ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Globalization and Immigration In an Irish Community: Understanding the Impact of Social Transformation at the Local Level

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The benefits and shortfalls of contemporary global processes are evident in Ireland’s recent history, and they continue to impact all segments of Irish society. On January 3, 2009, an Irish Times editorial titled “No Time for Whingers” declared that in Ireland, “We have gone from the Celtic Tiger to an era of financial fear with the suddenness of a Titanic-style shipwreck thrown from comfort, even luxury, into a cold sea of uncertainty.” There is a saying that the market is driven by two emotions, greed and fear, and in Ireland while the Celtic Tiger flourished, greed and the desire for immediate gratification fueled the economy. In today's economic climate fear and uncertainty abound. While acknowledging that integration and social inclusion are global issues, this project focuses on the extent of social inclusion experienced by immigrants in an Irish community and examines the responses of the host population to the recent influx of immigrants. Social inclusion defined herein as a person’s ability to participate in community affairs, to enjoy adequate housing, employment and education. The research
does not seek a scientific measurement to illustrate the extent to which social inclusion has been achieved in the area. The goal is to capture the feelings and the perceptions of the local population regarding the extent to which different segments of the population are socially mobile.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

When a painter decides to paint a pastoral scene, he examines the landscape from different perspectives in order to figure out the best angle from which to capture the essence of the scene. If a natural disaster strikes the area, the landscape changes and capturing an appropriate perspective for the picture becomes more complicated and makes the task more complex. When a research question captures the imagination and a researcher begins work on a project, the proposal is usually based on empirical data, that like the painter’s original view, is expected to remain relatively stable throughout the duration of the project. Such was the case with the proposed project; however, as the global economy wreaked havoc on the world, the effects cascaded through communities forcing dramatic changes in the way people conduct themselves in their everyday lives. On January 3, 2009, an Irish Times editorial titled “No Time for Whingers” declared that in Ireland, “We have gone from the Celtic Tiger to an era of financial fear with the suddenness of a Titanic-style shipwreck, thrown from comfort, even luxury, into a cold sea of uncertainty.”

The information upon which the results and conclusions in this dissertation were based was captured in July 2010. By late November 2010 Ireland's economy had deteriorated and Ireland had to request financial assistance from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and from the European Central Bank (ECB). Although Ireland's
economic situation at year end 2010 is grim, it does not negate the findings and conclusions reached in July. It may however delay implementation of the suggested improvement processes.

There is a saying the market is driven by two emotions, greed and fear. In Ireland, while the Celtic Tiger flourished, greed and the desire for immediate gratification fueled the economy. In today’s economic climate, fear and uncertainty abound. During the 1990s, globalization brought unprecedented economic growth to Ireland that significantly benefited the majority of the Irish people; however, globalization is not a static condition, the world changes. The recent economic crisis, an unnatural disaster, has forced changes in communities around the world, and consequently in some of the assumptions and the framework for this project. As economic globalization slows down, as is currently happening in countries around the world, one can’t help but reflect we indeed live in interesting times.

Globalization has profoundly transformed the world order over the past thirty years, and nowhere are those changes more evident than in Ireland where the benefits and shortfalls of contemporary global processes continue to impact all segments of Irish society. The contemporary phase of globalization is having an enormous impact on governments, places and people. Nobody could have envisioned the dramatic impact a global free market and poor regulatory policies would have in countries all over the world, creating an environment that fosters fear and uncertainty. The current economic crisis is generating a backlash against globalization and a rise in protectionism and nationalism that is reflected in newspapers around the world. In the United States, labor unions and their supporters are promoting a Buy American campaign. In Europe, there is
a rise in protests against foreign workers. To protest the use of foreign labor, hundreds of workers at oil refineries in Britain walked off their jobs carrying signs that read, “British Jobs for British Workers.” Immigrants in Spain are being offered money to return home and the French Government is routing government contracts to French companies. In an economic downturn blaming foreigners for the ills in a state can be dangerous, allowing populist movements with a strong theme of objections to aliens in the country to influence policy making agencies. At the 2009 economic forum in Davos, Pascal Lamy, head of the World Trade Organization (WTO) was quoted saying, “Hardship triggers anxiety for protection and scapegoating the foreigner is an old trick in politics” (Wall Street Journal, 1-30-09).

