

Local Welcoming Policies - Intra-EU Mobile Citizens

City Report – Dublin

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Local Welcoming Policies for EU Mobile Citizens brings together the cities of Amsterdam, Brussels, Copenhagen, Dublin, Gothenburg and Hamburg in collaboration with the University of Gothenburg and Mira Media in an effort to support the fundamental right of EU citizens to freely move, work and live in any EU country.

The City of Dublin research study is part of the project's *Lessons Learned* report in which participating cities look back and define the successful and unsuccessful elements in their Welcome and integration policies in the last decades.

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III EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Ireland has been an emigrant nursery for most of its recent history. Significant numbers of Intra-EU mobile citizens only arrived in Ireland during the latter stages of the ‘Celtic Tiger’ period (2004-2008). Ireland is currently a country of net-out-migration, but large numbers of intra-EU mobile citizens remain resident in Ireland and some still come in search of opportunity. Some migration/integration policy has been put in place. But, the experience of economic recession in the wake of the ‘Celtic Tiger’ economy’s collapse, and the austerity that followed, has had an enormous impact on cultures of service provision for migrants.

Patterns of Intra-EU migrant welcome were examined in Dublin, in an effort to see how the city is seeking to help these intra-EU mobile citizens acclimatise to life in Ireland’s capital.

Welcome Information

Welcome information is widely available to intra-EU mobile citizens resident in Dublin City Council’s (DCC) area of responsibility. Many different organisations and types of organisations provide such information; however, there is no targeted pattern of provision. Two organisations come close to providing a very complete service. These are: i) the Citizen’s Information Service – Ireland’s national provider of official information to citizens and ii) the City of Dublin’s Library Service – the DCC section that provides most information to the public. Other sources of useful information are provided by other departments/sections within DCC itself and by civil society actors. Many of the Intra-EU mobile citizens who participated in this study also access information through: i) their own-community contacts resident in Dublin, ii) independent media / internet searches initiated by themselves and iii) contacts cultivated amongst the native Irish population of the city.

Employment and Enterprise

Intra-EU mobile workers are granted full access to the Irish waged labour market. A range of agencies are funded to assist in job search in Ireland. Most have a national remit. The Local Employment Service Network (LESN) is a statutory provider of information on employment opportunities in Ireland. However, DCC’s Local Enterprise Office (LEO) is the City’s statutory provider of enterprise information. Migrants are common users of the services provided by both the LESN and the LEO. Some migrant-specific programmes have been instituted in the city. Some general guides for migrants have been produced but most

labour market information is offered in a mainstreamed manner, without targeted support. Non-specific media and internet sources and word of mouth, either from members of their own country-community resident in the city or from Irish contacts developed in situ are important conduits into the world of employment information for EU migrants, as well.

Housing

Dublin is experiencing an acute housing shortage. There is under-provision in all sectors of the market. Most pressure is experienced in the private rental market, where costs are high. Such housing provision does not fall under the remit of the municipal authority. However, DCC is the effective provider of operational housing supports to those deemed to be in need. No EU-specific scheme is in existence. Eligible intra-EU mobile citizens are dealt with in the same manner as all other applicants. Most migrants first source accommodation through contacts in their own country groups. Informal circuits of information are commonly operational at every level in the city.

Civic Participation

Intra-EU mobile citizens are entitled, but not obliged, to vote in local and European elections in Ireland. A voluntary registration process is in place. DCC is the 'competent authority' in this regard and its specialised 'Franchise Section' administers the register of electors for the DCC area. An active information and outreach process is in place. The primary point of contact for the public in general is: i) DCC's Franchise Office and enumerators, ii) www.checktheregister.ie, iii) DCC's website and iv) DCC's twice-yearly 'check the register' campaign. The primary responsibility for a person's registration on the register of electors lies with the individual concerned.

Language education

No form of language-assessment is required of immigrants seeking to settle in Ireland but people who cannot speak English are likely to be considerably disadvantaged. Migrants are entitled to language training. This only extends to a low level of provision. A complex landscape of language provision is present in the city. The City of Dublin Education and Training Board (CD ETB) is the statutory provider of such language training. CD ETB has not advertised its courses aggressively up to now. Some advertising was carried out in other

languages; however, these inputs tended to arise in response to local need and were not part of a coordinated information dissemination strategy in the past. Therefore, no integrated pattern of information provision is currently present in the city. No targeted pattern of support for intra-EU mobile workers is present.

Diversity

Community organisations, cultural institutes, own-nationality-communities and local Migrant and Ethnic-Led Organisations (MELOS) are ‘frontline’ service providers in Dublin. DCC supports such organisations. The city also imprints directly on the social inclusion landscape in other ways. DCC’s Library Service is an effective point of first contact. In addition, DCC’s Arts Office has been very engaged with migrant communities in the past and other sections, such as the DCC’s Sports Office and Homeless Services, are very aware of migrant need in general. The municipal authority’s social inclusion/community section anchors a range of programmes. Funding is available to qualifying individuals / groups. MELOs and community groups are commonly supported – along with all other interest groups. No ‘ring-fenced’ funding is assigned to intra-EU mobile communities, but these communities have been in receipt of significant funding in recent years. Such inputs help to counteract social/cultural exclusion. But, more than this, through its support of such events/organisations, DCC can communicate with potentially inaccessible migrant groups, familiarity can be fostered and information can flow. Informational materials are produced - sometimes in different languages. This pattern is, as the member of DCC’s senior management team who participated in this study states, “geared towards demand”.

Training

DCC’s staff members are trained in the tenets of good customer care. In times past, this training was routinely delivered to new staff, on recruitment. But, there has been “no real recruitment in years”. DCC currently carries out no routine training for its staff in interculturalism, however, the Human Resources Department will soon begin to deliver a broad staff training module in the care of customers.

Conclusions

A very strong 'cross-cutting' theme is discernible throughout - services, and the provision of Information about those services, is 'mainstreamed' in Dublin. Intra-EU mobile workers are invited to access services in the same manner as everybody else. But, DCC is proactively supporting the flow of information to intra-EU mobile communities in many subtle ways. Critically, DCC acts as an effective managerial hub in the city. Patterns of funding provision and organisational support are strong, and through these inputs, DCC strives to foster: i) lateral networking opportunities between different communities themselves and ii) opportunities for relationships to develop vertically between 'grass roots' organisations active in the city on the one hand and the municipal authority and other statutory providers/interested parties, on the other. The city is acting structurally to provide as strong a pattern of mainstreamed support as it can, within the confines imposed by austerity. It remains to be seen whether this pattern will yield the hoped-for results for migrants but Dublin is engaging with the process and in Collet's (2013) words, is "learning as it goes".

IV INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Ireland has been an emigrant nursery for most of its recent history. It has not been a viable destination for immigrants. Historically, the Irish economy was simply too weak to offer a sufficient range of opportunities to immigrants and Ireland was shielded from the realities of the globalised world economy in action (see for example, MacLaughlin, 1994).

There have only been two significant recent periods of immigration into Ireland -

The late 1960s and early 1970s was the first such period when, driven by new opportunity, large numbers of 'first-wave' Irish-born emigrants returned to work in a newly buoyant manufacturing sector. Only very small numbers of non-Irish-born migrants arrived at this time. And, whilst Ireland was slowly orientating itself towards its membership the European Union, very little migration/integration policy was formulated.

The years between 1997 and 2007 constitute the second period, when unprecedented economic growth brought a concomitant expansion in the waged labour markets of Ireland's 'Celtic Tiger' economy. After years of net-emigration, Ireland was transformed into an attractive immigrant destination at this time (see, for example, MacEinri, 2006; Quinn, 2008). Irish-born people/UK citizens accounted for a very significant proportion of those immigrating to Ireland at this time as well, but far higher numbers of non-Irish-born/non-UK citizens immigrated to Ireland during this period. Two subsidiary-phases are discernible here – an early 'Celtic Tiger' phase ending in 2003/4 and a later phase ending with the collapse of the 'Celtic Tiger' economy in 2007/8.

In the early years of the 'Celtic Tiger' period (finishing in 2003/2004) immigration to Ireland was dominated by non-EEA labour-migrants claiming residency on the basis of either a 'work permit' or 'work authorisation'. Nearly 50,000 work permits were issued at the end of this phase, in 2003 – a very significant increase on equivalent numbers granted only a few years earlier (c. 6000 per year). Further significant numbers of non-EEA migrants arrived, around the turn of the 20th century - mostly in search of asylum under international protection instruments (see www.orac.ie). Large numbers of these immigrants arrived in

Ireland claiming asylum from countries such as Nigeria, Romania and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (<http://emn.ie/emn/statistics>).

Only a relatively small number of intra-EU mobile citizens moved to Ireland during this phase. Ireland's 2002 census of population shows that 3.4% of the Irish population were EU nationals at that time (Watt and McGaughey, 2006: 15) - the majority of whom came from the United Kingdom. Whilst 'background' flows from the countries of the 'EU15' have been present in Ireland for quite some time, they have tended to be small in number.

This first migration phase came to a close in 2003/2004 when patterns of high immigration from extra-European contexts came to an end. Two events are of particular importance. i) An amendment to Ireland's constitution was passed in 2003, effectively removing the country's historically significant 'jus soli' entitlement to citizenship (see, Coakley and Healy, 2011 for example). The parents of children born in Ireland were now no longer guaranteed residential status and the numbers of people coming to Ireland from third country contexts, and in the later stages of pregnancy, collapsed. This had a very significant impact on the overall numbers of people seeking international protection. ii) The EU10's accession to the European Union prompted a change in Irish migration policy as Irish planners sought to meet the country's labour needs from within this new pool of intra-EU mobile citizens, rather than from visa-required labour migrants from outside the EU. The previously significant 'work permit' and 'work authorisation' schemes were now deemed to be of less importance to the country and numbers of people being granted such visas declined significantly. Very large numbers of Intra-EU mobile labour migrants arrived in Ireland. For example, O'Connell, Joyce and Finn (2012, 16) use the Irish government's Department of Social Protection, Personal Public Service numbers (PPSN) to illustrate the significance of this pattern, when they show how the number of PPSN numbers issued to immigrant workers increased from 82,500 at the start of this period in 2003 to over 227,000 near the height of Ireland's Celtic Tiger boom, in 2006 (<http://emn.ie/emn/statistics>). These flows were dominated by Europeans who, for the first time ever, were not born in either Ireland or the UK – a fact that is reflected in Ireland's most recent national census of population (2011). Census 2011 shows that 12% of the population now self-identify as 'other than Irish'

and that Polish people (122,585 people; c.2.7% of the population) are now the most populous non-Irish group.¹

Ireland's experience of high immigration came to an end in 2007/8 as a banking crisis precipitated the collapse of Ireland's 'Celtic Tiger' economy. A massive retraction occurred in all sectors of Ireland's waged labour market. All categories of immigration declined and Ireland became a net emigration country, once more. For example, 89,000 people emigrated from Ireland between April 2012 and March 2013 ([http://www.ria.gov.ie/en/RIA/RIA%20Annual%20Report%20\(A4\)2013.pdf](http://www.ria.gov.ie/en/RIA/RIA%20Annual%20Report%20(A4)2013.pdf)). The release of this figure had a significant impact on the Irish public, as it was broadly equivalent to the number of people who left Ireland at the height of Ireland's 'second wave' emigration 'crisis' in 1989.

Whilst Ireland has recently begun to exit from this period of deep economic difficulty and whilst many immigrants remain resident in Ireland (see, for example Krings *et al.* 2013: 99) Ireland's cultural register is currently marked more by: i) the experience of 'austerity' and ii) the re-emergence of a national discourse of economically forced emigration, than by any inflow of people born in other countries.

