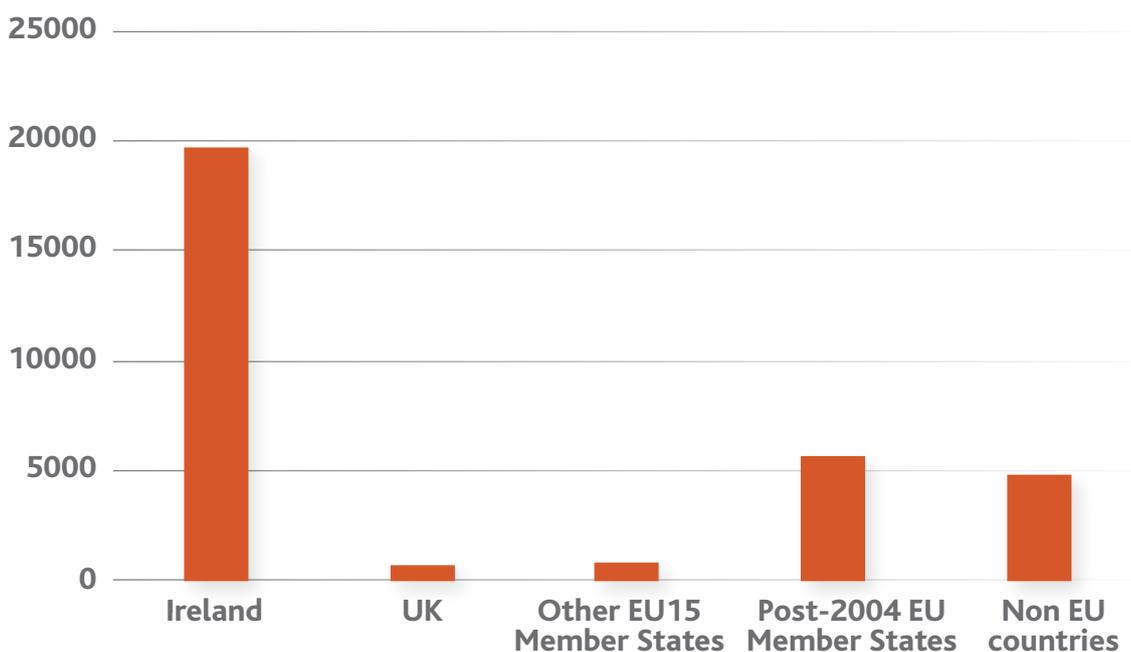
**Figure 4.1 Homeless People by Nationality (%)**



Source: Central Statistics Office (various years).

Note: 16.6% of the homeless population did not respond to the nationality question compared to 2.6% of the entire population who didn't respond to this question.

**Figure 4.2 Number of Queries about Housing Submitted to the Citizens Information Services, by Client's Country of Origin**



Source: Generated by the authors from the Citizens Information Board Oyster Database.

Note: Migrants are identified by 'country of origin'. These data refer only to the 70% of CIS clients for whom this was recorded in 2017.

Migrant' lack of knowledge of their housing rights was mentioned as a contributor to their vulnerability by an interviewee from Threshold: "... but people who don't understand Irish laws and if English is not their first language, then straightaway, they are automatically vulnerable". The same interviewee said that migrants' fear of complaining about sub-standard accommodation further reinforced their vulnerability:

I think they are fearful because they have nowhere else to go. They are vulnerable because there is a huge bias about their position with the landlord. They perceive that the landlord is doing them a favour as opposed to them paying for a product. They are reluctant to cause trouble, so we see poor standards of accommodation.

A representative from Blanchardstown CIS agreed:

... the situation has become so critical that people wouldn't really complain about that. So, I mean unless somebody has a local authority house they are not going to complain about substandard accommodation with a landlord because they know the alternative is facing homelessness.

Several interviewees also highlighted instances of housing discrimination based on ethnicity which they had come across in the course of their work. For example, the representative from Blanchardstown CIS reported that this service had dealt with several migrant clients whose housing need are not addressed at local authority level.. An interviewee from Threshold said: "I don't think conscious discrimination [against migrants] is an issue"; rather, he suggested:

The landlords rent to this area of the market [migrants] purely because their properties are of a lower standard. They know they are not going to have much trouble and are in a much stronger position to dictate how the

tenancy goes. They do that because they know people are vulnerable.

Most interviewees mentioned poor language skills, combined with lack of knowledge of their rights, as an issue that increases migrants' vulnerability in the housing market.

The consensus among interviewees was that migrants are particularly vulnerable to housing problems because the aforementioned risks – labour-market inequalities, lack of knowledge of rights or fear of exercising them, and language difficulties – occur in combination among this group. However, the interviewees agreed that housing problems are not confined to migrants. In the context of the current severe shortage of affordable housing in many parts of the country, difficulties in accessing housing are common among all vulnerable groups. This view was summarised cogently by a representative from Blanchardstown CIS:

... people who are not so assertive and able to argue their case – it seems to be the more vulnerable clients who report these issues. I can't really narrow it down to particular nationalities – it seems to be a combination of cultural misunderstanding and the vulnerability of the client. Obviously maybe if you present yourself in a suit and you have worked in a profession all your life – maybe you are treated in a different way. It seems to be a mix of reasons but certainly there are more foreign clients who feel mistreated, although we also have Irish clients who feel this way too.

The interviews with information providers indicate that women, families with children, particularly lone parents and students, especially if they are citizens of non-EU countries, are the most vulnerable sections of the migrant population in the housing system and therefore at greatest risk of homelessness. In this vein, the representative from Threshold said: "People who came here as part of a family unit and there was a breakup or a split – they

are definitely the most vulnerable and will accept appalling conditions just to keep a roof over their head". This view is supported by the international research, which reveals a strong relationship between migration, homelessness and gender-based violence, and by Mayock and Sheridan's (2012) research on migrant women's pathways into homelessness in Ireland. The latter study found that women whose migration status is dependent on their spouse are particularly vulnerable to homelessness because they lose immigration status when leaving an abusive relationship and can access neither the labour market, government housing or social security supports. Indeed, many of the migrant women interviewed by Mayock and Sheridan (2012) felt they could not approach authorities or services for help and many more had a lack of knowledge about available services. The Threshold interviewee reported that in recent years his service had come across greater numbers of international students who were vulnerable in the housing system and had become homeless as a result. This view was supported by another interviewee from Dublin City Centre CIS (see Chapter Three for further discussion of the problems of this group)

### Private Rented Housing

Analysis of the queries raised by CIS clients reveals that private rented housing was the second most common housing-related query. It accounted for 18.5% of housing-related queries for the period reviewed. Disaggregation according to the clients' country of origin reveals that questions about private renting were commonly raised by clients from EU member states (except for the UK). This finding is not surprising in view of the higher levels of private renting among migrants compared to the Irish population-at-large. Census 2016 reveals that only 12.3% of people born in Ireland and 16.9% of people born in the UK lived in this tenure, compared to 56.1%, 73.9% and 52.7% of people born in other EU15 member states, post-2004 EU member states and non-EU countries respectively (see Table 4.1).

The Department of Justice interviewee reflected:

"There can be lots of reasons for migrants' lower rate of home ownership such as some migrants may not be here permanently, or they may not want to buy a house – and they are younger as a cohort – they may have a house elsewhere and they may not have the same culture about home ownership."