The recent economic turmoil occurred with great speed and depth, leaving the world reeling from the impact, and the consequences of global changes are being keenly felt in Ireland. Wealth has disappeared, jobs have been lost, share prices have collapsed and property values have crashed, creating a knee-jerk reaction to the country’s economic woes. Some countries like the United States are arranging stimulus packages to help people overcome the loss of income thereby improving the economy. That is not happening in Ireland. Like other countries, Ireland bailed out failing banks much to the chagrin of many taxpayers who will not receive government help as they struggle to pay bills. Today, the Irish government is reacting to the property tax shortfall that accompanied tumbling house prices and is faced with a budget gap that threatens the country’s sovereign debt rating and its standing in the global economy. When the global economy was prospering, Ireland went through enormous social and economic changes as a growing population of immigrants fulfilled the labor needs of a robust economy.
Many migrants remain in the country even as economic and labor needs shrink, and people face cuts in social spending. Globalization is increasingly becoming a contentious issue in public discourse on a global basis, and perhaps because of the current economic turmoil, international migration has become one of the most controversial components of contemporary global processes. Sassen (1998) calls migration one of the constitutive processes of globalization even though it is not represented as such in mainstream accounts of the global economy, and Clinch et al. remind us, “At its best, immigration provides opportunities to obtain new skills, widen tolerance for difference, and enriches the spirit, at its worst, it can be a passage to alienation frustration and disintegration” (Clinch et al., 2002, p. 68).

Over the past few years, globalization’s proponents like Thomas Friedman (2005) held a highly positive view of recent global processes, arguing the world was becoming ‘flat’ thereby removing barriers to participation. However, as the world becomes flat, skeptics who are not on the neo-liberal bandwagon have a tendency to demonize globalization and migration, arguing international immigration changes social structures, promotes human rights abuses, and damages the environment. They argue wealthy countries benefit greatly from a “disposable labor force” (Mittleman, 2000, p. 67) that will work for minimum wages, but does not enjoy the same benefits for citizens such as pensions, health insurance, and education. Somewhere between extreme sentiments regarding globalization, people and governments must recognize the ethical responsibility of the strong to protect the weak, and the need to emphasize moral principles at least as much as self-serving interests. Public opinion in the world today reflects a persistent fear that immigration damages local culture and identity, and undermines the local economy.
Because of that, immigrants often suffer “high levels of poverty, maltreatment, instability, insecurity and stress” (Llewellyn, 2002, p. 127). Tawney (1964) set economic development within the framework of cultural life. In his book titled *Equality*, he asks fundamental questions about society and inequality. Although the book was originally written in 1931, his arguments regarding the moral and social case for equality are still relevant. He argues that if the economic and social institutions of a society meet “the common needs and are a source of common enlightenment and common enjoyment” (Tawney, 1964, p. 16), then social objectives will be more attainable.

The Changes Embedded in Contemporary Globalization

Over the past several years, the emergence of a global economy along with reduced costs for international travel and advances in communications technology made it easier for migrants to relocate. Economic globalization stretches interstate relationships across crumbling borders around the world, and the global market system creates linkages among national economies. Steger writes, “Powerful international economic institutions and large regional trading systems have emerged as the major building blocs of the twenty-first century’s global economic order” (Steger, 2005, p. 37). International politics and international economics are becoming more tightly bound together, so globalization encompasses International Political Economy (IPE), which is the study of the relationship between economics and politics on the world stage. Fundamentally, IPE looks at the political rational for economic actions. Philip Cerny (2000) argues that states and markets are changing under the pressures of globalization. As markets broaden and economic organizations become more complex, he predicts the structures and institutions
regulating economic activities will emerge as a multilayered governance system that will function above, below and alongside sovereign states. Dani Rodrik (2000) counters the view that globalization reduces the autonomy of the state, arguing globalization, if unchecked, erodes social welfare safety nets, which will eventually erode economic openness.