This project seeks to explore the experience of intra-EU immigration to the Dublin City Council area since the middle of Ireland's 'Celtic Tiger' period. As such, whilst accepting that project only reaches back over a relatively short number of years, it is important to note that 'background' patterns and processes are complex. The initial period of interest (2004-2007) is marked by untrammelled economic growth and a concomitant pattern of immigration. The middle years of this period (2008-2012) are marked by the experience of deep recession, traumatic economic rescue by international institutions, and the rise of emigration once again. The most recent years of this period (2013-present) are marked by a slow economic growth and the gentle rediscovery of Ireland's national confidence after its exit from its international 'bailout'. This cycle of boom, bust and recovery must be acknowledged at the outset. It has had an almost incalculable impact on Ireland, on Irish public processes and on the Irish population's 'sense of self' over the years in which the project is interested.

¹ Significant numbers of Lithuanians and Latvians are resident as well.

SOME LESSONS LEARNED

Ireland is regarded as a tolerant country (see, for example, GLEN, 2013: 5) but Ireland has been greatly impacted by the experience of mass immigration. For a long time, immigration was the topic of robust public comment. There is no evidence to suggest that national policy makers have ever been swayed by the nature of Irish public debate in this regard, but there is no doubt that a discourse of ‘national best interest’ was firmly in place over the period of most immigration to Ireland (see, for example, Gray, 2006 and Boucher 2008). The two pillars of this national migration policy have been: i) the waged labour market and ii) the international protection system (see for example MacEinri and Walley, 2003: viii, SIRP, 2004: 18). Alan Shatter (2013), Ireland’s then Minister for Justice, was particularly illustrative of this impulse when he stated that Ireland’s attempts to manage migration seek to “strike a balance between facilitating those who wish to come here and contribute positively to our economy and our communities as well as providing state protection to persons who are in genuine need of such protection, while at the same time dealing firmly and fairly with those who attempt to abuse and take advantage of the immigration system.” Comprehensive and well-thought-out procedures have been instituted by Irish migration planners in these areas (see, also, McGinney et.al.2013, and O’Connell, Joyce and Finn 2012).

Ireland’s Immigration Acts 1999, 2003 and 2004 together make provision for the management of most immigration to Ireland (see, Quinn and Kingston, 2012: 47). The main legislative instrument governing the entry of people seeking international protection in Ireland is the 1996 Refugee Act, and amendments thereof. Innovative inputs have also been put in place. For example, Ireland’s ‘Irish-Born-Child administrative scheme for immigrant residency (IBC/05) has proven to be a nuanced input in this difficult area (see, for example, Coakley and Healy, 2007, Coakley and Healy, 2012). Unfortunately, nearly 20 years after Ireland first became an attractive destination for migrants, no fully integrated national policy instrument exists and Irish policy makers have struggled to deal with the complexities of immigration. Ireland’s one attempt to institute a comprehensive piece of integrated migration and integration legislation (the Immigration, Residency and Protection Bill – IRP Bill) was first tabled in 2008, and published first in 2010. But, it quickly became the object of significant public debate and was necessarily withdrawn, to be revised and re-tabled

following consultations. It was never tabled again.² Its successor, Ireland's International Protection (IP) Bill, whilst 'imminent', is still to be tabled.

A range of integration policies have been drafted. The provision of public services has been a central concern (see, Watt and McGaughey, 2006). An important consideration here, in the context of the current project is that, as far back as 1999, the Irish government, through its Flagship *Integration a two-way process* document, stated its belief in the provision of mainstreamed services for immigrants. This pattern of provision has been followed to this day. Importantly however, it was also recognised, at that time, that migrants would likely need informational support if they are to be able to access these 'mainstreamed' services in Ireland (see for example Coakley and MacEinri, 2009). Some targeted programmes were put in place for asylum seekers and refugees but, many categories of migrants have not yet benefited from such support.

Positive outcomes do arise, but these can often be as a result of local inputs, rather than national planning. Municipal authorities, locally-active service providers and civil society organisations have all been active in the provision of migrant services and information in Ireland as, in common with other new destination countries, new policy infrastructures, funding mechanisms, and cultures of service provision were constructed locally, to cope with the reality of supporting immigrants.³ A very strong migrant lobby has been fostered, sometimes with statutory funding being channelled through civil society organisations such as Pobal, an organisation which acts as an intermediary for the Irish Government, (see also, the New Communities Partnership - NCP) or through municipal authorities.

A number of municipal authorities (Dublin included) have certainly been proactively engaging with migrant need (as, for example, through the drafting of detailed integration policies and procedures) and a range of targeted projects and initiatives have been funded

² Ireland's, then Minister for Justice, Alan Shatter (TD) offered the following explanation during Parliamentary questions in 2013, when he stated that "it is my considered view that instead of engaging in an extremely cumbersome process of tabling hundreds of amendments to the 2010 Bill it would be much more efficient to publish a new and enhanced text" (<http://www.nascireland.org/campaign-for-change/immigration-residence-protection-bill>).

³ Policy-makers certainly felt pressurised to respond quickly to the changing realities on the ground during the 'Celtic Tiger' period. Indeed, many were quick to blame the rapidly changing nature of immigration to Ireland when seeking to explain any inadequacies that came to light in the systems being imposed. As Ireland's then Minister for Justice, Michael McDowell (2007:1) stated "we have little experience to draw upon as we seek to respond to enormous societal challenges in as many years as other countries have had generations".

at local level, to provide services for migrants - most commonly for asylum seekers and refugees⁴. In addition, many Roman Catholic religious communities have actively sought a role in migration outreach.

The lesson from Ireland's recent experience is that such a pattern can only do so much, especially in times of economic difficulty. Locally active agencies that provide mainstreamed information and support as part of their general pattern of service provision have been impacted negatively, as Ireland's well-documented experience of banking collapse, budget deficit, deep economic difficulty and national 'austerity' shows⁵. Core budgets have been severely cut across the board and locally active agencies and authorities have been forced to pull-back from many positive inputs. For example, many flagship agencies have been required to close. Integrating Ireland Language and Training (IILT) Ireland's specialist ESOL provider for migrants, and the National Consultative Committee against Racism in Ireland (NCCRI), Ireland's main anti-Racism body, were both closed in 2008. The Department of Education's English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) programme experienced severe budget cuts in 2009. Ireland's National Economic and Social Forum was closed in 2010. In addition, the state's Combat Poverty agency, the Community Workers Cooperative and many community development programmes were wound down as well. Even agencies that were retained experienced drastic budget cuts. Dublin City Council itself has had to deal with a significant cut in its budgets over this time period. The effects of this austerity-driven cycle of closures and budget-cuts remain in evidence today as service providers struggle to maintain core service provision against this backdrop.⁶

Three domains of migrant life are presented here, albeit in brief, to illustrate some difficulties that have arisen in Ireland, in spite of Irish policy. These are: education, waged work and civic participation.

⁴ City-level responses tend to be relatively recent. For example, I was consulted informally on the formulation of Cork city's first integration strategy at the end of this Celtic Tiger period, and Dublin City Council's integration strategy is more recent still.

⁵ Ireland required an international 'bailout' of 85 billion euros in November 2010.

⁶ Some very positive programmes were certainly supported through this phase but these are exceptions rather than the rule. For example, the Employment for people of immigrant communities (EPIC) programme had its budget increased from 276,000 in 2008 to 512,000 in 2009. A Ministerial Council of Integration was established in 2010 and an Intercultural Education Strategy was launched.

Educational access has been a central facet of integration policy in Ireland. At the policy level at least, a significant engagement was made with the idea of diversity, inclusion and educational service provision (Lodge and Lynch, 2004: 63). The Education Act 1998, the Education (Welfare) Act 2000 and the Equal Status Act (2000) were central to this drive. The emphasis on equality of access set out in these statutes was also to be found in the relevant ‘white papers’ on education produced by the Department of Education and Science, at the time.

Outcomes are uncertain (see, for example, Ward 2002, Healy 2006) and often considerable distance has existed between the aspirational nature of much public comment and policy formation and the effective delivery of an inclusive educational pattern in Ireland. Furthermore, education is centrally managed in Ireland. It is not a core area of municipal authority. Aspirational policy is present but local providers can struggle to deliver a pattern of general educational provision (see, Guidikova, Hutchinson and Wood, 2011: 4). For example, Ward (2004: 99) working for Dublin City Vocational Education Committee, states that a lack of basic information on educational entitlement impacted on immigrant learners in Dublin.

It is unsurprising therefore, when almost one third of first-generation immigrants aged 15 were scored below the basic level (1) of English reading proficiency in the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) tests in 2009 (www.esri.ie/news_events/latest_press_releases/irish-attitudes-to-immigr/index.xml). Only 1 in 6 of 15-year-olds with Irish nationality were classified as being similarly challenged.

Ireland could not supply the workforce required by its burgeoning ‘Celtic Tiger’ economy. Immigrants were needed and legislation was enacted to ensure that equality of access was sustained. For example, the Employment Equality Acts 2000 and 2004 and the Equal Status Acts 2000 to 2004 did much to help create an inclusive environment ‘in work’.

Despite this engagement, many immigrants have experienced difficulties accessing the waged labour force, and academic investigations have shown that immigrant labour force outcomes were more limited than those garnered by members of the host community (see, for example, Dunbar, 2008). For example, the MIPEX Index (MIPEX, 2007: 92) only scored Ireland “around halfway to best practice” in terms of immigrant labour market access at the

end of this period. Attention was certainly paid to the dissemination of information on the Irish labour market (particularly for non-EEA migrant workers).

Some negative labour market outcomes have been noted during Ireland's recent economic crisis, with authorities showing that migrants have experienced higher levels of unemployment in Ireland as a result of the recession. Ireland's Central Statistics Office (CSO) for example is of the opinion that the effective unemployment rate amongst non-Irish nationals was 18.5% in 2012. Only just under 15% of Irish nationals were similarly categorised. Whilst the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRI) demonstrate how levels of consistent poverty were almost twice as high amongst non-EU nationals resident in Ireland then amongst Irish-nationals in 2012 (12% as opposed to 6%).

Whilst migrant access to nationality and the electoral franchise is deemed to be good in Ireland (MIPEX II) and whilst many positive inputs were operationalised at local level (for example, DCC's Migrant Voter Campaign, 2008) the balance of evidence from Ireland's recent past suggests that most of those entitled to vote, did not (see, Dobbs, 2009: 14). As with all other areas of life, formal rights do not necessarily translate into practice.

Despite many positive engagements, Ireland's pattern of policy and provision has not yielded uniform outcomes, at national level. The balance of academic work suggests that more integration of thought is necessary.

ANALYSIS OF CURRENT FLOWS OF EUROPEAN MIGRANTS TO DUBLIN

Dublin, is a primate city. It is Ireland's main metropolitan area and centre of economic, political and cultural power. It has always been attractive to immigrants. Furthermore, whilst immigrants filtered smoothly down the urban hierarchy in Ireland, during the early 'Celtic Tiger' period (see MacEinri and Walley, 2003) Dublin attracted significant numbers. Fahey and Fanning (2010: 6-8) for example show how immigration accounted for "almost all the population growth in the city at this time", offsetting suburbanising tendencies amongst the Irish population.

The municipal authority is extremely conscious of the inter-cultural nature of life in its area of responsibility and of the need to support migrants resident in its area through the

provision of accessible services⁷. In many ways, it has assumed a leadership role, in this regard. Only 14 local authorities (of 32) established an integration office during the period of high immigration. DCC is one. DCC's Office for Integration was established in 2006. DCC has been particularly engaged with the need for diversity planning through its 2008 publication, *Towards Integration – A City Framework document*. Identified objectives include: i) the fostering of a strong intercultural dialogue, (ii) the building of migrant forums as channels of communication, (iii) the creation of supports and capacity amongst ethnic-led organisations in the city, and (iv) establishing integration as a core element in the business culture of the city. The OFI's role has now been subsumed within the city's Social Inclusion Unit. Furthermore, a pro-integration leadership culture exists in the city council. DCC has been a partner in a number of international networks on integration, for example the Cities for Local Integration Programme (CLIP) which seeks to develop models of best practice in housing, diversity planning and in ethnic entrepreneurship and the Open Cities Network which focuses on internationalisation in an effort to attract and retain workers in the mobile world.