However, she pointed out: "But even if you strip those factors out – home ownership is still much lower among migrants who have been here for a long time. This includes EU migrants also".

There was a strong consensus among the information providers interviewed that migrants' concentration in the private rented accommodation increases their vulnerability. This is partially because of factors that affect all tenants of this sector; they have less security of tenure than their counterparts in social housing or owner-occupied dwellings and, at the time of writing, strong competition for private rented housing and rent inflation, particularly in urban areas, is generating severe challenges for households trying to secure or maintain a private rented tenancy (Norris, 2017). In addition, interviewees argued that the vulnerability of renting migrants is increased by the factors that increase their vulnerability across the housing market, such as discrimination and English language ability, and also their widespread reliance on networks in their communities to access tenancies (Carroll and Lacey, 2017). In relation to the latter, a representative from Dublin City Centre CIS reported:

So, one person leaves and they get another person to come in and replace them and this new person doesn't know who the landlord is, and you can sometimes be ten times removed from who the landlord is. So, you have clients coming in with issues about their accommodation that they can do nothing about because they don't know who the landlord is.

Information providers reported that termination of tenancy is one of the most frequent concerns raised by migrant clients living in private rented accommodation. An interviewee from Threshold reported:

Tenancy termination is the issue that concerns most of our clients; anecdotally the majority are migrants. It could be because the landlord wants a higher rent or needs to sell, and it is a good time to sell. Lots of reasons why they want the property back... if you are a migrant and are fully reliant on housing subsidy then you are competing with a lot of other people.

This same interviewee reported that large rent increases, which in some cases breach the Rent Pressure Zone (i.e. rent control) provisions are a key driver of tenancy terminations:

... there is a fear that lots of unlawful rent increases are happening and that people are very reluctant to do anything about it even when they are made aware that it is unlawful. Tenancy termination either follows or is the cause of it. The landlord is aware that they are not going to be able to pay and they are aware especially in rent pressure zones that if they renovate the property then they can get an exemption to the 4% limit so lots of times they are using that to get people out.

### **Social Housing, Housing Assistance Payment and Rent Supplement**

Table 4.2 above reveals that the most common housing-related queries raised by Citizens Information Services clients in 2017/2018 concerned social rented housing and related housing supports for private renting households, and that migrants, particularly from other EU member states, were much more likely to raise these queries than clients of Irish origin. Social housing and related supports

accounted for 53% of queries from migrants from other EU15 member states and 63.6% of queries from migrants from post-2004 EU member states received by the CIS. The CIS information providers interviewed reported that many of these queries related to the Housing Assistance Payment (HAP)<sup>25</sup>, which provides a cash subsidy to enable households in long term need of social housing to rent private housing. To qualify for HAP, a household must be assessed by a local authority as eligible for social housing.

UK citizens have identical rights to housing support from the government as Irish citizens but all other migrants who wish to apply for social housing (and therefore become eligible for HAP) must have a legal right to reside in the State on a long-term basis. Those who do not qualify for HAP may be eligible for a similar subsidy towards the cost of their private rents, called Rent Supplement, but only if they satisfy the Habitual Residency Requirement (Department of Housing, Community and Local Government, 2012; Carroll and Lacey, 2017; Norris, 2017) (see Chapter Two). To be eligible for social housing or HAP, non-EU citizens must have formal leave to remain in the State, and citizens of EU member states must have been in employment or self-employment in the State for a minimum of a year. Those who are not working must be temporarily unemployed because of illness or an accident or involuntarily unemployed after working for a minimum of a year, and be in receipt of the Jobseeker's Allowance from the DSP.

These provisions were introduced by the Department of Housing, Community and Local Government (2012) in a circular to local authorities issued in 2012. Some of the information providers interviewed suggested that these provisions had created difficulties for EU nationals who do not meet the employment requirements. For instance, an interviewee from CIS Balbriggan argued:

25 In 2018, almost 30% of HAP related queries to the CIS network where country of origin was recorded were from migrants.

They brought in a particular circular – it really tightened up and it really hit EU citizens and they had to be in employment or self-employment for a minimum of a year in Ireland or be involuntarily unemployed. There were a considerable number of clients who didn't have that year of employment so therefore they were knocked off the local authority housing list which meant they also potentially lost their entitlement to rent supplement.

The same interviewee pointed out that these measures can also mean that citizens of other EU member states who fail to meet these requirements may lose access to social housing supports: "If they don't fit into those categories, they don't have a right to access social housing support and they get taken off the housing list and their rent supplement is stopped". A Dublin City Centre CIS interviewee gave the example of how this provision had affected a client. The person in question, who is unable to work due to a long-term disability, was in receipt of a disability payment and rent supplement, but because he had not worked for a long time "he has been refused access to the housing list because he doesn't fall into the categories suitable for EU migrants".

This circular issued to local authorities also stipulates that non-EU citizens (excluding refugees or asylum seekers) are required to have been legally resident in Ireland for a minimum of five years before applying for social housing. A Dublin City Centre CIS interviewee commented that in practice it was very challenging for migrants to qualify for these subsidies for private-renting tenants:

OK, you may say that someone must have a certain attachment to the country before they get housing. But in reality, it is going to be a long, long time before anyone gets a local authority house and in order to access the HAP – which is the alternative to rent supplement – you must be on the local authority list [i.e. have been assessed as

qualified for social housing]. So, people who can't afford housing – the most vulnerable – if they can't get on the list, they can't access HAP. Five years is a long time to be requiring somebody to get access to a scheme that is meant to be for vulnerable people who can't afford accommodation.

Non-EU nationals who are not eligible for social support only have limited access to homeless accommodation. A Threshold interviewee reported: "They might get a couple of nights [of emergency accommodation] but they are not considered to be the responsibility of any local authority or able to access services on a long-term basis, which is what people need these days". Furthermore, some interviewees were critical of the fact that these stipulations are set out in a Department of Housing, Community and Local Government (2012) circular rather than in legislation. The Threshold representative argued that this has precipitated inconsistencies in interpreting and applying these provisions:

The description of the Right to Reside eligibility is contained in a local authority circular from 2012. However, it is contended that the definition of Right to Reside outlined in this circular is unclear. Nonetheless, local authorities appear to rely on and frequently reference this circular, and more clarity would benefit all parties.

### Leaving Direct Provision

Several of the information providers interviewed reported that accessing accommodation is extremely difficult for migrants who have been living in the direct provision (DP) system and are granted leave to remain in Ireland or refugee status. For instance, a representative from Doras Luimní stated:

... getting housing is extremely difficult. I have had clients living in the DP system for a decade and for anyone's mental

health that is not a good scenario... once they get their status, they hit the barrier [and] they have nowhere to go... rents are astronomically high and there is no supply.

The interviewee from Crosscare agreed:

When people get their status, they are requested to leave direct provision but if they can't find accommodation that is very problematic... the real critical thing is when they bring their family members over and they don't have accommodation provided. That is a big, big issue. They spend their days pounding the pavement looking for accommodation, going to homeless services, family hubs, self-catering.

The Dublin City Centre CIS representative argued that the rules on social welfare payments to migrants who have received refugee status or permission to remain but who are still living in a direct provision centre impede their access to alternative accommodation. In his view:

They get the direct provision rate because of means-testing that takes your accommodation into consideration etc, but they are staying in direct provision because they can't get out, so it is a vicious circle because with the reduced rate a week, no one is ever going to be able to get the money together to move out. The reduced social welfare payments mean that people get stuck in direct provision.