Writing about increased international travel, Dr. Juss (2006) tells us that in 1951 only seven million people flew internationally and in 1993 the number of airline travelers had shot up to 500 million. The International Air Transport Association (IATA) reports by 2005 that number had doubled. Air traffic statistics for Irish people vacationing abroad reached unprecedented levels during the Celtic Tiger years turning Ireland into a truly mobile society. Dr. Langhorne writes describing the impact, “technology advances have broken down many physical barriers to worldwide communications, which used to limit how much connected or cooperative activity of any kind could happen over long distances” (Langhorne, 2006, p. 2). Susan Strange (2000) agrees, arguing the driving forces of change are the accelerating rate and lower costs of technology. Technology made possible the emergence of a fully Global Age which began in the early 1970s. An effective number of satellites above the earth facilitated almost instantaneous communication from any one part of the world to another. In today’s ‘wired’ world, and in the newer wireless world, new communications channels keep people connected in a way that could not have been envisioned fifty years ago. Definitions of culture share a belief that culture is comprised of speech, knowledge, customs, arts and philosophies within a collective group, but Smith argues today’s culture is different. She calls it, “the first purely technical civilization” (Smith, 1995, p. 21). In this globalized world,
immigrants telephone their relatives in their home country, they use Internet cafes to
download news from home, they send e-mails, text messages, and share digitized
photographs, and international television channels bring country language programs into
the living rooms of immigrants. In many ways, globalization has made migration easier
and increases the likelihood the less privileged in a society will try life in other countries.
Technology may help immigrants survive in a new location, but it is not a substitute for
integration and social inclusion and may in fact impede integration.

that the impact of globalization, cultural diversity, and changing demographics is forcing
states to examine the shortfalls in the current social model, a model that in many cases
keeps national unemployment and dissatisfaction among the electorate high. Of course,
states never had absolute power within their territory. Sassen (1998) uses diplomatic
immunity as an example. However, state sovereignty is not redundant, and state
governments must grapple with new forms of political power and authority as
globalization increases interconnectivity among nation-states, and as the arrival and
integration of immigrants becomes a concern. Supranational organizations such as the
European Union (EU) transcend borders in an attempt to create common policies that are
binding on member states. Currently, migration and integration are two urgent concerns
the EU is attempting to address. In some ways, EU states are becoming closer, but
territorial boundaries still have political importance, and EU policy-making authority
presents a dilemma for national immigration agencies caught between policy incentives
aimed at increasing immigration and the social consequences of large scale immigration.
Most authors acknowledge tension exists between economic considerations and social
considerations as state governments seek to satisfy the electorate. Sassen (1998) argues that understanding migration as a process through which global elements are localized is a fundamental aspect of globalization as immigrants become a force for economic and social change in local communities.

Globalization By Any Other Name

Although the contemporary concept of globalization has been around since the 1970s, it still lacks a precise definition. Held et al. refer to globalization as “the big idea which encompasses everything from global financial markets to the Internet but which delivers little substantive insight into the contemporary condition” (Held et al., 2007, p.1). Generally, definitions of globalization are subjective, depending on the background and experience of the definer. Since no generally accepted definition of globalization has emerged, authors use broad statements such as, “increased global interconnectedness,” “the compression of time and space,” “distant proximities,” “the rapid intensification of worldwide social relations,” and “the age of migration” to describe the phenomenon. Understanding globalization is not easy because almost every aspect is contested or subject to many interpretations. Some scholars argue economic processes are at the core of globalization. Others argue cultural and political aspects of this new era are the essence of globalization, yet others credit new technologies as being the driving force without which the current era of globalization could not exist. There can be no doubt advances in technology since the 1970s represent a quantum leap in world-wide communications, accelerating the rate of social change and broadening geographical reach. Although we still think of states as exclusive entities, globalization transcends
borders, and as ideas and people move, they impact people in host communities in their everyday lives.