This engagement is not solely to be seen in the policy/managerial space. Many practical participative inputs have been encouraged. Integration forums have been funded. These forums were designed to act as flagship forums for consultation on a range of issues of relevance to migrants. These forums have been subsumed within Dublin's new Public Participation Network – a participatory planning initiative which will, in time, systematise the participation of ordinary people in the governance of the city. Furthermore, even in an era of budgetary restraint and national austerity, DCC has been actively engaged in the provision of services for migrants. Key 'interface' units are encouraged to acknowledge the diversity of their client groups. Pro-migrant resources, such as a directory of staff with language skills, have been put in place. Dublin City Library Service is also particularly active in this regard. DCC also provides funding for many migrant led organisations in the city and for a range of migrant-led events (for example Polska-Eire Festival).

These inputs are important. The 'Dublin city' area has a population of 511,344 people. Dublin's broader metropolitan area has a population of roughly twice this figure. 88,038

⁷ Municipal authorities in Ireland do not provide the same range of services provided by other European authorities. DCC does not provide health or education services for example. Nor does it seek to imprint on the waged labour market. It simply seeks to interact with specialist providers about their activities in Dublin.

(17.2%) of ‘Dublin City’ residents are classified as ‘non-Irish’ by the census of population (2011). Non-Irish people are more common in the DCC area than in Ireland in general (on average 12% of the population are classified as immigrants). Most of these non-Irish people are intra-European mobile citizens (categorised as EU27 by the census of population). 51,014 ‘EU27’s are included in the 2011 census returns for the DCC area (nearly 58% of all migrants resident here). This population can be divided into two groups – old European ‘EU15s’ and accession ‘EU12s’. 21,337 EU15s (excluding Irish) reside in the DCC area. The most populous nationality group here are people from the United Kingdom (7,962 people). 29,677 EU12s are living in the same area. The most significant population group are people from Poland (13,375). Other significant populations include Latvians (1900 people) and Lithuanians (3210 people).⁸ The central city area, particularly the northeast of the central area, has a very diverse population indeed. A significant Asian population is present in the north inner city area. Dublin City Council is active among the communities in these areas (see Guidikova, Hutchinson and Wood 2011: 5). The One City, One People’ campaign (www.dublin.ie/onecity) is one campaign, funded by DCC in an effort to encourage community cohesion in such areas.

Some interesting patterns arise (see Appendix 1, Table 1). More young adults of working age are more common amongst the intra-EU mobile citizen population resident in Dublin than in the equivalent Irish-born population. Only 31.3% of the Irish-born population of the DCC area are aged between 25 years and 44 years in 2011 (129,212 people). Proportionately far higher numbers of non-Irish residents are to be found in the same age categories (57,459 people, 65%). Numbers of intra-EU mobile workers are higher still, proportionately. 65% of 2004 EU accession state nationals (excluding Poland), 73% of EU15 migrants (excluding nationals of the UK and Ireland) and 74% of Polish migrants fall into these categories. Furthermore, very small numbers of young people (<14 years) and older people (65+ years) are included in the intra-EU mobile population resident in Dublin. Over

⁸Data is difficult to source. No records of EU-national entry and exit are collected. TCNs are monitored and regulated carefully. Intra-EU migrants are not. As a result, Ireland’s census of population (2011) represents the best data source available to us. The CSO conducts Ireland’s national census of population every five years. Ireland’s most recent Census (2011) is as good a source of data as is possible to come by, at this point.

30% of the Irish born population fall into these age categories. A radically different dependency ratio is therefore to be seen between the Irish born population of the city (more than 1:3) and the migrants living in the city (roughly 1:9). Using this measure alone, it is reasonable to suggest that the intra-EU mobile population resident in the DCC area displays the classic profile of a labour migrant population.

Intra-EU migrants are working in the waged labour force (Appendix 1, Table 2). 164,892 Irish-born people (48% of this population) are classified as working in the waged labour force. Rates of migrant work are far higher in general (62% of all 'non-Irish'). However, the highest levels of work are to be found amongst intra-EU mobile citizens. 77% of people from Poland are classified as working in the waged labour force (12,058 people). 77% of EU15 nationals (excluding Irish and UK nationals) are similarly employed (9,919 people). EU12 accession state nationals (excluding Poland) also tend to be employed, but at slightly lower levels (69%, 10,117 people).

The nature of intra-EU mobile citizens' household composition further supports analyses which suggest that the intra-EU mobile population resident in Dublin area is a population of labour migrants (Appendix I, Table 3). 36% and 13% of the Irish-born population respectively live either in i) a nuclear family group, composed of two parents and children, or ii) as a single parent, caring for children. Far lower numbers of migrants live in such household structures (for example, only 22% and 5% respectively of migrants from the EU12 adhere to a similar pattern of life in Dublin). Despite the fact that large numbers of people of child-bearing age are included in the intra-EU mobile population resident in Dublin, it would seem that these people are far less likely than their Irish counterparts to be raising a family, at this point in their lives. This point is further reinforced by the fact that far higher proportions of intra-EU mobile citizens than Irish-born people are living in what the census classifies as "households comprised of unrelated persons only" (24,572 people, 6% of the Irish born population, as opposed to 2,251 Polish people, 17% of this population sub-group and 3,484 people or 26% of the EU15 population – excluding Irish and UK born people). It is reasonable to suggest, in this light, that many of the intra-EU mobile citizens of working age living in Dublin have not yet settled down in Ireland and are following a classically fluid pattern of young adult life in the city.

Patterns of intra-EU economic activity are complex (Appendix 1, Table 4). Some nationalities' patterns of waged labour force participation mirror 'background' Irish patterns (UK nationals for example). But a dual labour market exists. EU12 nationals are more clustered in 'lower' reaches of the Irish waged labour force than either other Intra-EU mobile workers or their Irish born counterparts. Far higher numbers of EU12 migrants work in either semi-skilled or unskilled sectors of the labour market in Dublin City Council's area of responsibility. Fourteen and nine percent of Polish workers work in either the semi-skilled or unskilled sectors of Dublin's waged labour market. Twelve and 14% of the EU12 population (excluding Polish people) resident in Dublin work in the same sectors of the labour market. Only seven percent and four percent of Irish people and six and four percent of UK nationals operate in the same, generally lower-paid sectors of the economy. Only four percent (in total) of EU15's (excluding Irish and UK nationals) work in the same sectors. The position is reversed in the higher professional sector, where significantly higher numbers of Irish, English and EU15s are active. Also, higher numbers of EU12s are classified as "having given up or lost their previous job" than Irish and EU15 (13% of Polish and 15% of EU12s, excluding people from Poland, as opposed to only 11% of Irish, 10% of UK and 6% of EU15s, excluding Irish and UK nationals).

This is a well-recognised facet of the Irish waged labour market. Intra-EU mobile citizens from the 2004 accession states have different labour market outcomes in Ireland than other groups (see, for example Collett, 2013: 9).

V MAPPING OF LOCAL WELCOMING POLICIES

GENERAL INFORMATION NEEDS

Introduction

Welcome-information is widely available to intra-EU mobile citizens resident in DCC's area of responsibility. Many different organisations and types of organisations are actively providing such information; however, there is no targeted pattern of provision. This is in keeping with Irish patterns of public service provision in general, which are mainstreamed in nature, across the board.

Policy and Practice

While information is readily available, migrant specific information is not provided by one statutory organisation and provision is dispersed. Two organisations come close to providing a very complete service. These are: i) the Citizen's Information Service – Ireland's national provider of official information to citizens and ii) the City of Dublin's Library Service – the DCC section that provides most information to the public. They are well networked together. Referrals are made from one to the other, on a regular basis.⁹

All forms of civil and social information are accessible, on a wide range of issues, via the network of Citizen's Information Centres (CICs). Citizen's Information Services share the same ethos of empowering people by providing free non-judgemental, independent and confidential information, advice and advocacy services to all persons on their social and civil rights and entitlements.

The Citizen's Information Services are a nation-wide network of non-statutory services which are funded and supported by the Citizens Information Board. Almost one million queries were dealt with by the service in 2014. The service is independent and available to all and is often a point of first contact for migrants seeking knowledge of Irish services and patterns of service provision.

⁹ There is no Irish equivalent to Copenhagen's International House or Brussel's BON.

The network of local offices (termed Citizens Information Centres – CICs) is augmented by a telephone advice and referral service¹⁰. The organisation also maintains a comprehensive digital footprint via its www.citizensinformation.ie website. Documents in Polish, Romanian and French are available on the website, and include documents on ‘finding a job’ and ‘support services for foreign nationals in Ireland’. The Dublin City Centre Citizens Information Service, which has its main public office on O’Connell Street (Dublin city centre’s main street), is extremely busy. Almost 65,000 queries (64,742) were recorded in the Dublin City Centre CIS in 2014. It is estimated that 66% of callers were migrants in 2014. A census on 31st March, 2014 indicated that 66% of service users on that day were migrants.

Dublin City Centre Citizens Information Service provides a drop-in information, advice and advocacy service. Information is provided on demand, to service users. Clients are assisted in accessing their entitlements. They may also receive advocacy support, particularly in relation to Social Welfare or Employment complaints and appeals. Many centres also provide access to additional services such as Free Legal Advice, Financial Advice, Immigration, Women’s Aid, and Interpretation services.

Intra-EU mobile citizens commonly access all levels of service. Data collected in Dublin City Centre CIS, the busiest service in the country, suggests that very basic types of information sought by intra-EU mobile workers include information about Personal Public Service (PPS) numbers, sources of accommodation, information about job-search and educational opportunities. While it is beyond the remit of the service to support clients in finding jobs and accommodation, this service provider does try to support such service users in their search by providing information packs on commonly requested areas of interest, such as ‘How to get a Personal Public Service Number’, ‘English Language Classes’ or ‘Starting your own Business’.

Dublin City Centre CIS also produced ‘Find Your Way: A Guide to Key Services in Dublin City Centre’ (2009) in addition to maps of potentially useful services for migrants in response to identified need (<http://www.dublin.ie/arts-culture/find-your-way.htm>). This project was led by DCC’s Library Service, in collaboration with the North West Inner City Intercultural Network and received financial support from Dublin City Council and the Office for the

¹⁰ 12 CICs are located in the greater Dublin area, three of which are located in DCC’s area of responsibility.

Minister for Integration. This directory of key services of relevance to immigrants in the Dublin area covers a wide range of topics including: Community and Family, Information and Advice services, and Migrant and Ethnic Led Organisations and groups. These resources have also been translated into key European languages such as Polish, Russian and French. This Directory of key services for Dublin City centre is primarily aimed at linking migrants with available and relevant services to ease their integration into Irish life.

The Citizens Information Services also provide access to specialist clinics within their services and Intra-EU mobile workers commonly use such services. Indeed, individual CIC's can host EU language-specific clinics (Polish in Dublin City Centre CIS) and specialist services clinics of interest to migrant groups, such as access to an Immigration Solicitor through the Free Legal Aid Centre (FLAC) clinics. Dublin City Centre hosts 3 FLAC clinics every week on Employment Law, Family Law, General Law and Immigration and an appointment is required.

Citizens Information Services also provide advice and assistance to clients to enable them to access their entitlements and also advocate and make representations on behalf of clients. The more complex service provision takes the form of detailed advocacy and advice work. CICs recognise that this detailed advocacy case work can be of vital importance to a service user. In 2009 Dublin City Centre CIS was supported by OMI (?) through DCC to provide an Advocacy Support Project to Migrants. Migrants using the advocacy service are often "people in extremely difficult situations and they are looking for someone to help" (senior CIS staff member).