The same interviewee pointed out that migrants who do leave direct provision centres can have difficulty accessing medical cards:

Sometimes asylum seekers leave the direct provision process to live with someone they know or whatever – when they do that their direct provision money stops so if

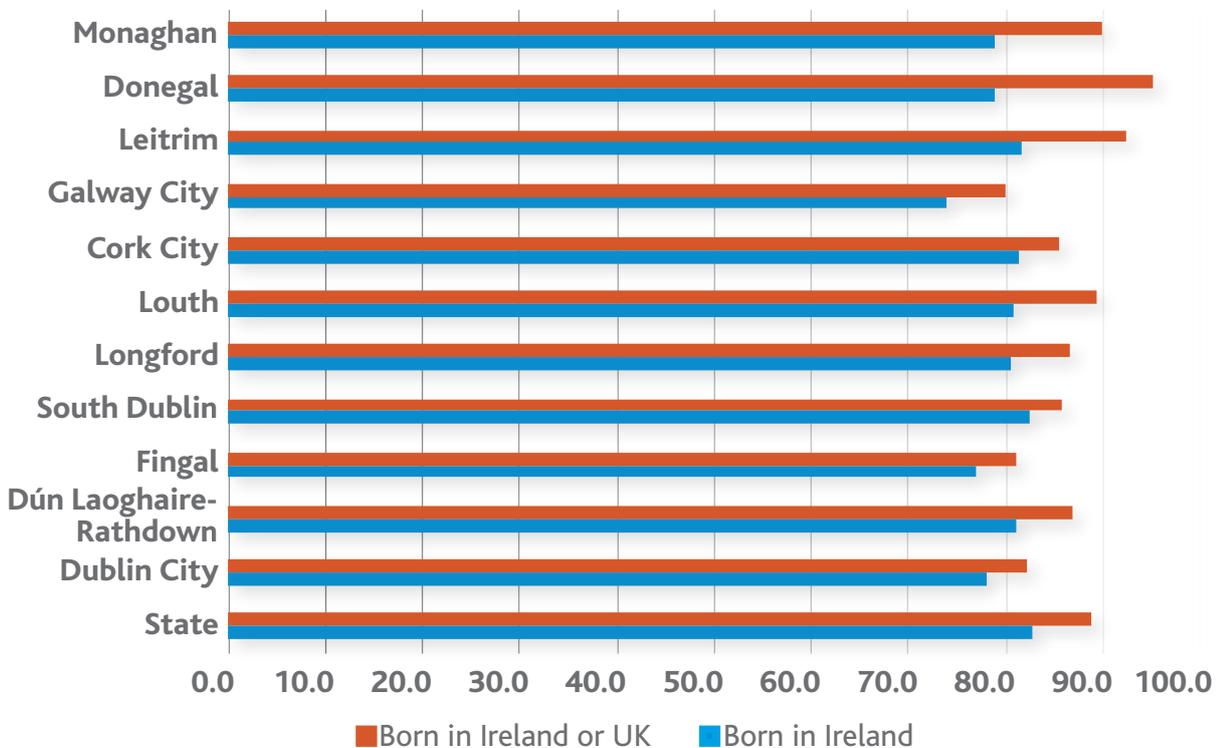
they haven't got a medical card, they can't get one because you must show income in order to get a medical card. Whereas the people who are in direct provision, they get specially organised medical cards.

## Location

The migrant population is not evenly distributed between different regions of the country. This has implications both for the total volume of queries that Citizens Information Services in different parts of the country receive from the migrant community, and for migrants' experience in the housing market. In addition, migrants are not evenly distributed within cities and towns. Several interviewees highlighted the emergence of increased spatial concentration of migrants in certain urban neighbourhoods and raised concerns about the implications of this.

Details of the city and country operational areas that contained the lowest proportion of Irish-born residents and therefore the highest proportion of residents born abroad are set out in Figure 4.3. Due to the high number of UK-born residents living in some regions, particularly near to the Northern Irish border and the almost identical rights enjoyed by UK and Irish citizens resident in Ireland, Figure 4.3 also takes account of UK-born residents. This analysis demonstrates that Galway City Council included the lowest proportion of Irish and UK-born residents in 2016 (80.0%), closely followed by Fingal County Council (81.0%) and Dublin City Council (82.1%). Indeed, all except one of the local authority operational areas where the Irish and UK-born population was below the national average in 2016 were cities, the only exception being County Longford, where 86.7% of residents were Irish or UK-born.

**Figure 4.3 City and County Council Operational Areas where the Irish and UK-Born Population is Lowest, 2016**



Source: Central Statistics Office (various years).

The information service providers interviewed made clear that this uneven spatial distribution had implications for migrants’ use of their services, which, as a result, is largely concentrated in urban areas. They also suggested that migrants’ concentration in cities reflected their personal preferences, which are shaped by the availability of employment and services, and also their networks with other members of their national, ethnic or faith communities. However, they suggested that the specific locations where migrants live in cities are driven largely by housing affordability and availability, and that these factors have resulted in the emergence of spatial concentrations of migrants that have the potential to increase the vulnerability of this population. This point was raised, for instance, by a Department of Justice interviewee:

“Home ownership is still much lower among migrants who have been here for a long time. This in effect means that migrants are congregating in areas that have private rented accommodation at rates they can afford, leading to concentrations – which is not positive. It is clear from experience in other countries that where you have spatial segregation of migrants, then you can have additional tensions. ...I think there is some evidence that we have spatial segregation here... it is a barrier to integration and not something that anybody would desire... There is evidence that the key to integration is social contact, positive social contact. So, by their very nature if you create ghettos then you reduce the opportunities for social contact.”

The same interviewee also flagged concerns about the concentration of migrant children in some urban schools, although she stressed that this was not always related to residential segregation.