Migrants cause changes in economic and social structures, and they can stimulate physical changes in the recipient locality. (Amin & Thrift, 1994, p. 2) argue “Globalization does not necessarily mean the homogenization of material conditions, or the erosion of territorial distinctiveness, but rather an added set of influences on local identities.” In many communities, globalization is responsible for the homogenization, or rather the ‘Americanization’ of material conditions that result in the erosion of territorial distinctiveness. International media flash American brands and ideas across the television screen and the Internet in an effort to create a global consumer market. Globalization in this context spreads a global culture that may minimize the differences between home and host countries. Homogenizers suggest an outcome of globalization is the creation of global consumers tied to the dreams of affluence, personal success, sensual and immediate gratification that western market oriented societies promote (Loughlin et al., 2004). Americanization is not just about the consumption of American products, it is about the American way of life, and the American way of doing business, which many argue contributes to inequality and creates unfair competitive advantages for rich countries. It is also true that in many communities globalization adds a set of external influences brought about by the arrival of immigrants who adhere to some of their cultural uniqueness, and who maintain strong attachments to their place of birth. Ronald Robertson (2004) argues globalization does not just come from the outside. He rejects the cultural homogenization thesis using the term “glocalization” to describe the complex interactions between global and local spaces that he argues are characterized by cultural
borrowing. One could argue that in a region like the EU recent immigration has not led to much cultural borrowing. It seems apparent in European countries there is an ‘us’ and a ‘them’ mentality that prevents many immigrants from becoming integrated in society.

Labor migration has become a force for transforming regions of the world, and it leaves lasting and irreversible changes on host communities. In some respects, globalization really is a two-way street. As the external forces of globalization influence local actors, culture and practices, local forces influence global processes, particularly the flow and integration of people. The inflow of immigrants is necessary because “[r]esidents of the world’s richest countries are getting older and states struggle to maintain social security systems solvent” (Moses, 2006, p. 117). Ireland was a good example of successful economic globalization in a country struggling to address the issues that an aging population, an anemic birthrate, and an influx of immigrants posed. The international migration that accompanied Ireland’s economic success forced a re-stratification of people within the social structure as many Irish natives became more affluent, and immigrants entered the work-force. As the Irish economy flourished, international labor mobility was necessary and immigrants from Asia, Eastern Europe and Africa were increasingly needed to sustain the Irish economy. The resultant ethnic diversity, environmental impacts, and housing pressures changed long-standing ideas of Irish culture.

Inequality in Global Processes

There are some areas of agreement in the global debate. Most scholars agree that inequality exists in global processes and is the major cause of migration. Inequalities also
exist in the extent to which migrants are accepted in the host country. Highly skilled and educated migrants are welcomed. The less skilled and less educated are not as welcome, and undocumented migrants fare worst in the process. Mittleman (2000) argues that in general immigration policies include a system for recognizing professional qualifications, easing entry for groups such as physicians and engineers. Highly skilled workers, entertainers and sports figures can migrate easily; however, that option is not always available to the poor and less privileged. We live in a fragile and unjust world, and the immigrants arriving in the host country without sought after professional qualifications are not welcomed. There is general agreement that with the exception of certain professions, when immigrants reach their host country most work at the lowest stratum in the labor market under the poorest conditions for the lowest pay. Their subordinate status in the labor market results in subordinate housing accommodations which, in turn, creates risk groups that become alienated. One of the best known and most important indicators of nationalism has always been a common language. It clearly separates those who speak it from those who do not, and it can become a symbolic sign of belonging, of ‘us.’ If immigrants who are not fluent in the majority language find that it limits their ability to integrate, they tend to gravitate toward language-based cliques within the community.