In this way, the citizen's information service is an effective first point of contact for many migrants. However, it is much more. It provides a real information, advice and advocacy service for people in need. Intra-EU mobile citizens feature regularly in its case load. However, it should be noted that the service is reactive in nature. As Dublin City Centre Citizens Information Service is operating at full capacity, it does not advertise its services amongst potential beneficiary groups. Anecdotal evidence suggests that many migrants first hear about its presence through the informal information channels operational in the migrant community.

Dublin City Centre Citizens Information Service also provides information on how the city works. This is an important input. In many instances, intra-EU migrants initially require basic information on the wider rhythms of life in Dublin, the need for more subject specific or technical information comes later. As Mary (FGD2) states “it was important to find out how the city works, where is the work, where is the accommodation, public transport”.¹¹

Dublin City Council’s Library Service is the other useful source of general welcome information available to migrants in the city. The Library Service provides many of the same types of ‘first-level’ official information to migrants as the CIC, but it goes much further. The libraries also act as casual information points and conduits into the world of detailed information support. Both official ‘hard’ information and unofficial ‘soft’ information about life in Ireland is accessible here. Library workers provide lists of services and facilities for migrant enquirers. A bank of relevant application forms is accessible. The library’s IT facilities enable migrant users to print materials as well. As a result, many types of information about the daily rhythms of life in the city can be accessed very effectively through the service.

Furthermore, the library allows for the search for information to be grounded in a ‘physical experience’. The public spaces of the library act as an effective meeting place and cross-roads for all. This is an important input. Migrants may feel separated from the city around them on many levels. The library allows them a ‘space to be’ in a manner unavailable from other service providers. Migrants are regularly seen to avail of the spaces of the library as well as the open-access IT resources that are available in all libraries in the city. No membership fee is charged.

Many of the larger libraries host more targeted supports as well. For example, migrant-specific events and clinics are hosted, as part of the library service’s public education remit. Dublin city’s central library is one of Ireland’s busiest libraries and a range of events of interest to migrants are hosted here. Language-specific events are also hosted by this library. ESOL learning is provided via the library’s ‘ROSETTA STONE’ online language module. Another migrant-friendly language initiative is the library’s ‘language exchange’

¹¹ Pseudonyms are used throughout.

initiative, where speakers of other languages come together to network and interact in their own language. The library hosts different language users on different nights of the week (Italian-English, German-English, Spanish-English, French-English and Multicultural exchange). Most of these sessions are conducted in EU15 languages but Russian nights are hosted as well. As a senior member of the library's staff states "language learning is a key. It is a key part of what we do here" but more than this, through this service the library is effectively facilitating contact and exchange of information laterally between service users. This is a very supportive outcome. These services and events are commonly used by intra-EU mobile workers. Migrant-focused NGOs also regularly hold information exhibitions in the space of the library.

The library is also well-anchored in the network of other agencies that provide support for migrants. For example, the Central Library hosts a 'start your own business' information point, in conjunction with DCC's Local Enterprise Office. A migrant enterprise initiative is also planned. It will include, as a senior member of staff states, "a lecture on essential supports for entrepreneurs – 'who is out there to help you'. This will outline all the supports, for all sectors and will address the supports for the non-Irish business community". She goes on to state that this programme will be "aimed at people from different nationalities". Social and cultural supports, such as a parent and toddler group, 'multi-lingual Friday' and a story-telling group are provided as well and are commonly used by intra-EU mobile citizens.

The library acts as a 'one-stop-shop' for all. As our research participant states, of migrants wishing to use the service – "They can always go to a library as a starting point. Staff will provide what we term sign-posting assistance as a starting point to different sources of information which is increasingly available online".

Dublin City Council itself is another rich source of general information that is of use to the intra-EU mobile citizen. Indeed, DCC's main digital information hub – www.dublin.ie, is currently being reconfigured so that it will be 'a one-stop-shop' for the range of information currently available on the city. DCC is following a curatorial path in this regard. The project team recognise that vast amounts of welcome-information are available in the city but that this world of information tends to be difficult to access without some basic knowledge. In this regard, they understand that potential users need to be proactively facilitated in their

search for information. As a senior staff member states, “google is great for finding the right content but it is knowing the question to ask - that is key”. www.dublin.ie hopes to help service users in this regard.

In addition, DCC has a highly developed Customer Service Department in place. Queries about the services provided by the city can be addressed directly by the Customer Service team, either in person, at a DCC customer service point or via DCC’s dedicated call centre. This is a mainstreamed service, available to all. Translation services are available, with an internal directory of staff with language skills is maintained by Customer Services. These staff members have volunteered to help provide language-specific services, if required. The current research project has found that DCC staff are aware of this resource.

Civil society is active in this space as well. Many organisations who were previously central to the migrant experience in Ireland tend to focus on the provision of detailed advocacy support for migrants, and not on ‘drop-in’, however, some NGOs still provide casual welcome information, on a ‘drop-in’ basis. The Mendicity Institute, Barka, Crosscare and the Citizen’s Information Service were all referenced by the migrants who participated in this research. Unfortunately, these are too few to really structure the landscape of information-provision at the level of the city and provide a really migrant-focused service. Statutory providers have a far greater reach in the city.

The intra-EU mobile citizen’s view

Despite the high level of provision available, many of the Intra-EU mobile citizens who participated in this study were unsure how to access the types of general welcome-information available in the city and most state that the most useful sources of welcoming information were found through i) their own-community contacts resident in Dublin, ii) independent media / internet searches initiated by themselves and iii) contacts cultivated amongst the native Irish population of the city. Official sources of information are used and their value is recognised, especially as migrants settle into the rhythm of life in Dublin, but the Intra-EU mobile citizens who participated in this research use such sources less often than informal circuits of information in the city, especially early in their stay in Dublin. In this instance, at least, information seems to flow more easily, informally and laterally in the city, not vertically.

Participants in the current research simply refer to the experience of difficulties. Unsurprisingly, difficulties arising from poor ability to communicate in the English language were commonly cited, as is the scarcity of own-language supports in Dublin. Caroline, an FGD 2 participant, is particularly illustrative of many experiences when she states that “without English it was very very hard to find out where I should go”¹². She goes on to state “I wasn’t aware of so many things. I really didn’t know. But like when I had my English I could ask the question”. Caroline’s final statement is particularly illustrative. It is difficult to access information in Dublin if one is unable to ask for it from a general provider. As Frank, another FGD 2 participant states, “the system is good. The process is simple. As long as you can ask the question”.¹³

Some issues arising

The pattern is clear. Information is readily available in Dublin. Patterns of service provision are strong, but they are in keeping with Ireland’s mainstreamed approach to the delivery of public services in general. Unfortunately, many of the migrants who participated in this research state that they have found it difficult to access many types of information over their stay in the city. This may be a function of poor agency on part of the individuals concerned or it may point to a wider difficulty. It is difficult, at this level of analysis, to say. But, irrespective of its root cause, the migrants who voiced their experiences here are clear. Informal sources of information are important.

There is a real opportunity for the municipal authority to exert some control on this landscape of provision. A dedicated information point, possibly rolled out in conjunction with the other significant service providers active in the city, could make a significant input here. More than any other input, such a service could provide for a pattern of easy access to information for newly arrived migrants so that such migrants are empowered to engage directly with trusted sources of information outside their own community networks.

EMPLOYMENT AND ENTERPRISE

¹² Pseudonyms are used throughout

¹³ A further complicating factor here is the salience of the Irish language, an official language in Ireland, but the first language of very few. This can cause confusion amongst migrants. Official documents are available in both languages. Whilst possibly unrepresentative, one FGD2 participant recounted some difficulties she has encountered, as a result of the Irish language’s official status, in Ireland.

Introduction

Despite the economic turmoil that followed on from the collapse of Ireland's 'Celtic Tiger' economy in 2008, Ireland is an expensive country in which to live. This reality impacts on many aspects of economic and social planning in Ireland (see, for example Gusciute et.al., 2015: 48, for a statement on how this impacts on Ireland's ability to attract migrant enterprise). But, at local level, it means that productive labour, most commonly in the waged labour force, is important to most. As one FGD 1 participant states "without a job you will not survive here".

Intra-EU mobile workers are granted full access to the Irish waged labour market. Some restrictions were initially imposed on Romanian and Bulgarian citizens, on their accession to the EU, but these have now been rescinded. The Irish waged labour market is, and has always been, extremely open to intra-EU mobile persons looking for waged work.

Equally, in this context, Dublin recognises its need to be open to migrant workers. Many significant transnational organisations have located in Dublin. Workers will inevitably be attracted to live in Dublin by the prospect of work in such organisations. Williams and Cudden (2013:2) certainly state that the ICT sector fill up to 55% of their 'high-skill' positions through inward migration. As Guidikova, Hutchinson and Wood (2010: 7) state, cities must guard against any difficulties arising for such employers, on foot of any perceived resistance to diversity.

Policy and Practice

A range of agencies are funded to assist in job search in Ireland. Most have a national remit. The municipal authority does not have a remit to act in the waged labour market. The Local Employment Service Network (LESN) is a statutory provider of information on employment opportunities in Ireland. This agency lies outside the municipal authority's control. It can be attached to a local 'partnership' organisation. However, the Local Enterprise Office (LEO) is each municipal area's statutory provider of enterprise information. DCC's LEO is located in the city's Civic Offices.

Migrants are common users of the services provided by both the LESN and the LEO. Intra-EU mobile workers are entitled to utilise the full range of supports offered by these agencies, in the same manner as their Irish-born counterparts. DCC's LEO office report that

20% of all users of their services are non-Irish nationals. Similarly, the Canal LESN staff member who participated in this research reports that intra-EU mobile workers are part of its current caseload. It must be noted however, that the LESNs are mandated to support potentially vulnerable people in their journey to the labour market. No highly qualified migrants with significant earnings potential are included in this caseload. In this way, the LESNs provide a useful point of contact for potentially marginalised intra-EU mobile workers in Dublin. Supports provided include: assistance in applying for jobs, Curriculum Vitae preparation, interview preparation, information on the procedures involved in a PPS number application and referrals on to specialist providers (such as a City of Dublin Education and Training Board ESOL classes, if necessary). ‘Pastoral care’ is provided as well. A significant emphasis is often placed, as one experienced staff member states, on “a friendly face and a voice, even if it is a cup of tea. Which they have none of, a lot of tea and sympathy”. Importantly however, just as LESNs tend not to interact with highly performing workers, the LESNs do not seek to support people who are active in the informal economy. Such work practices are deemed to be inherently exploitative and ultimately unsustainable. Migrants seeking information/support for their informal work practices are encouraged to change their pattern of work and engage with the formal waged labour market instead.

These services are reactive. Whilst LESNs tend to be well anchored in their local communities, and whilst many employ specialised outreach workers, no real advertising takes place and service users often come to know of the LESN’s presence through word of mouth. The current research participant’s experience suggests that many Intra-EU mobile workers experiencing difficulty in the Irish labour market tend to rely on information garnered from the informal circuits of information and knowledge (word of mouth) operating within their own nationality-community. Unfortunately, such information is rarely ‘objective’ in nature and is equally likely to be dependent on the presence of ‘privileged silos of knowledge’, at local level. To be effective, such information needs to be disseminated far more firmly and transparently, preferably by a trusted voice. The LESN provides this form of transparent support to qualifying people in its area of responsibility. Intra-EU mobile workers simply need to be informed of the LESNs presence and engage with the service at hand, at an appropriate level.

Some migrant-specific programmes have been instituted in the city. The Employment for People from Immigrant Communities programme (EPIC) is a high profile programme funded by the government of Ireland. To date, it has impacted on 1812 people from 99 non-EU nationalities through the provision of support and training for the labour market. EPIC has an active digital footprint (see www.BITC.ie). The pan-European Diversity in the Economy and Local Integration programme (DELI) is also active in Dublin. This programme seeks to encourage migrant enterprise in the city. These programmes are 'dialled' into the wider patterns of service provision in the city. For example, the head of DCC's LEO office sits on the board of the DELI programme. These programmes seek to support migrants in general and are not aimed at Intra-EU mobile citizens in particular and a significant language requirement is often in place. For example, one of the key eligibility requirements for participation in the DELI programme is a demonstrable competence in the English language.