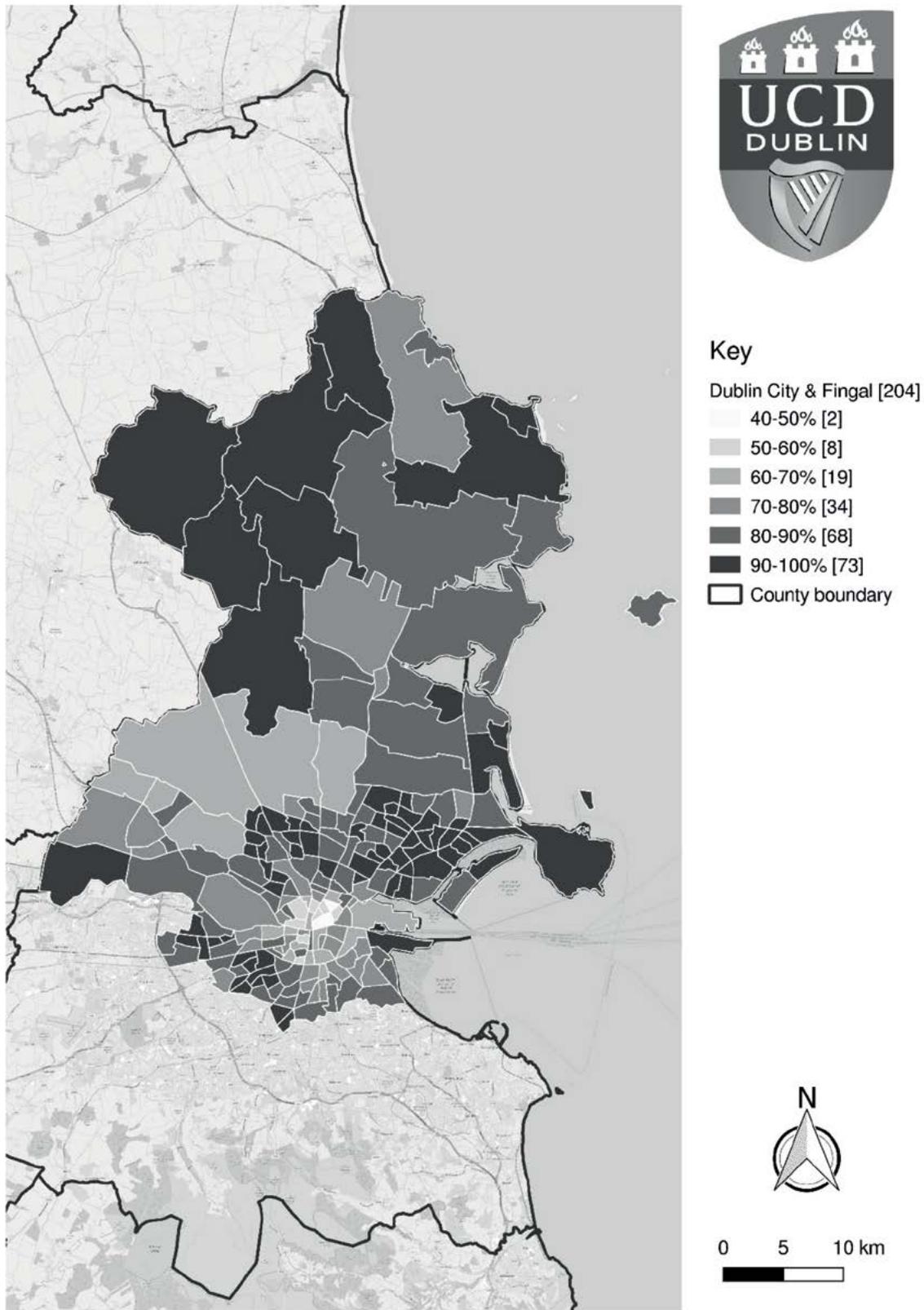
The emergence of spatial segregation of migrants in parts of the cities where this population is large is supported by evidence from Census 2016, which is set out in Figures 4.4 and 4.5. These figures map distribution of the Irish and UK-born population in the Galway City Council and Fingal County Council areas – two of the local authority areas where such individuals accounted for the lowest proportion of residents in 2016. This analysis identifies the electoral divisions (EDs), the small areas into which local government electoral areas or wards are divided) in which migrants resident in these local authority areas were concentrated.

In both cases it reveals several EDs in which the 70%-80% of the population was born in Ireland. Notably the EDs in these categories tend to be located adjacent to each other, which creates a spatial concentration of migrants.

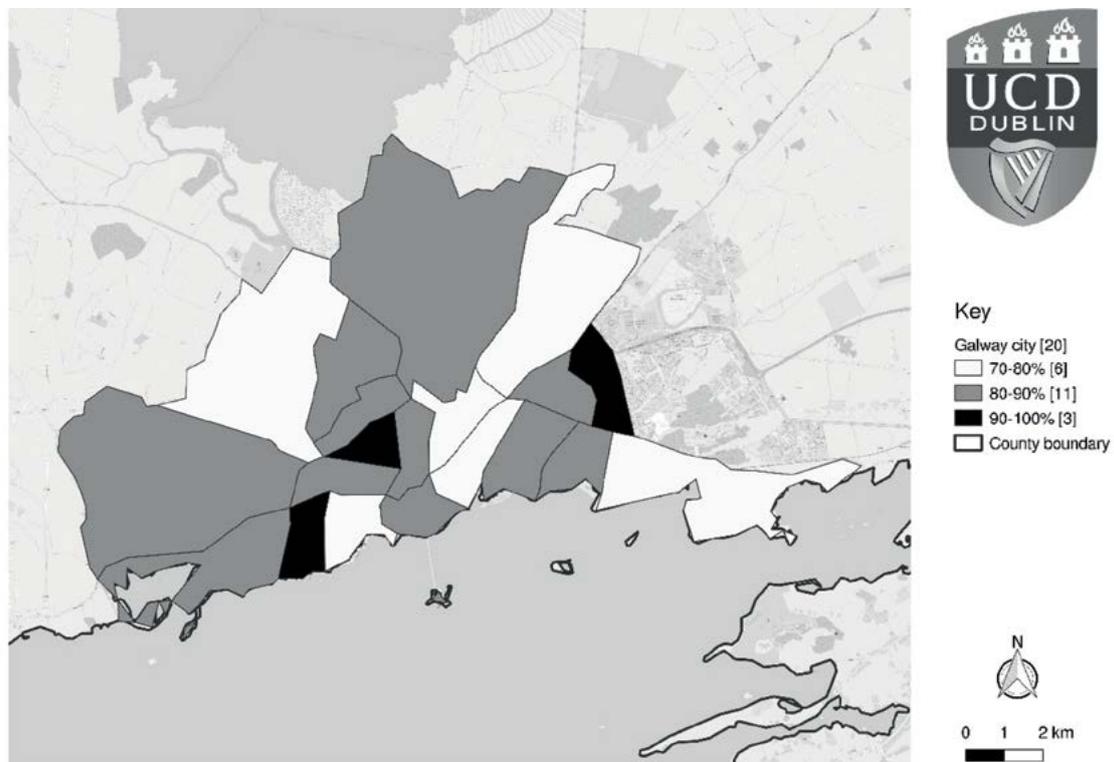
Research on migrants' experiences in Dublin by EY Ernst and Young (2014) found that Polish people seem to be socially isolated in Ireland both as a consequence of arriving in large numbers and due to the language barrier. This report also notes that Lithuanians in Dublin reported difficulties in establishing regular contact and opportunities to socialise with Irish people. However, some research presents a contrary view. For example, Ager and Strang (2008) report that the establishment of connection with 'like-ethnic groups' enables migrants to establish support networks, which contributes to effective integration.



**Figure 4.4 Migrant Concentrations in Fingal County Council**



Source: generated by Dr Eoin Mahoney, UCD School of Geography using data from the census small area population statistics, 2016.

**Figure 4.5 Migrant Concentrations in Galway City Council**

Source: generated by Dr Eoin Mahoney, UCD School of Geography using data from the census small area population statistics, 2016.

### Migrants' Housing Information Needs

The information providers interviewed agreed that their information, advice and advocacy services play a vital role in enabling migrants to negotiate the housing system in Ireland, and suggested that services should be expanded to ensure that particularly vulnerable and hard-to-reach migrants receive better support. Interviewees suggested that they needed this support because of their greater risk of experiencing housing problems such as poor-quality housing and difficulties in accessing housing (as explained above). They also highlighted migrants' lack of knowledge of their housing rights and their fear of enforcing these rights, in part due to their vulnerability. For instance, a Threshold interviewee argued:

The laws here are not clear and they are not easy to understand and I think there is

always a fear that if the landlord is going to come with the guards or if there is a threat of that they will automatically believe the landlord... the landlord is king for these people and no matter what we say about their rights it doesn't matter.