Internet surfers have accepted the dominance of English, and according to Steger (2005) more than 80% of the content posted on the Internet is in English. That means in Ireland government sponsored programs such as first time homebuyer incentives and educational programs are published online in English and may not be understood by the newcomers. The nature of the education system can also impact integration. Public education helps create a national identity and ethnic culture, and in Ireland, primary level
schools are still referred to as “national schools” in some areas. Typically, governments establish and fund a standardized system aimed at promoting common values and creating an effective labor pool. The effectiveness of a one-size-fits-all education system and the implications for those with a lack of linguistic knowledge will be examined as a part of this project. Mass media plays a significant role in penetrating the social consciousness of the people as they promote what Smith calls, “a project of national acculturation and homogenization” (2007, p. 95). Subject matter experts agree social inclusion is a major defect in contemporary Ireland, and based on media coverage in other countries, many social scientists argue that that defect is a global issue. To understand a situation that appears to promote inequality and exploitation, input from those who suffer most in the situation will be incorporated into the research. Although migration has been going on for a very long time, Giddens (2007) argues contemporary societies are more fluid, and life changes are less predictable than before.

People migrate for many reasons, but all of them can be categorized under some kind of inequality. Economic immigrants are attracted to a destination that is politically stable, one offering higher wages and better job opportunities. In some cases, migration is forced on people who must leave home to avoid violent conflict, persecution, or oppression. Some people migrate to join family members. There are undocumented immigrants with many reasons to leave their place of birth who are not welcomed by indigenous people in most western countries. Regardless of the reasons for migration, or the methods immigrants use to relocate, integrating newcomers in society has become a major global issue. Some people argue non-assimilating immigrants disrupt the homogenization of the nation-state and undermine the social coherence necessary for the
functioning of a political community (Nagel, 2004). The immigrant situation in local communities becomes especially problematic in a lackluster economic environment when some locals see immigrants as a threat to their social security. Vitorino (2005) argues that the existence of different cultures in a single society can lead to misunderstandings and discriminatory behavior because the existence of disparate ethnic groups in a society changes notions of national identity and national culture, consequently tensions between the locals and the new-comers surface. Mittleman (2000) writes that interactions between immigrants and locals have implications for distribution, inequality and social justice on a world scale. Violations of the fundamental rights of immigrants have become an urgent concern, one requiring the development and implementation of legally binding standards that can be easily monitored. Standards are usually designed and imposed from the top down, but ensuring equal treatment in working conditions and equal access to social services and security is controlled at the local level. Globalization at the local level is to a great degree about changes in human contact which, in turn, rearranges social spaces. Giddens (2007) argues everyday lives of people are changing as dramatically as the economic order changes, and he cautions that “airy statements” about social inclusion will do nothing to improve the lives of those who are hurt by global processes.

Although information is available on globalization and international migration from many sources, a bottom-up evaluation focusing on the experiences and feelings of people living in a specific local society has not been commonly undertaken. Typically, the debate on globalization takes place at academic and political levels. Nobody seems to ask what the people at the bottom are talking about, or how they understand and experience the effects of globalization. Extensive literature exists depicting globalization
as the reason for the demise of the modern state, blaming globalization for competitive pressures imposing financial restrictions on governments, which, in turn, undermines the social bargain reached following World War II (Held et al., 1999). A review of the literature reveals most authors adopt a top-down approach to understanding and analyzing the links between globalization and shifting stratification patterns within societies in the broad sense. The risks, opportunities and limits that the forces of globalization impose are usually framed in economic terms, but economics shapes politics, and they, in turn, shape individuals and communities. Understanding how global processes are perceived to interconnect individuals at the local level is an important step toward understanding social conflicts at the local level. Llewellyn’s (2004) analysis of globalization cautions that a comprehensive view of globalization must be obtained from the bottom-up, and must include an examination of cultural differences. Before discussing the impact of globalization and international migration on any community it is necessary to examine how subject matter experts define the nature of globalization.