Some general guides for migrants have been produced. For example, the now defunct Integration Centre (formerly Integrating Ireland) produced a comprehensive and well-received guide to job search in Ireland for migrant workers. Some specific programmes have been instituted for migrants, for example the immigrant Council of Ireland's 'Pathways to Work' scheme. Such programmes tend to seek to support Third Country Nationals resident in Ireland, not intra-EU mobile citizens

A similar pattern of support can be accessed through the LEOs. Government policy states that the LEO is the first point of contact for anyone seeking to establish a commercial enterprise in its area of operations. Well-developed protocols are also in place ensuring that other organisations active in the enterprise sector refer potential beneficiaries to LEO when appropriate. LEO is, in effect, an operational 'first stop shop' for all, in this regard. Many and varied supports and services are assessable through the LEO. Innovation sessions are held on a weekly basis. Business mentoring/business boot-camps are provided. Grants and loans are accessible. Furthermore, the LEO maintains a wide range of strategic links into the wider world of startup/enterprise support in the city. LEO provides funding and expertise for a range of potentially useful inputs in the sector such as ICE – Inner City Enterprise, the Springboard programme and the Larkin Centre). They are a key partner for anyone seeking to establish their enterprise in the city.

LEO provides mainstreamed Information and outreach. As a senior staff member in Dublin City LEO states “if someone comes to us, non-Irish, they will get the same treatment as someone who is Irish in terms of getting directed to places and supported in whatever way we can”. This is firmly reflected in its advertising approach. Social media, electronic newsletters, entrepreneur competitions and attendance at enterprise events are commonly referenced here. However, Dublin City LEO is motivated to interact with and support migrant enterprise. For example, it attends migrant community events, and has a high visibility with many national-communities. Three migrant women have won its women’s enterprise award in the last eight years (38% of awardees). This is an important input into the world of migrant enterprise. Research shows that migrants are generally more motivated to establish a ‘start-up’ business than members of a receiving population but that this impulse is often tempered by a lack of information (Gusciute, Quinn and Barrett, 2015: 45).

The intra-EU mobile citizen’s view

The intra-EU mobile worker’s engagement with world of waged work is dependent on the specificities of the individual. These workers operate at a range of levels, in different parts of the waged labour market. The diversity of the intra-EU mobile workers’ experience of the Dublin labour market cannot be easily addressed, at this level of analysis. Informational supports are available, but they tend not to be migrant-focused. For example, employment/enterprise supports are almost uniformly provided in English, in Dublin.

Despite the widespread nature of employment / enterprise information and support, many of the intra-EU mobile workers who participated in this research sourced information about the dynamics of the waged labour market either from i) general non-specific media and internet sources or ii) informally, through word of mouth, either from members of their own country-community resident in the city or from Irish contacts developed in situ. For example, Adrienne, a highly qualified intra-EU mobile citizen from Poland, who has established a successful enterprise in Dublin, feels that all the information she sourced came from informal contacts with individual Irish people and that she doesn’t feel that she “really did any official stuff”. Whilst Paul, a Polish worker experiencing some difficulties at present states that his “friends helped me find a job”. Informal circuits of information remain important to all.

Some issues arising

Potentially useful employment / enterprise interventions are widely available in Dublin. Agencies delivering such programmes are very well anchored in their own sectors and information easily flows from these agencies and their constituencies. The mainstreamed nature of service provision and the fact that no specific outreach is targeted at migrant groups in general (while understandable, on many levels) may serve to privilege the circuits of information emanating from these specialist agencies and move them away from some potential intra-EU beneficiaries. A more proactive and targeted pattern of information dissemination might serve a useful purpose in Dublin.

HOUSING

Introduction

Dublin is experiencing an acute housing shortage. There is under-provision in all sectors of the market and there is significant pressure on the city's residential housing stock. After experiencing a deflationary phase, house prices are rising steadily and residential rents, whilst they have 'plateaued', are very high indeed. Excess demand is impacting on price (DKM Economic Consultants, 2015: 6). There is also a 'homeless crisis' in Dublin. And, homelessness is a common topic of discussion in the popular media

Dublin City is in a difficult position here. The city is committed, through its development planning process, to maintain high construction standards and deliver a 'clean and green' city for its inhabitants¹⁴. However, very little construction has occurred in the city in recent years, residential provision is massively under-resourced, and there is some pressure from construction industry actors to reduce standards as part of a wider effort to 'reenergise' the sector.

The migrant accommodation-search experience is unsurprisingly difficult, as a result - at all levels of the market. Most pressure is experienced in the private rental market where costs

¹⁴ An important subsidiary objective here is to maintain building standards so that the city can attract intra-EU mobile citizens and international students (senior planner, DCC).

have tended to be high (see, for example, Pethe et.al. 2010: 186) and where many recent migrants tend to cluster.¹⁵

Policy and practice

There is no direction from central government about the provision of housing supports for intra-EU mobile citizens, in general. But, the provision of social housing is a core municipal function. Such groups therefore come to the attention of the municipal authority when they fall within the general pattern of need and quality for housing supports. These entitlements are set out in legislation and communicated to the authority via Housing Circular (SHIP) 41/2012. Ship 41 states that intra-EU mobile citizens are entitled to apply for such support if “they are in employment/self-employment in the state, they are temporarily unable to work because of illness/accident or they are recorded as involuntarily unemployed after having been employed for longer than a year and they are registered as a job-seeker with the Department of Social Protection” (Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, 2012: 2). Whilst it is governed by the provisions of SI656 of 2006 - the European Community’s (Free Movement of Persons – 2) regulation, this entitlement is therefore dependent on current/previous economic activity in Ireland. Intra-EU mobile workers are not entitled to such supports in instances where no such relationship exists. 2239 intra-EU mobile citizens were registered with DCC and were deemed to qualify for housing support in 2013 (Housing Agency, 2013: 16).

The vast majority of intra-EU mobile workers filter into the private rental market in the city. These intra-EU mobile workers engage with the city’s housing market at the level appropriate to them. The city does not seek to imprint on the market, at this level. Such housing provision is not deemed to fall under the remit of the municipal authority. When asked directly, for example, the Housing Department staff who participated in this study were clear in their view that, while the city does not seek to support the individual in the

¹⁵ Whilst very little research was carried out on the nature of Irish housing markets in the late 1990s and early 2000s in general (see, for example, Humphreys, 2006) most commentators are of the opinion that immigrant housing markets were skewed towards the private rental sector. Fahey and Fanning (2010: 16) certainly present clear evidence to that effect for Dublin. A clear geography of immigrant housing arose with many migrants gravitating towards the north central inner city and its north-western suburbs (see MacEinri and White, 2008: 155 for an engagement with national patterns). This sector was very lightly regulated at this time (see, Combat Poverty, 2010: 22) and despite the presence of national inclusion procedures, immigrant difficulties are commonly recounted.

search for private residential accommodation (see, also, SIRP, 2004: 44), every assistance is afforded to an individual as part of an advisory service in seeking appropriate housing supports. As with everyone else, intra-EU mobile workers and students from other European countries are not deemed to be in need of support at this level. In the event of an intra-EU mobile worker/student seeking advice and guidance from such statutory providers, the response is to refer them on to either: the print media or www.daft.ie - Ireland's most widely-used residential property website. The housing association and migrant advocacy organisation staff who were consulted during the project, and the participating CIC and 'Central Library' staff, all held similar views. Information officers will respect the question and seek to refer the enquirer on but such queries lie outside their remit. Some housing supports are provided by Citizens Information, as part of their 'second level' and 'third level' advocacy work, but these tend to be either: i) highly specialised responses to a clearly articulated and context specific need, or ii) a prepared directory of resources for distribution to enquirers, rather than as a part of a pattern of general engagement with migration housing in the sector, in general.

Conversely, people deemed to be in need of social support do fall under the remit of the local authority and DCC (in conjunction with the Department of Social Protection) is the effective provider of operational housing supports to those deemed to be in need, in the city. Migrants who qualify, or those experiencing difficulty, can apply to DCC for assistance. Once eligibility has been established, these migrants are included on the social housing lists in the city¹⁶. DCC's most recently compiled data dates from 2013. At that time, 13.8% of the people included on its social housing lists were classified as 'EU citizens' (2,239 people, Housing Agency 2013: 16)). Whilst data is not directly comparable, only c. 10% of DCC's population were categorised as EU citizens by the 2011 census. Using this measure, intra-EU mobile citizens are over-represented amongst those deemed to be 'in need'.

All city tenancies are allocated by the city's Housing Department. Although there is a 12 to 15 year long waiting list for permanent social housing allocation in the city at present, registration with the city's housing section serves another purpose. Once registered with the municipal housing section, an intra-EU migrant can then apply for rental assistance for

¹⁶ Strict criteria for eligibility are in operation. In Dublin, to be deemed eligible for social housing supports, a household must have a net annual income of less than 35,000 (subject to a number of subsidiary conditions and bandings).

use in the private rental market. This is a strong subsidiary area of responsibility for the municipal authority. Once need is established, applicants are provided with a letter confirming eligibility – to be presented to the relevant Department of Social Protection office. The Department of Social Protection then processes the claim and if satisfied, the applicant will receive a rental support payment to help defray some of the costs they incur in the private rental market. This is a very common payment indeed and is awarded to very many intra-EU mobile workers resident in the DCC area. In this way, DCC is a point of contact for many intra-EU mobile workers in the city. Intra-EU mobile citizens are entitled to apply for social housing in the city, as long as they meet specific eligibility criteria laid down in SHIP 41. While no EU-specific scheme is in existence, intra-EU mobile citizens are afforded the same service as all other citizens. Furthermore, if need is deemed to be great, an applicant may be referred to a specialist housing provider such as ‘Threshold’ – especially, if they are experiencing difficulties in their private rented accommodation.

A standard pattern is followed. Housing Department staff operate a drop-in service in the municipal authority’s offices in Dublin City Centre. Intra-EU mobile workers seeking to apply for either social housing or rental assistance present themselves at the housing section, where their eligibility is assessed in the same manner as everyone else. Documentation is not currently available in other languages. Housing Department staff have received the ‘normal’ customer service style training inputs, available to all staff, however, a series of language supports are available, if needed. DCC’s internal staff directory can be availed of, when particular language skills are deemed necessary. A Skype-enabled computer terminal is also present. An intra-EU mobile worker can use this resource when interacting with housing section staff.

Importantly, whilst housing supports are organised around a social support model in the city, the most highly vulnerable people – the homeless - fall outside this process. The social housing pattern that is operational in Dublin is designed to support those already in accommodation. People without accommodation are deemed to be homeless and are channelled towards more specialist service providers instead. Emergency accommodation is provided initially, but longer-term solutions are quickly sought. A 24 hr ‘homeless helpline’ is in place in the city and a range of statutory providers are operational. Importantly, Homeless charities and advocacy organisations are active in this space as well and offer

housing supports to those deemed to be in need in the city. The Citizens Information service has prepared an advisory reference document - *Procedures for dealing with homeless situations* - containing lists of appropriate service providers active in the city and outlining the procedure followed by the homeless services in the city. Intra-EU mobile citizens who find themselves in a homeless situation are entitled to avail of these services. People who find themselves in such a situation are also entitled to go directly to the city's Homeless Person's Unit (HPU) at 77 Gardiner St, Dublin 1. Case workers are at hand here, to assess whether an intra-EU mobile citizen is entitled to any mainstream social protection payments that could impact positively on their situation.

The intra-EU mobile citizen's view

The intra-EU mobile citizens who participated in this research tended to voice significant frustrations about the housing market in Dublin. Accommodation is difficult to come by. Many people recount how they accepted less-than-desirable living arrangements initially, before moving on as soon as was possible.