This interviewee argued that this vulnerability and timorousness means that migrants are more challenging for information providers to support because they are "less willing to take advice and accept advocacy support if it is going to potentially make trouble for their landlord":

... so when they do come it tends to be very serious – such as a threat of eviction or they are getting a rent increase or they fell into arrears because they could no longer afford the rent. So it is the end of the line. They are not looking for general rights about how

to get a boiler fixed or about a shower that has been broken for a week. It tends to be that they are being evicted tomorrow or that the landlord has threatened to change the locks. Or they can't afford the rent but the rent has been increased three times in the last eight months.

For this reason, this same interviewee suggested that in-depth, face-to-face advice provision is a much more effective method of addressing migrants' housing concerns than the provision of information in writing:

.... we don't have a drop-in centre here, but we don't turn people away either if they come to the office. The majority who drop in at the door are migrants and it is definitely easier for them to talk face-to-face rather than doing it on the phone. Face-to-face contact is always more effective. A lot of contacts that we have over the phone end up coming in to us for appointments because the conversation is just not going anywhere over the phone, especially if English is not the first language.

The need for specialist advice services for migrants who are particularly vulnerable to homelessness or poor housing conditions and/or are hard to reach was also mentioned as a priority by information service providers. The specific groups identified as in need of this support are: non-EU spouses, partners and families of migrants, migrants exiting direct provision, migrant victims of domestic violence, and homeless migrants. Mayock and Sheridan (2012) make similar recommendations.

The information providers also suggested that migrants' need for housing information and advice in part reflects weaknesses in housing regulation, particularly in the private rented

sector. For instance, a Threshold interviewee argued that the regulation of minimum standards of rented dwellings, of security of tenure and of rent inflation and Rent Pressure Zones in the private rented sector are not proactively reinforced. Rather, their implementation depends in practice on tenants making complaints to the Residential Tenancies Board, which regulates this sector. He argued:

... this shouldn't be the responsibility of the tenant. Tenants aren't always going to be proactive and it shouldn't be the role of the tenant. They shouldn't have to jeopardise their relationship with their landlord. So, there should be more proactive enforcement of minimum standards.

This interviewee and several others make the case that reforming this regulatory regime would reduce migrants' vulnerability and therefore the need for support from information providers.

## Conclusions

This chapter examined migrants' experience in the housing market and accessing government housing supports, and the regions and neighbourhoods in which the migrant population is concentrated.

It has revealed a consensus among the information service providers interviewed, supported by evidence from the 2016 Census, that migrants are more vulnerable in terms of housing than the population-at-large. Migrants are more likely to live in small dwellings and in dwelling types often associated with poor-quality accommodation than the general Irish population. In addition, migrants from some (but not all) foreign countries are at greater risk of homelessness than the Irish population.

However, not all categories of migrants are equally vulnerable. Women, families with children, lone parents and students, particularly if they are citizens of non-EU countries, are the most vulnerable sections of the migrant population in the housing system and therefore at greatest risk of homelessness.

This situation in part reflects the strong concentration of migrants in urban areas where housing demand and cost inflation is higher, and in private rented housing, which is associated with weaker security of tenure and less affordability. It also reflects many migrants' weak position in the labour force, discrimination, their lack of knowledge of their housing rights, and reluctance to be assertive in enforcing these rights because of their vulnerability in the housing system.

Information services can play an important role in helping migrants overcome these housing vulnerabilities. They are particularly important in cities where the migrant population is concentrated. More specialist and comprehensive advice and advocacy are required for the particularly vulnerable migrants listed above, who may have complex needs and can often be hard to reach. The information providers interviewed also suggested that migrants' need for housing information and advice in part reflects weaknesses in housing regulation, particularly in the private rented sector. Therefore, addressing migrants' housing vulnerability will require changes to housing policy, as well as information service provision.



# 5. Conclusions

## Introduction

This report has examined the scale of migration into Ireland since 2000, the socio-economic characteristics of migrants and their households, and the implications of all this for providers of information, advice and advocacy services, particularly those supported by the Citizens Information Board. It focuses not on the whole migrant population but rather on the segment of this population who are in greatest need of information and advice services because they are in vulnerable situations; for instance, they are experiencing or are at higher risk of experiencing poverty or homelessness.

This final chapter sets out the key findings of the analysis and recommendations intended to help information services meet the needs of vulnerable migrants effectively, and that relevant policies also improve help to reduce migrants' vulnerability. It also proposes policy changes that could help to reduce migrants' vulnerability.

## Who are the Most Vulnerable Migrants?

The proportion of people living in Ireland who were born abroad has increased radically since the mid-2000s. The Irish population has become much more diverse as a result. Most of the migrants who have moved to Ireland during that period are not vulnerable. They are on average younger and better educated than the general Irish population and more likely to be in employment, which indicates that they have integrated effectively into the Irish economy and society.

However, this report has revealed that some categories of migrants are more likely to find themselves in vulnerable situations. The specific

groups identified as vulnerable are:

- **Non-EU migrants:** Due to their immigration status, migrants from outside the European Union are inherently more vulnerable than migrants from the UK and other EU member states. This status means that non-EU migrants' ability to remain living in Ireland is dependent on securing an Irish Residence Permit, which is usually linked to paid employment. Non-EU migrants' access to social security benefits and government housing supports is also more restricted than that of their counterparts from the UK and EU member states, which most likely increases their risk of poverty and homelessness.
- **Migrants' spouses, partners and families:** People in this category are also particularly vulnerable if they are not citizens of the UK or EU member states. This is because their eligibility to reside in Ireland is entirely dependent on their relationship with the migrant, i.e. the family member who has secured the job in Ireland and the associated IRP. Migrants' spouses, partners and families from outside the EU have no entitlement to social security benefits or government housing supports in their own right. This means that they are at significant risk of poverty and/or homelessness in cases of family breakdown or domestic violence.
- **Undocumented migrants:** The information service providers consulted for this study revealed that they receive many queries from undocumented migrants from outside the EU. They reported that in most cases these individuals have entered the country legally as a student or worker and secured an IRP on this basis, but this has lapsed or not been renewed, and they now find

themselves without an immigration status and thus have no right to live or work in Ireland, claim social security benefits or use social services. These migrants are therefore very vulnerable, as are their children, who may be excluded from access to third-level education as a result of their parents' migration status.

- **Migrants who speak little or no English:** Migrants from both inside and outside the EU who don't speak English or speak poor English are also vulnerable to exploitation in the labour market as well as to social isolation, and are more likely to experience difficulties in accessing social services and social security benefits as well as the information and advice they require. The information providers interviewed suggested that the migrants' spouses, partners and family members are more likely to lack good English language skills than migrants themselves. Poor or no English language skills are much more widespread than the Census data would suggest.
- **Migrants who are members of 'visible minorities':** Black and Asian migrants are also more vulnerable than migrants who are not members of visible minorities.
- **Migrants who live in the private rented sector:** Migrants from other EU member states and outside the EU live in worse housing conditions than people born in Ireland or the UK. There was a widespread view among the information providers interviewed that this situation is related to the fact that the former are far less likely to own their homes and far more likely to live in the private rented sector than the latter. This in part reflects the weaker regulation of the private rented sector and therefore the weaker rights afforded to tenants. It also reflects migrants' weaker position in the labour market which reduces their buying power in the housing market, and their lack of knowledge of their housing rights and,

in part because of their vulnerability, their reluctance to enforce them.