Steger (2005) uses the term “globalism” to describe the political ideology that ruled the world during the 1990s. He argues that globalism endows globalization with market-oriented norms, values and meanings create a single global economy driven by unimpeded market forces anchored in consumerist culture. He argues that a United States culture industry seeks to convince the world, “the meaning and chief value of life can be found in the limitless accumulation of material possessions” (Steger, 2005, p. x). Authors and scholars address the many different facets of globalization. The works of Langhorne (2006), Mittleman (2000), Steger (2005) and Pieterse (2007) provide a basis for understanding the impact of globalization in the broad context. Mittelman (2000)
describes globalization as a syndrome of processes and activities offering major benefits to some, while diminishing and marginalizing others. Langhorne writes, “The process and the results of globalization are changing the way we live our lives on a personal basis, and they are changing the institutions which we collectively use to give form and predictability to our economic, social and political relationships” (Langhorne, 2006, p.1). Pieterse’s interpretation of globalization is that, “it represents a historical trend for social cooperation to widen and expand made possible by growing human capabilities and technology” (2007, p. 199). Kirby (2006) uses the term “vulnerability,” which he argues is an essential characteristic of globalization, one that increases pressures to survive the social and ethnic changes that accompany globalization. He writes that the term captures the “dimensions of well-being that matter to the poor themselves such as threats to their livelihoods and their powerlessness” (Kirby, 2006, p. viii). More cynical scholars argue opportunities are always accompanied by risks and in a neo-liberal market economy risk-takers are the winners. Held (1999) argues globalists give priority to economic logic and celebrate the emergence of a global economy and global competition, which they claim are the elements driving change and improving social conditions. Irish economists like Barry and Bradley credit the country’s success to market forces. However, one can argue that in a global economy governments are unable to counter market forces.

Kieran Allen (2000) is skeptical about the power generally associated with the forces of globalization. He dismisses the rhetoric surrounding the phenomenon that argues globalization hampers the state’s power and diminishes the worth of people as a myth. He argues that the eight hundred pound gorilla of globalization, the Transnational Corporation(TNC) is not really free to move operations to wherever labor is cheap, but is
tied to particular states and must abide by the rules and pressures imposed by those states. He also argues workers need not be victims, but can impose demands on TNCs. Collective action by workers seems to be more effective when directed at public employers where state agents must use a combination of carrots and sticks to reach agreements. Collective action is much less effective in the private sector, so it is probable that in the private sector TNCs bring a bigger stick to the negotiating table. The success of non-unionized autoworkers at Asian manufacturing plants in the southern US indicates TNCs can indeed operate outside the accepted employment norms within a state. Fanning (2002) argues that Ireland adopted an opportunistic approach to immigration by encouraging migrants to fill low paying, low status positions the Irish no longer wanted. He claims Ireland has a “weak multiculturalism” where the goal is to manage diversity, not address the inequalities existing in the system. Kuhling and Keohane agree, stating that contrary to reports regarding how globalized and cosmopolitan Ireland is, the rising economy is accompanied by rising social inequality.

I have not found an author who claims globalization can create a win-win situation in contemporary global processes. It does seem ironic that, “neo-liberal advocates of globalization embrace free trade and capital mobility, yet refuse to extend their liberalization argument to the movement of people across national borders” (Moses, 2006, p.14). Although this researcher agrees immigration is similar to the movement of capital and trade, there is one key difference. The movement of people involves human rights and because of this the processes of globalization must level the playing field and find ways to protect immigrants and nationals from inequities in the global process. Moses (2006) posits a radical and persuasive argument for open borders and the free
movement of people. His analysis of the political and economic situation effectively addresses the economic, social and environmental objections to immigration that are usually put forward by anti-globalists and anti-immigrationists. The objections are usually positioned as detrimental to the host country. Although Moses’ arguments that immigrants benefit the host country may be valid, there is ample evidence that when migrants from poorer societies attempt to enter rich states, the receiving countries are increasingly anxious to keep them out. Governments are accountable to electorates for their welfare, and when citizens perceive the admission of migrants threatens employment opportunities and dilutes the value of public services, the government reacts to voter demands. Currently, public opinion in western democracies is against open borders, and as we know, this influences political leaders and the decisions they make.

Can the EU Help Level the Playing Field?