Most migrants' first source accommodation through contacts in their own country groups. Informal circuits of information are commonly operational at every level in the city. This is common in the literature (see, for example, SIRP, 2004: 45). Adrienne, a FGD 2 participant, for example relied on other members of the Polish community in the city for her accommodation at first, before, after a period of some months, she finally sourced her own residential accommodation via www.daft.ie. This is a common pattern. Very many intra-EU mobile citizens rely on friends and contacts for information and support, at first. Most move on to a more 'normal' residential pattern within a short space of time. Online resources, print media and informal circuits of information are the most commonly referenced sources of information on accommodation.

Most people understand that a residential address, and proof of that address, is exceedingly important and most are understandably motivated to source adequate accommodation. However, most operate as independent actors. Only when their need is great do intra-EU mobile citizens come to the attention of DCC. Unfortunately, the city's residential housing market is such that very little can be achieved in the short term. There are simply too few residential units available in the city. Most of the migrants who participated in this study

know and accept this reality. Those who are able, source their own accommodation, as best they can. Those in need engage with the city's Housing Department, in the same manner as everyone else. The most vulnerable, are channelled towards specialist service providers.

Some issues arising

The success of an intra-EU mobile citizen's residential house-search is not determined by access (or lack thereof) to adequate information and support. The reality of life in Dublin is that the housing stock is simply not there.

Highly vulnerable homeless intra-EU mobile citizens are possibly the one group who would benefit greatly from more information and outreach in the city. This is especially the case for people who do not have a high level of English. These people can be invisible in the city and are often all-but ineligible for social support on foot of: i) their inability to prove their address ii) their lack of English language and iii) what an experienced social worker and FGD 2 participant terms their tendency to be "shy and afraid". More effective and targeted information and outreach may impact more firmly amongst this population group than amongst other intra-EU mobile workers resident in the city.

CIVIC PARTICIPATION

Introduction

Intra-EU mobile citizens are entitled to vote in local and European elections in Ireland. Intra-EU mobile citizens are not entitled to vote in: i) elections to the Irish parliament (the Dail), ii) the election of an Irish president, or iii) in referenda to change the constitution of the country. Ireland is experienced in this regard. Since 1951, Ireland has extended a similar range of voting rights to mobile UK citizens resident in the country, in recognition of a reciprocal suite of rights extended to Irish citizens resident in the UK.

In addition, intra-EU mobile citizens are entitled to stand for election at local level and are entitled to opt to vote in European elections via the 'out of country' voting system. A number of intra-EU mobile citizens sought election to Dublin City Council during the most recent local elections. None of these candidates were successful.

Policy and Practice



Comhairle Cathrach
Bhaile Átha Cliath
Dublin City Council



Cuimsiú Sóisialta
Social Inclusion



With financial support from the
Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme
of the European Union

Ireland does not require its citizens to exercise their voting rights. Intra-EU mobile citizens are not obliged to exercise their right to vote in Ireland either. A voluntary registration process is in place. Individuals may opt in by electing to join Ireland's register of electors (as long as they have a residential address) or they may wish to remain outside the franchise. Equally, one may elect to be included on the register of electors initially, only to change one's mind and opt to rescind one's right to vote, at a later date. This course of action is deemed to be entirely appropriate.

Whilst robust data are hard to come by, anecdotal evidence suggests that intra-EU mobile citizens more regularly opt to register to vote in local elections than in European elections, where only small numbers elect to change their status from their country of origin to Ireland. For example, only one of the intra-EU mobile workers who participated in this research stated that they have ever voted in a European election in Ireland.

DCC is the 'competent authority' in this regard and its specialised Franchise Section administers the register of electors for the DCC area. The Franchise Section circulates registration forms to post offices, libraries and Garda stations annually to ensure that citizens are afforded every opportunity to register. The DCC website is updated regularly with registration forms and information on upcoming elections/referenda. Along with these processes a team of franchise enumerators (field workers) are employed. These workers conduct door-to-door enquires from February to November, every year.

Information campaigns, such as 'check the register' are mounted on a twice-yearly basis (November and February). Whilst these are general campaigns that seek to message the population of the DCC area as a whole, DCC's franchise section is very conscious of the need to reach out to migrant populations who are entitled to vote, but no migrant-specific campaigns are mounted.

DCC's main information and outreach strategy is operationalised by the Franchise Section's field staff. These workers engage in a 'call and drop' campaign at local level. If an eligible individual is encountered 'on the doorstep' and is found not to be included on the register of electors, the Franchise field worker will give the person the option of joining the register there and then. Some people elect to take the registration form and post it back to DCC. Others are assisted in filling out the registration form, 'on the doorstep'. Many intra-EU

mobile citizens are encountered in this manner. Registration forms are in English and Irish but fieldworkers are equipped with 'flash cards' in relevant languages, which explain the purpose of the form and the procedures involved. The experienced fieldworker who participated in this project clearly states that the team seek to ensure that as many intra-EU mobile citizens as possible are given the opportunity to register their vote. An individual may also opt to attend at the Civic Offices in Dublin City Centre, where DCC's customer service staff are trained: i) to inform them of their voting rights, ii) in the correct administration of the register of electors and iii) in the use of the forms required. A strong pattern of outreach is followed. While the Franchise Section does not target migrants, it does facilitate migrant communities who ask for help by providing a staff member to help reach out to as many people in a community as possible.

The register of electors is then used as a template for the list of eligible European voters in the year of a European election. Eligible intra-EU mobile citizens are then contacted by post and invited to register as a European elector. A further series of steps and checks must then be followed, before an individual is invited to complete a statutory procedure confirming that they wish to be classified as an EU voter, living in Ireland. There is a low up-take on this second process.

The system is very comprehensive but some issues can arise. For example, as EU registration only takes place in the year of a European election, a significant period of time may have elapsed between an intra-EU mobile citizen's initial inclusion on the register and when they are invited to complete their registration for the purposes of a European election. As the process depends on contact being maintained via postal address, many mobile Europeans may be lost to the system in the event of them moving residential address. DCC has no way of following up with such an individual.

The intra-EU mobile citizen's view

The primary responsibility for a person's registration on the register of electors lies with the individual concerned. No confirmation letter/e-mail is sent to people registering. The primary point of contact for the public in general is: i) DCC's franchise office and enumerators, ii) www.checktheregister.ie, iii) DCC's website and iv) DCC's twice-yearly

‘check the register’ campaign. DCC’s franchise section also field a large volume of telephone enquiries – often requesting registration forms.

DCC’s franchise section has not impacted upon the (admittedly small number of) intra-EU mobile workers who participated in this research project. These intra-EU mobile citizens did not express any real interest in either the registration or voting processes in this country.

Some issues arising

A strong pattern of information and outreach is followed in Dublin but only low numbers of intra-EU mobile citizens are opting to register to vote in Ireland. The time-lag between a migrant’s initial acceptance of a place on the register of local electors and the point when he/she is invited to opt to vote in European elections in Ireland is problematic. A number of years regularly pass between these two points. A prompter and more dialogic pattern of consultation could pay dividends here. DCC has no control over the timing of this process however, since current legislation (the Electoral Act, 1992) determines when contact can be made.

LANGUAGE EDUCATION

Introduction

The Southern Integration Research Project (SIRP, 2004: 43) identified language deficiency as the single most important barrier to long term integration in Ireland, over 10 years ago. It could be said that very little has changed in the intervening period. Migrants who do not speak English can struggle to integrate in any meaningful manner.

No form of language-assessment is required of immigrants seeking to settle in Ireland. This does not negate the importance of the ability to communicate in the language of the destination country. Some ‘domains of language’ can operate in a migrant’s native language (the home and the migrant community for example) but, by and large, the ability to communicate in English is essential for life in Ireland. English is certainly a prerequisite for work in most sectors of the Irish waged labour market. There is some evidence to suggest that many intra-EU migrants were able to operate successfully in Ireland during the ‘Celtic Tiger’ period without a knowledge of the English language. Ireland’s economy was

extremely buoyant at the time and opportunities were common, in both the formal and informal waged labour markets, however, this is not the case in 2015. Ireland is only now exiting a period of deep economic recession and the labour market is highly competitive in nature. People who cannot speak English are likely to be severely disadvantaged. Irish policy makers are aware of this fact and programmes to enhance immigrants' language acquisition are in place, particularly with a view to equipping people with the language skills necessary for participation in the waged labour market. As one experienced City of Dublin Education and Training Board (CD ETB) staff member states, of language education in Dublin – “there is huge interest and motivation among migrants to improve their language skills so that they are in a position to secure further education and training or employment opportunities. Equally, many are under enormous pressure from DSP (The Department of Social Protection) to take up training”. This does much to structure the nature of language education in Dublin.

Policy and Practice

Migrants are entitled to language training. This only extends to a low level of provision. In its Operational Guidelines for Providers of Adult Literacy Programmes (2013), the Irish government's Department of Education and Skills states that ESOL provision should be offered to a level of functional competence. It identifies CERFL A2 as that threshold level.¹⁷

A complex landscape of language provision is present in the city. Many private sector providers are in operation – offering fee-required courses. Mainstream educational establishments run part-time courses and night courses across the DCC area. The public library service offer well-received language interventions, such as their 'language exchange programme' and their ESOL classes, as do some migrant-focused NGOs. Language education and training is also provided by organisations active in the voluntary sector. For example, the 'Failte Isteach' ('welcome in' in the Irish language) programme is a well-known language training programme where older Irish-born people volunteer to teach recent migrants conversational styles of English.

The City of Dublin Education and Training Board (CD ETB) is the statutory provider of such language training in Dublin. Through its Adult Education Service, CD ETB runs up to 40 free

¹⁷ CD ETB goes further, and avails of other funding streams to ensure that courses are also available at B1 level.

language training programmes in its area of responsibility. CD ETB's colleges of 'further education' (FE Colleges) also offer a range of both full-time and part-time courses catering for the education and training needs of migrants. These courses are usually aimed at NFQ? levels 4 and 5 and can incur fees. This organisation has a very broad remit indeed and seeks to exert some 'command and control' on this complex sector as well. Classes are organised, at a variety of levels. Curricula are formulated. Certification is provided. This organisation is hampered by a lack of robust data-collection practices in the sector in general, but the CD ETB is attending to this difficulty in the hope of streamlining its data capture procedures, going forward. In time, this will be a useful intervention.

There is a differential pattern of language training provision in Dublin. As in many things, Ireland's recent financial crisis lies behind the pattern. A significant distinction is drawn between classes offered during 'office hours' and those offered 'at night'. Day classes tend to be offered by the statutory provider of language training in the city – CD ETB. These are free to learners and part-time in nature.¹⁸ Day classes can also be sourced privately, via the fee-paying education and training institutions. Night classes are also offered by the statutory provider, or more often than not, by colleges of further education attached to the statutory provider. These courses tend to be more advanced in nature than the ones offered during the day.

The part-time, daytime ESOL training service is well used by intra-EU mobile workers. This is the most significant point of contact for most intra-EU mobile learners with Dublin's language education sector. As a senior CD ETB staff member states "we have learners from more than 80 countries accessing our ESOL programmes across the Adult Education Service. More than half of these learners come from EU countries. With Polish and Romanian nationals comprising the largest learner cohort". Historically, this service developed in an ad hoc manner, as part of Ireland's literacy service for adult learners. As the same staff member states "historically that is the bread and butter of the ETB you know – people returning to education after a long time. People at risk of social exclusion". In this regard, free courses were mostly offered to asylum seekers, those with refugee status and potentially marginalised migrants in need of basic English support. Up until very recently,

¹⁸ Learners typically receive between 110 and 160 hours tuition per course, depending on their language level. The majority of these courses, while part-time in nature allow learners the opportunity to progress from one CEFR level to another in one academic term (12 – 15 weeks).

intra-EU mobile workers were generally not prioritised for this type of training provision (such as the demand from other marginalised groups). When in need, such migrants were referred towards fee-required night-classes in educational institutions attached to the statutory provider. This is hugely illustrative of Ireland's wider engagement with the world of intra-EU mobility. Language classes were made freely available to migrants deemed in need of support. Intra-EU mobile citizens, by virtue of their free-to-work status, did not fall into this category of migrant and were not offered the same types of support. The collapse of the Celtic Tiger economy changed all this. Intra-EU mobile citizens are now commonly seeking to access courses run by the ETB's literacy service. Historically, many of these learners did not come to the attention of the ETB because they were working, during office hours, in a buoyant economy (and therefore could source waged labour without a high level of English). These workers are now more likely to be unemployed, more likely to be at risk of exclusion and are less likely to be able to pay fees in the private sector. Consequently, this type of intra-EU mobile citizen is now more visible in the free language training sector than in years past. Oftentimes, these intra-EU mobile learners do not fit with the standard profile of an ETB learner as, apart from poor command of English, they can be highly educated/qualified and experienced in their own field. The ETB is clear in this regard. Its learner profile is dominated by 'traditional' adult literacy candidates from Ireland and non-traditional ESOL candidates from the migrant communities.