- **Migrants leaving direct provision:** Migrants who have come to Ireland seeking asylum were also identified as vulnerable by information providers, particularly during the period when they are transitioning from direct provision accommodation to independent housing. This is because they face the challenges faced by all migrants in the housing market but, in addition, many have spent a long period in direct provision and, due to their ineligibility for full benefit payments until they leave direct provision, they may have difficulty in accumulating the resources necessary to make this move.

### The Role of Information, Advice and Advocacy Services in Supporting Migrants in Vulnerable Situations

This report has also shown how information, advice and advocacy services play a very important role in supporting vulnerable migrants. This is demonstrated by migrants' use of the Citizens Information Services. The country of origin of clients who requested information from the CIS is recorded in almost 70% of cases, and these data reveal that 24% of callers originate from outside Ireland, which is significantly higher than the proportion of migrants in the total population. In addition, clients from abroad had longer meetings with CIS information providers than clients whose country of origin is Ireland (see Chapter One).

However, the analysis presented here has also identified several measures that could further improve the information service provided to vulnerable migrants and thereby mitigate their vulnerability. These are set out in the eight recommendations below. Some of these are also intended to enable the Citizens Information Board to contribute to meeting the objectives of government migrant integration strategies. Others relate to information provision by central and local government and

NGOs that provide benefits and services to vulnerable migrants.

The information providers interviewed for this study acknowledged that valuable progress has already been made in this regard, particularly by the Department of Justice in its collaboration with NGOs who work with migrants around the country. For instance, an interviewee from Crosscare reported:

It is slowly improving. We coordinate a group of NGOs who meet with the Department of Justice and the INIS every three months... We bring cumulative cases to them. For example, we say: Can you update the website, can you develop better application procedures? The INIS send us application forms in advance of publication for the NGOs to [have proofed] by practitioners who are working with migrants with information needs, to say 'That question is really complicated', 'Why do they need to provide this information?', 'Can you put this into plain English?'. So systematically things are improving in terms of application forms and routes.

A similar model for consulting with NGOs that provide information, advice and advocacy to migrants has been introduced by the Department of Social Protection. However, the information providers consulted recommended that these reforms be extended to other parts of the civil and public sector, and also to non-governmental organisations that provide services to migrants.

#### **Recommendation One: Translation services for migrants in vulnerable situations**

Migrants who speak little or no English were identified by all the information providers interviewed for this study as being at particularly high risk of finding themselves in a vulnerable situation. Moreover, poor English language skills are likely to be just one of several vulnerabilities. Poor language skills increase social isolation, and reduce

employment opportunities and income levels. As a consequence, the likelihood of substandard accommodation and/or homelessness increases. To address this issue, it is recommended that translation or interpretation services, especially in Department of Social Protection offices and local authorities are clearly advertised and made more easily accessible. Information on standard queries should be published online and elsewhere in relevant languages.

#### **Recommendation Two: Specialist one-to-one advice for migrants in vulnerable situations**

The information providers interviewed agreed that, while most migrants can be reached using standard information provision techniques such as websites and leaflets, migrants in more vulnerable situations often have more complex and multi-faceted needs and may thus require specialist one-to-one advice and advocacy, which is tailored to their specific needs. This is because vulnerable migrants include those who are undocumented or have a broken Irish Residence Permit record, and will require specialist advice on securing an IRP or Irish citizenship if they wish to remain in Ireland. Vulnerable migrants also include those who have experienced family breakdown and/or domestic violence, and are likely to require specialist and culturally appropriate advice.

#### **Recommendation Three: Location of specialist one-to-one advice services for migrants in vulnerable situations**

The migrant population is unevenly distributed across the country. They are largely concentrated in the three largest urban centres; therefore, any additional investment in specialist advice services for vulnerable migrants should be largely concentrated in these areas.

#### **Recommendation Four: Enhancing information and support for persons exiting direct provision**

A support programme for migrants exiting direct provision is already in place, but

despite this all of the information providers interviewed identified this group as vulnerable and requiring information services. In particular, this group are vulnerable during the period immediately after they receive their refugee status or permission to remain in Ireland and are attempting to transition to independent living in the community. Information and support to enhance basic practical living skills such as cooking, budgeting and shopping in an unfamiliar country and enable them to find housing could improve their transition experience and boost their opportunities for integration with the local community.

#### **Recommendation Five: Outreach to migrants in vulnerable situations**

Many vulnerable migrants are hard to reach because, for instance, they are not in the workforce, don't speak English or are undocumented. On this basis, the Citizens Information Board should consider devising a strategy regarding outreach to vulnerable, hard-to-reach migrants who need information and support. This could be implemented by the Citizens Information Services and/or other specialist information providers to migrants that are funded by the CIB. The information providers interviewed for this study suggested that a strategy of this type should focus on: undocumented migrants, migrants who have come to Ireland through the family reunification programme and students, and seek to make contact with these migrants through community and religious groups, public health nurses and pre-schools. Actively involving migrants in the planning and implementation of these services would ensure relevance of new services and facilitate outreach to the most isolated and vulnerable groups.

#### **Recommendation Six: Information regarding Irish Residence Permits for the children of migrants**

Lack of knowledge among migrants that their children must secure an Irish Residence Permit

in their own right at age 16 was flagged by many of the information providers as a problem, because it means that these young people are not eligible for government support for their third-level education. To address this problem, the Department of Education, Student Universal Support Ireland (SUSI) or another appropriate organisation should consider instigating an information campaign to inform relevant households and individuals of this requirement. This could be done via secondary schools.

#### **Recommendation Seven: Information and advice on housing**

Lack of supply of private rented accommodation, high rents and substandard accommodation is a major social issue in contemporary Ireland for both migrants and native Irish people. However, migrants have an additional disadvantage due to the complex nature of their right to access government housing support, which varies according to their country of origin and residency status. In addition, poor English language skills and lack of a family or local support network exacerbates the vulnerability of migrants. Therefore, specific provision of information is recommended in view of migrants' particular vulnerability in the housing system. This information could be made available online in different languages but, for some migrants, specialist one-to-one advice, with the assistance of an interpreter where relevant, is recommended. Collaboration by the CIB with specialist organisations would be beneficial and cost-effective.

#### **Recommendation Eight: Information for frontline central and local government staff on migrants' rights and entitlements**

Many of the queries raised by migrants with information providers relate to decisions or advice regarding their rights and entitlements communicated to them by frontline government staff, particularly in local authorities and the DSP. Providing better information on these issues to frontline central and local government staff

and updating this information regularly would reduce the need for intervention in these cases by information providers.

#### Recommendation Nine: Training of frontline central and local government staff in communicating decisions to clients

Unclear advice to migrants or unclear communication of decisions on their rights and entitlements is a further factor that prompts them to seek support from information providers or other third parties and may also hinder or prevent them from lodging an appeal. Addressing this problem does not necessarily require the use of translation services. The information service providers interviewed argued that training of staff in the use of plain English when communicating decisions to applicants would help. This would also improve communications with native English speakers who have literacy problems. Interviewees also mentioned that the clearer communication to clients of the implications of decisions, how to appeal and where to seek independent advice would be beneficial.

#### Recommendation Ten: Information for non-governmental social service providers on migrants' rights and entitlements

Provision of several social services that play a critical role in meeting the needs of vulnerable migrants is dominated by NGOs. This includes emergency homelessness services and services for domestic violence victims. Therefore, staff of these services should be included in information campaigns for central and local government staff regarding migrants' rights and entitlements.

### Other Policy and Service Reforms that Would Reduce the Number of Migrants in Vulnerable Situations

Some of the information and advice needs of migrants in vulnerable situations that have been identified in this report could be addressed by reforming the policies and

services to enable migrants to more easily negotiate the system of social security benefits and social services and thereby mitigate their vulnerability. The information providers interviewed for this study acknowledged that valuable progress has already been made in this regard by the Department of Justice, most notably as part of the preparation and implementation of the *Migrant Integration Strategy*. (2017-2021). However, they suggested that further action is required from other ministries, central government agencies and local authorities in order to establish a more comprehensive 'whole of government' approach to supporting migrants and vulnerable migrants in particular. Interviewees argued for "a real-life cross-departmental, cross-governmental coordination of efforts"; and improved communication between the Departments of Justice and the Department of Social Protection and suggested that "committees, like an Oireachtas Committee", could help to resolve this situation.

Recommendations 11 to 15 set out proposals for policy and service reforms that would reduce migrants' vulnerability.

#### Recommendation Eleven: Review and Extension of the Migrant Integration Strategy

The information service providers interviewed for this study warmly welcomed the *Migrant Integration Strategy* and the initiatives it contains, but argued that the scope of the strategy should be extended as part of any future review to include measures from all relevant ministries and local government. In December 2020, the Department of Justice announced that this strategy (which had been due to end in 2020), has been extended to December 2021 to enable the actions of the Strategy to continue to be implemented while facilitating the preparations for a new strategic policy approach to migrant integration.

Interviewees criticised the omission of housing from the strategy, for instance, despite the

fact that in their view housing inaccessibility and unaffordability are key barriers to migrant integration. (Grotti *et al.*, 2018, raise the same point). A cross-departmental committee would be required to manage the drafting and implementation of a more broadly focused strategy. Concurrent with broadening the focus of the policies and services included in the strategy, some interviewees argued for a narrowing of its focus in terms of the sections of the migrant population targeted so as to identify and prioritise migrants in vulnerable situations for support.

#### Recommendation Twelve: Streamline and improve the immigration registration processes

Information providers in Dublin reported that arrangements for securing appointments with the Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service to secure or renew an Irish Residence Permit (IRP) were generating a large proportion of the queries received from migrants. Migrants living in Dublin were required to use an online system to book these appointments, which was proving difficult for many. The renewal of all IRPs for applicants in the Dublin area was changed to an online only system (as part of a range of measures to deal with pandemic restrictions). First time applicants (and those with new passports) must continue to present in person to the Burgh Quay Registration Office (as biometric details are required).

Feedback indicates that the changed approach to online renewals seems to have relieved many of the pressures but it remains a challenge for some applicants to secure a timely appointment via the online system. Further enhancements will be needed to the system in order to deliver a secure and efficient service for all applicants.

#### Recommendation Thirteen: Regularising the Status of Undocumented Migrants

The information providers interviewed suggested that many undocumented migrants are living in Ireland and their immigration status renders them and their families very vulnerable. Ultimately, regularisation of undocumented migrants increases integration opportunities for this group. The Programme for Government 2020 contained a commitment to create new pathways for long-term undocumented people and their dependents, to regularise their status and the Department of Justice announced a scheme to regularise undocumented migrants, opening in January 2022.

#### Recommendation Fourteen: Regulation of Private Rented Housing

This report revealed that most migrants live in private rented housing. Threshold and the information providers interviewed reported that migrants in this sector are vulnerable to exploitation by landlords, unaware of their rights and in many cases loath to act to enforce these rights. More proactive enforcement of tenancy regulations, such as rolling inspections of private rented dwellings by local authorities to ensure they meet minimum standards, would help to reduce these migrants' vulnerability. In addition, reforms to arrangements for implementing other regulations, such as the publication of a register of rents, would help the Residential Tenancies Board to enforce restrictions on rent increases in Rent Pressure Zones, rather than having to rely on tenants themselves to make complaints about unauthorised rent increases as is the case currently.

# References

- Ager, A. and Strang, A. (2008) 'Understanding integration: A conceptual framework', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 21(2), pp. 166–191. doi: 10.1093/jrs/fen016.
- Anderson, K. (2015) *Social Policy in the European Union*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- André, C. (2010) 'A bird's eye view of OECD housing markets', *OECD Economics Department Working Papers No. 746*, (746). doi: 10.1787/5kmlh5qvz1s4-en.
- Arnold, S. and Quinn, E. (2017) *Family Reunification of Non-EU Nationals in Ireland*. Dublin: ESRI.
- Barrell, R., Fitzgerald, J. and Riley, R. (2010) 'EU Enlargement and Migration: Assessing the macroeconomic impacts', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48(2), pp. 373–395.
- Barrett, A., Bergin, A. and Duffy, D. (2006) 'The labour market characteristics and labour market impacts of immigrants in Ireland', *Economic and Social Review*, 37(2), pp. 1–26.
- Barrett, A. and Duffy, D. (2008) 'Are Ireland's immigrants integrating into its labor market?', *International Migration Review*, 42(3), pp. 597–619. doi: 10.1111/j.1747-7379.2008.00139.x.
- Barrett, A., McGinnity, F. and Quinn, E. (2017) *Monitoring Report on Integration 2016*. Dublin.
- Caroll, R. and Lacey, A. (2017) 'Minority Groups and Renting in Ireland', in Sirr, L. (ed.) *Renting in Ireland: The Social, Voluntary and Private Sectors*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, pp. 68–85.
- Central Statistics Office (2017) *Population 2016 -Profile 5 Homeless Persons in Ireland*. Dublin.
- Central Statistics Office (various years) *Census of Population of Ireland*. Dublin.
- Citizens Information Board (various years) *Combining Social Insurance contributions from abroad; United States of America: Social Security: Totalization Agreement with Ireland*.
- Cornelissen, R. (2007) '50 Years of European Social Security Coordination', *European Journal of Social Security*, 11(1–2), pp. 9–45.
- Cremers, J., Dølvik, J. and Bosch, G. (2007) 'Posting of Workers in the Single Market: Attempts to Prevent Social Dumping and Regime Competition in the EU.', *Industrial Relations Journal*, 38(6), pp. 524–541.
- Darmody, M. and Smyth, E. (2018) 'Immigrant Student Achievement and Educational Policy in Ireland', in Darmody, M. and Smyth, E. (eds) *Darmody, M., & Smyth, E.* Cham: Springer, pp. 119–135.
- Department of Social Protection (2018) *HRC guidelines for Deciding Officers on the determination of HRC*. Dublin: DESP.
- Department of Social Protection (various years) *Statistical Information on Social Welfare*. Dublin: DESP.
- Department of Housing Community and Local Government (2012) *Housing Circular 41/2012 December, 2012: Access to social housing supports for non-Irish nationals – including clarification re Stamp 4 holders*. Dublin.
- Department of Justice (2017) *The Migrant Integration Strategy*. Dublin: Department of Justice.
- European Commission (2009) *Five Years of an Enlarged EU: Economic Achievements and Challenges*. Brussels: European Commission.
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2008) *European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-Mindis), 2008*. Brussels: EUFRA.