CD ETB has not advertised its courses aggressively up to now because they were largely well-subscribed in nature and the organisation could meet the needs of those presenting for classes, although some advertising was carried out in other languages. However, these inputs tended to arise in response to local need and were not part of a coordinated information dissemination strategy in the past. The CD ETB has been in a difficult position here. The landscape of language training provision is necessarily fluid. Budgets are locally based and under constant pressure. Service providers operating in the free-to-all sector of the market are rightly highly 'budget-defensive' in nature. As a result, decisions on courses, and the level of course, on offer in any particular centre are made at late as possible in the budgetary reporting period and the nature of provision can change at the last minute as service providers seek to make best use of the resources at their disposal and in order to respond to the rapidly changing needs of local populations. Even a coordinating body such

as CD ETB cannot marshal all the information in time to effectively advertise at any given time. The citizen's information service does try to maintain such a list, but this is inevitably partial in nature, given the fluidity of the sector. A directory of language courses was not compiled in Dublin for many years. A new initiative is addressing this difficulty.

This will constitute a useful pattern of information and outreach, in time. For example, and CD ETB is clear in this regard, the CD ETB does not tend to see migrants with a traditional literacy profile presenting for ESOL training during the day. As our research participant states "we know they exist, without a doubt, but the reality is that the demand is driven by those who are literate in their first language. Until now, our services has been reacting to the needs of migrants presenting in our centres. However, just because learners with specific need aren't knocking down our doors, doesn't mean that they don't exist". One needs to have a certain level of basic English before one can state that one does not have an adequate level of English, and look for help. But more than this, it is clear that pockets of need exist in the city and that these can be nationality-based. For example, there is an awareness of the fact that informal channels of communication work very effectively amongst some country groups resident in Dublin (the Polish for example) - "so word spreads" but other groups are inevitably more marginal. As the senior CD ETB staff member states, "we have to do more to reach the group that we are not reaching".

Intra-EU mobile citizen's view

The migrants who participated in this research all felt that the ability to communicate in English is a prerequisite for life in Dublin. Views can be complex. Some intra-EU mobile citizens who have been in Ireland for a number of years can be of the opinion that the ability to communicate in English is actually less important for immigrants arriving in the recent past than it was for people who came to live in Dublin during the 'Celtic Tiger' years, as there are now reasonably well established communities in place in Dublin – who can help the newly-arrived immigrant in their interactions with the state. Intra-EU mobile citizens can certainly depend on such informal contacts for information and guidance on a wide range of issues. Nevertheless, the inability to speak English is seen as being an impediment to life in Dublin, particularly as most mainstream service providers will not be in a position to offer intra-EU mobile citizens information and advice in the language of the migrant's birth. As one FGD 1 participant states – "you basically need language ... so you go to the

social welfare and you don't have friends, what are you going to say? Nothing". The acquisition of English language remains a priority for all.

Some issues arising

A wide variety of ESOL language providers are active in Dublin. Many local issues arise but the city is well served in this regard. Furthermore, the CD ETB is an effective and thoughtful coordinating structure at the level of the city. Difficulties arise from the fact that known groups of migrants (intra-EU mobile citizens as well) reside in Dublin without effective language skills. A robust pattern of information and outreach would pay dividends, should new funding streams be made available. To be most effective, such an increased engagement with information and outreach will necessarily depend on an increased pattern of 'command and control' being instituted, at the level of the city.

DIVERSITY AND INTERCULTURALISM

Introduction

Migration rates have ebbed and flowed over the years since independence, most notably during the 'Celtic Tiger' period (1997-2007) but Ireland is not yet an inter/multi-cultural country. A strongly white and western narrative of nation remains in place (see Mitchel, 2011: 7). That said, Ireland has been orientating itself towards a world of human movement in recent years and a commitment to diversity is written into much Irish policy. Unfortunately, much of Ireland's national migrant integration infrastructure was severely affected by the budgetary cuts imposed during the era of austerity (see section IV).

A range of policy documents have been produced and resources have been placed behind the implementation of an intercultural strategy for Dublin. The city is currently revisiting this diversity strategy and is therefore best seen as being in an intra-strategy period at present. But, DCC's commitment to foster a diverse and inclusive city remains firm, at the highest level. For example, migrants sit on a number of important DCC boards and committees – the city's Joint Policing Committee, for example. DCC's Public Participation Networks (PPNs) also provides an effective channel for migrant engagement in the governance of the city. DCC's diversity policy is operationalised by the Social Inclusion Unit of the municipal

authority. This Unit has a very broad remit and is charged with the implementation of programmes to support all population groups in danger of exclusion. Migrants are one of the groups which the Unit supports. As the senior member of staff in this section, states – “We don’t target particular groups”. Mainstreamed services are provided for all eligible groups and anyone deemed to be eligible of support can apply for assistance.

Resources, in an era of austerity, dominate the agenda and Social inclusion workers are operating with limited resources.

Policy and Practice

DCC, whilst active at a range of levels, is generally not the primary point of contact for the migrant. For example, a member of DCC’s senior management team, states that community organisations are likely to be intra-EU mobile workers’ first point of contact in the city. Community organisations, cultural institutes, own-nationality-communities and local Migrant and Ethnic-Led Organisations (MELOS) are ‘frontline’ service providers in Dublin. For example, a community organisation that participated in this research - St Andrews Community Centre, is very active in its area of responsibility. It produces and distributes a newsletter, it runs programmes locally and is well networked with all key service providers in its own area. It is at the centre of many informal informational channels operating locally and acts as a conduit for information in its local area, in addition to DCC. DCC often relies on organisations such as St Andrews Community Centre to partner its community development and inclusion programmes in their local area. DCC’s Social Inclusion Unit, has always recognised the value of working in close partnership with a network of such actors in the city (see, for example, Guidikova, Hutchinson and Wood, 2011: 3).

The city imprints on the social inclusion landscape in other ways -

DCC’s Library Service is an effective point of first contact. The city provides many useful welcome-type supports for migrants through this service. The Central Library’s general access IT resources are very well used by migrants in general and its training/event facilities (such as the Central Library’s training room) are commonly made available to migrant organisations, service providers and MELOs and many specialised classes are organised. In addition, DCC’s Arts Office is very engaged with migrant communities in the past and other sections, such as the city’s Sports Office and Homeless Services, are very aware of migrant

need in general. DCC's Sports Office deliver many sports programmes aimed at immigrant communities and has operated in partnership with Sports Against Racism in Ireland (SARI), a high profile initiative against racism (Guidikova, Hutchinson and Wood, 2010: 8) and the Chinese Sports Association for quite some time now. The municipal authority's Social Inclusion Unit anchors a range of programmes. For example, the Unit is currently redrafting the city's intercultural strategy document (for operationalisation in 2016). It also administers the municipal authority's inclusion/integration grants schemes and it also allocates other funding throughout the year. What are termed community grants are dispersed early in the calendar year. These can amount to a maximum of €10,000. This funding is available to qualifying groups who are active in the area of inclusion/integration. Migrant and Ethnic-led organisations (MELOs) and community groups are commonly supported, along with all other interest groups and funding for cultural events feature regularly here. Whilst there is no 'ring-fenced' funding assigned to intra-EU mobile communities, these communities have been in receipt of significant funding in recent years. DCC has helped to fund a series of Polish, Hungarian and Russian events in the last number of years and is a key partner in Dublin's *Interfaith Forum* – a dynamic networking association that seeks to foster interfaith awareness and dialogue in an increasingly multi-ethnic urban environment. DCC's role here is to "support, promote and facilitate" the forum's efforts to strengthen relationships between different faith-based communities (Cristea, 2012: 9). The interfaith forum has also produced a usable booklet – *Come and See for Yourself – Dos and Don'ts of Dublin's Sacred Spaces*, complete with a series of maps indicating where relevant places of worship can be found. A new print run of this publication has recently been commissioned by DCC -for citywide distribution.

Such inputs play an important role in the city. Primarily, they encourage visibility and therefore help to counteract social/cultural exclusion and drift. But, more than this, through its support of such events/organisations, DCC can communicate with potentially inaccessible migrant groups, familiarity can be fostered and information can flow. Dublin City's Interfaith Forum certainly sees itself as "an agile platform" facilitating communication between its funders, its beneficiary groups and a range of entities operational in the city. Statutory agencies who have interacted with the forum include, An Garda Síochána

(Ireland's police force), the Department of Education, the Health Service Executive (HSE). Multi-national organisations, such as Google, have contacted the forum in the past.

A strong subsidiary objective lies in DCC's fostering of: i) lateral networking opportunities between different communities themselves and ii) opportunities for relationships to develop vertically between 'grass roots' organisations active in the city on the one hand and the municipal authority and other statutory providers/interested parties, on the other. For example, one recently unsuccessful Romanian applicant for funding has benefited greatly from their tangential networking opportunities that have arisen from its failed bid. It is anticipated that this organisation will apply again for funding, with a high chance of success, as a result. In this way, DCC seeks to imprint positively on the experience of new communities in its area of responsibility.

This engagement with diversity may have been a little reactive in nature in the past. But, some advertising is carried out, principally via DCC's website and informational materials are produced - sometimes in different languages. A funding call is issued by the authority, and organisations respond with an application.

The intra-EU mobile citizen's view

Cultural supports are commonly available to migrants in Dublin. DCC's Social Inclusion Unit is very active in the field. While no specific programmes are tailored for intra-EU mobile citizens, the office does seek to support migrants in general and intra-EU mobile communities are commonly supported as part of this more general pattern. These interventions tend to be context-specific in nature. Individuals and groups who know about these interventions value them, but such interventions are possibly not central to many others' lives. The Intra-EU mobile workers who participated in this research were not aware of these broader support-types available to their communities in the city. Intra-EU mobile workers active in the community sector are likely to be much more familiar with these supports. That is the space in which DCC's social inclusion section operates.

Some issues arising

Dublin is trying to create a migrant-supportive environment in the city. Migrant organisations are being supported in many different ways and interventions from the migrant community that are adjudged to have the potential to increase visibility and aid

integration are encouraged. DCC plays a key role here. A range of community and voluntary organisations are active as well.

TRAINING

Introduction

Some migrants who participated in this research displayed low levels of trust in information sourced from statutory service providers preferring instead, to obtain information from ‘trusted’ sources in their own community. The fostering of a ‘proper’ and supportive interface between service providers and the migrants seeking to engage with service providers would appear to be the required solution; it would follow that frontline staff members will need training in this regard.

Policy and practice

DCC’s staff members are trained in the tenets of good customer care. ‘Front-of-house’ staff are commonly targeted here. The user interface is important to the organisation. In times past, this training was delivered by DCC’s Human Resources Department to new staff, on recruitment. But, as a senior member of staff states that, until recently, there has been “no real recruitment in years”. While DCC’s Human Resources Department currently carries out no routine training for its staff in inter-culturalism, it will soon begin to deliver a staff training module in the care of challenging customers.

DCC’s Training Officer reports that a strategy of targeted customer training will be a priority input when budgets allow.