- EY Ernst and Young (2014) *Evaluation of the impact of the free movement of EU citizens at local level*. Brussels: Commissioned by the European Commission DG JUSTICE.
- FLAC (2010) *Briefing paper on immigrants' rights to social welfare in Ireland*. Dublin: FLAC.
- FLAC (2016) *FLACsheet on Habitual Residence Condition*. Dublin: FLAC.
- Gilmartin, M. and Migge, B. (2015) 'European migrants in Ireland: Pathways to integration', *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 22(3), pp. 285–299.
- Groarke, S. and Durst, C. (2019) *Attracting and Retaining International Higher Education Students: Ireland*. Dublin: ESRI.
- Grotti, R. et al. (2018) *Discrimination and Inequality in Housing in Ireland*. Dublin.
- Guild, E. (1999) *The Legal Framework and Social Consequences of Free Movement of Persons Within the European Union*. Lediden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- HM Government (2018) *The United Kingdom's Exit From and New Partnership with the European Union*. London: HMSO.
- Home Office (2017) *Citizens' Rights - UK and Irish nationals in the Common Travel Area*. London: HMSO.
- Huddleston, T., Niessen, J. and Dag Tjaden, J. (2013) *Using EU Indicators of Immigrant Integration (Final Report for DG of Home Affairs)*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.
- International Organization for Migration (2017) *International Dialogue on Migration 2017 Understanding migrant vulnerabilities: A solution-based approach towards a global compact that reduces vulnerabilities and empowers migrants*. Geneva: International Organisation for Migration.
- Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service (2016) *Policy Document on Non-EEA Family Reunification*. Dublin: Department of Justice and Equality.
- Jorens, Y. and Van Overmeiren, F. (2009) 'General Principles of Coordination in Regulation 883/2004.', *European Journal of Social Security*, 11(1–2), pp. 47–79.
- Kahanec, M. and Zimmermann, K. (2011) *High-skilled immigration policy in Europe*. Bonn.
- Kennedy, K., Giblin, T. and McHugh, D. (1988) *The Economic Development of Ireland in the Twentieth Century*. London: Routledge.
- Kenny, O., Darmody, M. and Smyth, S. (2017) 'Education and Integration', in Barrett, A., McGinnity, F., and Quinn, E. (eds) *Monitoring Report on Integration 2016*. Dublin: ESRI.
- Kingston, G., McGinnity, F. and O'Connell, P. (2013) *Discrimination in the Irish labour market: nationality, ethnicity and the recession*. Dublin: University College Dublin. Geary Discussion Paper WP2013/23 December 2013.
- MacÉinrí, P. and White, A. (2008) 'Immigration into the Republic of Ireland: A bibliography of recent research', *Irish Geography*, 41(1), pp. 151–179.
- Maher, I. (2017) *The Common Travel Area: More Than Just Travel: A Royal Irish Academy – British Academy Brexit Briefing*. Dublin: RIA.
- Maître, B. and Russell, H. (2017) 'Social Inclusion and Integration', in Barrett, A., McGinnity, F., and Quinn, E. (eds) *Monitoring Report on Integration 2016*. Dublin: ESRI, pp. 46–82.
- Mayock, P. and Bretherton, J. (eds) (2016) 'Women's Homelessness in Europe London', in: London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mayock, P. and Sheridan, S. (2012) *Women's 'journeys' to homelessness: key findings from a biographical study of homeless women in Ireland*. 1. Dublin.

- Mayock, P., Sheridan, S. and Parker, S. (2015) 'Migrant Woman and Homelessness: The Role of Gender-based Violence', *European Journal of Homelessness*, 6(1), pp. 59-82.
- McGinnity, F., Grotti, R., et al. (2018) *Attitudes to Diversity in Ireland*,. Dublin: Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission and The Economic and Social Research Institute.
- McGinnity, F., Fahey, É., et al. (2018) *Monitoring Report on Integration 2018*. Dublin: ESRI.
- Migrant Rights Centre Ireland (2014) *Ireland is Home: An analysis of the current situation of undocumented migrants in Ireland*. Dublin. Dublin: MRCI.
- Migrants Rights Centre Ireland (2012) *Exploitation of Au Pair Workers in Ireland: Briefing Paper and MRCI Recommendations*. Dublin: MRCI.
- Migrants Rights Centre Ireland (2015a) *All Work and Low Pay: The Experiences of Migrants working in Ireland*. Dublin: MRCI.
- Migrants Rights Centre Ireland (2015b) *Childcare in the Domestic Work Sector: Who's minding the children?* Dublin: MRCI.
- Murphy, C., Caulfield, L. and Gilmartin, M. (2017) *Developing Integration Policy in the Public Sector: A Human Rights Approach*. Maynooth: Maynooth University Social Sciences Institute.
- Murray, C., O'Donoghue, A. and Warwick, B. (2018) *Discussion Paper on Brexit*. Dublin: Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission and the Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission.
- Negotiators of the European Union and the United Kingdom Government (2017) *Joint report from the negotiators of the European Union and the United Kingdom Government on progress during phase 1 of negotiations under Article 50 TEU on the United Kingdom's orderly withdrawal from the European Union*,. Brussels: European Commission, TF50 (2017) 19.
- Norris, M. (2017) 'Policy Drivers of the Retreat and Revival of Private Renting: Regulation, Finance, Taxes and Subsidies', in Sirr, L. (ed.) *Renting in Ireland: The Social, Voluntary and Private Sectors*. Dublin.: Institute of Public Administration, pp. 14–29.
- O'Connell, P. (2018) *Why Are So Few Africans at Work in Ireland? Immigration Policy and Labour Market Disadvantage*. Dublin.
- O'Connell, P., Joyce, C. and Whelan, S. (2017) *International Migration in Ireland, 2015*. Dublin: University College Dublin. Geary Institute for Public Policy.
- O'Connell, P. and Kenny, O. (2017) 'Employment and Integration', in Barrett, A., McGinnity, F., and Quinn, E. (eds) *Annual Monitoring Report on Integration 2016*. Dublin: ESRI.
- O'Keefe, D. (1985) 'Equal Rights for Migrants: The Concept of Social Advantages in Article 7 (2), Regulation 1612/68.', *Yearbook of European Law*, 5(1), pp. 93–123.
- OECD (2015) *Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015: Settling In*. Paris: OECD.
- Quinn, E. et al. (2014) *Migrant Access to Social Security and Healthcare: Policies and Practice in Ireland*. Dublin: ESRI and Irish National Contact Point of the European Migration Network.
- Schmid-Druner, M. (2018) *Factsheets on the European Union: Citizens Fundamental Rights Security and Justice*. Brussels: European Parliament.
- Timonen, V. and Doyle, M. (2009) 'In search of security: Migrant workers' understandings, experiences and expectations regarding "social protection" in Ireland', *Journal of Social Policy*, 38(1), pp. 157–175.

[citizensinformationboard.ie](http://citizensinformationboard.ie)

The Citizens Information Board provides independent information, advice and advocacy on public and social services through [citizensinformation.ie](http://citizensinformation.ie), the Citizens Information Phone Service and the network of Citizens Information Services. It is responsible for the Money Advice and Budgeting Service and provides advocacy services for people with disabilities.

Head Office

Ground Floor

George's Quay House

43 Townsend Street

Dublin 2, D02 VK65

t 0818 07 9000

f 01 605 9099

e [info@ciboard.ie](mailto:info@ciboard.ie)

w [citizensinformationboard.ie](http://citizensinformationboard.ie)

Citizens **Information** Board  
*information · advice · advocacy*



**Rialtas na hÉireann**  
Government of Ireland