The Intra-EU migrant view

The people who participated in this research generally expressed some dissatisfaction with the quality of service provided to them by those active in the provision of services in the city. Public servants are deemed by participants to be in need of support and training

Some issues arising

Some positive staff training developments were instituted during the ‘Celtic Tiger’ period of high immigration and many agencies positively engaged with the need to reorder their

service user interface to take account of the changing nature of the Irish population. Ireland's recent experience of deep recession and austerity has led to a retrenchment in many respects and cuts to training budgets. Recruitment has been all but non-existent in the public service and training budgets have been impacted – in many cases, very significantly indeed.

Additional Customer service training modules would be beneficial at most points of contact across the sector, Intercultural sensitivity modules could constitute positive interventions.

VI CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

In concluding this short study of welcome policies in Ireland, it is useful to first re-articulate the main aims of the study. The purpose of the study has been to explore how the city of Dublin has been seeking to engage with intra-EU mobile citizens and ease their transition into life in the city. This has been operationalised under a series of headings: i) general welcome information, ii) the waged labour market, iii) residential housing, iv) social inclusion/diversity, v) language acquisition, vi) civic participation and vii) the training of ‘front-desk’ staff. The project has, in effect, been an exploration of how the city seeks to help migrants acclimatize to the rhythms of life in their new location. Some common threads run through the chosen areas of study. A very strong ‘cross-cutting’ theme is discernible throughout - that services, and the provision of Information about those services, is ‘mainstreamed’ in Dublin.

Some targeted informational inputs have been put in place in Ireland, but these have nearly all been targeted at people exiting the asylum processing system. Other categories of migrants have been allowed to access information on life in Ireland in the same manner as everyone else. Some very significant, and valued, categories of migrant, such as visa-required non-EEA workers and non-visa required intra-EU mobile workers are granted unfettered access to societal resources and to the care and protection of the Irish state. They are afforded full access to information about mainstream service provision, however, they are often expected to engage with Irish service providers in the same manner as Irish-born people, without additional support being put in place. In Gray’s (2006: 133) words, this group of migrants are therefore “invited to be active and to take responsibility for their own integration”. Whilst this analysis may be a matter of discussion, it is reasonable to suggest, that the lack of a supportive infrastructure could certainly lead to a disconnect arising between the absolute rights and entitlements accruing to those migrants’ granted full access to societal resources in law, and their lived realities, at local level.

Local responses to migrant need can help. Municipal authorities have certainly engaged with the diversity of life in their areas of responsibility. Integration and intercultural plans and strategies are common. Dublin is no different and a strong pattern of policy and planning for integration is in place in its area of responsibility. There has been a particularly

strong engagement with the central tenets of intercultural integration at managerial / strategic planning level. DCC is a member of many intercultural networks in Europe. Its senior managerial team are well aware of the need to be open to diversity. This engagement is operationalised on two levels. i) Strategic planning is carried out by DCC's Planning Department. ii) Operational inputs are anchored by DCC's Social Inclusion Unit.

Irish municipal authorities' responsibilities do not extend as far as those of other EU cities. A far narrower range of activities are pursued. The Irish city has less input in the provision of services in a number of key domains: i) educational services, ii) health services or iii) employment services, for example. In this regard, it does not make sense to hold DCC's engagements with migrant welcome/integration activities up to scrutiny in the same way as other cities' activities. However, DCC's core areas of activity are as follows. DCC's Social Inclusion Unit anchors the city's diversity / inclusion planning and service provision. DCC's Franchise Section is the statutory administrator of the register of electors in DCC's area of operations and thus does much to organise the landscape of civic participation in the city. DCC's LEO is the statutory provider of services for small enterprise and 'startup' business in the city. Information is readily available on such activities. DCC's www.dublin.ie portal is a primary source of all kinds of information about Dublin. Furthermore, DCC is active in other areas of life in the city. DCC does much to structure the general landscape of information provision in the city. The Citizen's Information Centres are the statutory providers of 'official information' in Dublin. DCC interacts with these centres and provides funding, where appropriate. DCC's Library service is another key provider of information. Indeed, whilst not a statutory provider of information, the library service is in many ways a more complete provider of information than the CIC, as it also provides softer more informal types of information in a way that the CIC cannot. Language training is not part of the municipal authority's remit. An independent agency, the City of Dublin Education and Training Board (CD-ETB) organises this landscape. But, DCC does input into this sector through its Library service. Dublin City's library service provides a range of highly regarded language events and learning programmes/interventions for its clients.

These services are mainstreamed. No targeted pattern of information dissemination is in place. Intra-EU mobile workers being invited to access services in the same manner as everybody else. But, DCC is proactively supporting the flow of information to intra-EU

mobile communities in many subtle ways. Critically, DCC acts as an effective managerial hub in the city. Patterns of funding provision and organisational support are strong and the city imprints on the landscape of welcome. For example, DCC's Social Inclusion Unit has a strong subsidiary objective to its provision of grant aid to locally active organisations and through its inputs, DCC strives to foster: i) lateral networking opportunities between different communities themselves and ii) opportunities for relationships to develop vertically between 'grass roots' organisations active in the city on the one hand and the municipal authority and other statutory providers/interested parties, on the other. In this way, DCC seeks to imprint positively on the experience of new communities in its area of responsibility and information can flow. Results are not always obvious, but the city is acting structurally to provide a strong pattern of mainstreamed support, within the confines imposed by austerity. It remains to be seen whether this pattern will yield the hoped-for results for migrants but Dublin is engaging with the process and in Collet's (2013) words "learning as it goes".

Some of the particular learnings will now be outlined -

Access to information

Information is readily available. Strong inputs are already present in Dublin. The Citizen's Information Service and the City's Library Service are both effective disseminators of all kinds of general information. DCC's own portals are also effective sources of much information on the city. Outside of these, most information tends to be stored sectorally. This can be a complicating factor. Some migrants may not know how to access such specialised information, or are simply not confident in their own ability to interact with general service providers, who do not have a specialist remit. Specifically, whilst context-specific information is generally made available to all, no information-dissemination programmes specifically seek to support intra-EU mobile workers. The individual migrant is therefore expected to understand his/her own informational requirements, access the range of potential information sources relevant to his/her query in the city and interrogate the data sources made available to him/her, in light of his/her own requirements. In this regard, migrants may experience difficulties whilst seeking general information about life in Dublin, not because the information is not available to them but because they simply may

not know where to look and are not easily directed to the different silos of mainstreamed information present in the city.

There is an opportunity for the city to imprint positively on the sector. A strong and easily operationalised input would be the creation of a usable interface into this world of disparate information. Such an input could be easily operationalised in conjunction with the two significant providers of general information in the city - the City Library Service, Dublin.ie and the Citizen's Information Service.

Employment and Enterprise

The age-distribution of the intra-EU mobile workers resident in Dublin suggests that this population fits with a classic pattern of labour migration. Apart from general European mobility measures, no special policies or procedures are in place to support these intra-EU mobile workers as they engage with the Irish waged labour market. The vast majority are likely to be able to successfully engage with the waged labour market, on their own terms and at a level appropriate to their experience and qualifications. But, difficulties can arise. For example, whilst recent reports show that Ireland's economy is currently experiencing a 'robust recovery' (see, for example *Dublin Economic Monitor*, 2015: 3). 2008's banking collapse and the attendant sharp retraction in all areas of Irish economic activity, effected migrants greatly, as a once buoyant migrant-dominated 'third-sector' labour market collapsed and was replaced by increasingly low-paid and casualised patterns of work, often in the informal economy (see, for example, EuroFound, 2015: 16). Significant pockets of migrant need may be present. Unfortunately, given their free access to the labour market, there can be a perception that all intra-EU mobile workers are not in need of support.

The municipal authority does not provide information on the dynamics of the waged labour market in general. It is not part of the city's remit. Agencies with a national remit, such as SOLAS - Ireland's national training agency, private sector outlets and the Local Employment Services are the main providers of such information in Dublin. These are well networked together and provide a very accessible conduit into the waged labour market. The city could enhance this pattern by networking more closely with these active agencies and assisting in the dissemination of information about the waged labour market to potential interest groups.

The city does act proactively in other areas of the economy. DCC's LEO office is an effective first-stop shop for migrants seeking information about 'startup' opportunities. LEO is well networked into the world of enterprise support in the city. Even more proactive advertising of the strong supports available through LEO inputs would further embed this useful agency in the worlds of intra-EU mobile workers.

Civic Participation

DCC's Franchise section follows a strong pattern. Significant resources are invested in ensuring that as many potential electors as possible are included on the register of electors in the city. Intra-EU mobile workers are included in this pattern. Franchise Enumerators do seek to inform such people of their rights when they encounter them. The city also engages in a strong pattern of general information provision, via its 'check the register campaigns'. Uptake is low, particularly for European elections. In this regard at least, the intra-EU mobile citizens resident in Ireland operate within a transnational imaginary. They are not ready to engage in practices that could weaken their attachment to their country of origin. It is difficult to see what DCC could do differently here.

Whilst DCC's ability to engage in an earlier pattern of consultation is limited by legislation, an earlier engagement with those intra-EU mobile citizens who are included on the register of 'potential European' voters may pay dividends.

Language education

City of Dublin - Education and Training Board (CD-ETB) is the statutory provider of ESOL training in the city. It is a very experienced and effective provider of such training. The private sector is actively providing classes as well. The municipal authority does not directly engage in educational service provision. That said, DCC's Library Service is experienced in the provision of such services. The Library Service's inputs are well received in this regard. ESOL classes and 'Language Exchange' are effective inputs into the world of language education. Further value is added by the Central Library's Language Exchange programme. A safe and informal space for learning is maintained and learners can engage in networking, whilst on-site. Connections are made and information flows, laterally. This is a positive input.

Information is disseminated by local providers. Difficulties can arise as a result of variety in the market. Different types of courses, offering different levels of training and certification are available. Furthermore, this sector is extremely fluid. Programmes and providers change regularly. There have been attempts to compile a register of such programmes. Indeed, CD-ETB is currently seeking to produce such a register.

More structured information provision is needed. For example, potentially excluded pockets of intra-EU mobile citizens are present in Dublin and are in need of support. Research participants clearly signal that significant numbers of: i) homeless intra-EU mobile citizens are present in the city and ii) older intra-EU mobile citizens who have come to join their children in Ireland and who are now potentially dependent on their family members for support, often without adequate language skills. All such potentially marginalised migrants should be supported to develop a level of proficiency in English that will allow them to integrate into society, in the longer term. A short term step here could be more targeted provision of ESOL training, possibly in conjunction with either CD ETB or Dublin City library service, who are already aware of this developing need. Information pathways could be fostered collaboratively between the Social Inclusion Unit in DCC and these other competent agencies, to ensure that information about any such initiative reaches as many of its target audience as possible.

Housing

There is a housing ‘crisis’ in Dublin. Demand far exceeds provision. House prices are on the rise and rents are very high. Migrants need to engage with this difficult housing market on the same terms as others. The rental market is mostly accessed via standard property websites or through word of mouth. Intra-EU mobile citizens who are ‘at work’ often source accommodation through work contacts. These networks will inevitably be privileged in nature. There is space for an ‘information exchange’ type of support here. This could possibly be used to free an individual’s house search from being overly anchored in a narrow circuit information.

The social housing sector is massively over-burdened and unlikely to constitute a realistic option for many intra-EU mobile citizens, at least in the short-term. Targeted proactive supports for intra-EU mobile citizens are not likely, in the current climate.

Staff Training

Austerity has had a significant impact on staff training. There has been very little recruitment to the public service in years. Training budgets have been severely impacted. Some positive training inputs were put in place during the 'Celtic Tiger' years. Many agencies benefited from training modules in intercultural sensitivity for example. This type of input is rare in Ireland today. As Ireland moves out of its recent period of deep recession, there is a real opportunity to re-engage with the need to provide frontline staff with intercultural training in this regard.

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