Article 63 of the treaty establishing the European Community ensures economic, social and political participation for all immigrants in all EU countries; however, Sussmuth and Weidenfeld (2005) tell us anti-immigration sentiment has risen in the EU, and member states are examining how to effectively integrate immigrants into society. This may prove difficult especially when we look at the situation in the United States where multi-ethnicity prompts a sense of self-righteous nationalism in the media. Rush Limbaugh, Pat Buchanan, and Bill O’Reilly are typical spokesmen for anti-immigrant rhetoric that ignores the benefits immigration has on population levels and on national economies. Results of empirical studies have led most economists to conclude the widespread belief that migrants cost the state more than they contribute is false.
Pieterse tells us that between 1990 and 2000, 89% of Europe’s population growth was due to immigration. The EU’s ability to shape the social aspects of globalization by using legal and political levers to standardize immigrant rights is hampered by conflicting efforts of member states to control their borders. In many cases, it appears that after the initial ‘glow’ of globalization fades, states react to aspects of globalization that threaten the national identity by controlling or suppressing it. Many scholars agree with Pieterse’s view that “globalization talk is schizophrenic, wide acclaim for free movement of goods and capital goes together with restrictions on the movement of people and labor” (Pieterse, 2007, p. 197). As the populations of Europe grow older, “the cultural hegemony is not being reproduced demographically” (Pieterse, 2007, p. 191), and attempts to curtail the impacts of globalization and migration is like trying to stop an unstoppable trend. Managing immigration and integration are challenging tasks.

Sussmuth et al. analyze approaches and best practices in several European countries to identify actions contributing to sustainable integration policies. They argue that, “European migration policies have been characterized by negative shortsighted measures with emphasis on control” (Sussmuth & Weidenfeld, 2005, p. xi). They argue that, “A framework for successful communitarization of migration policy must be tailored to the diverse needs of member states” (Sussmuth & Weidenfeld, 2005, p. xv), but must at the same time have a holistic approach, one that provides an option menu from which member states would select and develop an immigration program to suit their specific needs. One could argue that the opt-out protocols such as those used by the UK and Ireland weaken measures aimed at managing migration flows and providing fair treatment for migrants. Papagianni (2006) analyzes immigration and asylum policies
from the EU perspective, focusing on the institutional dynamics and legislative mechanisms that are intended to manage migration flows and equitable treatment for migrants. His writings indicate that although there were high expectations following the Amsterdam Treaty, no commonly accepted migration policies have emerged from the EU. Papagianni recognizes that “sentimental chords of national sovereignty are deeply politicized” (2006, p.322), and that member states with differing interests resist the formation of a comprehensive common policy. If communitarized standards can be accepted or rejected by member states, one could argue that the term ‘standards’ is being misused in this context.

The Journal of European Social Policy paper titled “Social benchmarking, policy-making and new governance in the European Union” analyzes the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) established by the EU as a means of pursuing economic and employment growth coupled with greater social cohesion. OMC, essentially a benchmarking exercise, is a new instrument of governance in the social policy sphere introduced in 1997 when the Lisbon Treaty was extended to include social inclusion, pensions and healthcare. Procedurally, the OMC is about setting broad objectives and guidelines for each sector of intervention; translating those objectives into national plans; monitoring results by peer review, and feedback (Ferrera in Giddens et al., 2006). The EU lacks the power to intervene directly, so member states agree to cooperate voluntarily in areas of national competency and to apply best practices from other member states to their own national circumstance. The high-level goals speak of a social model that will eradicate poverty and protect the environment; however, economic growth and employment are much more important to national governments than social and ecological
issues particularly when those issues have a negative impact on the economy. This form of governance where there are no controls or sanctions could be perceived as a move away from the uniform social and employment standards that protect the less privileged in society. Peer pressure and a ‘name and shame’ approach was supposed to promote cooperation, yet according to Giddens (2007) the results have fallen short of expectations. In the absence of a legislative package to complement the ‘soft power’ of the OMC, national governments generally will opt to improve their monetary bottom line. Even if the policies make sense at some level, clearer goals, a more binding set of rules, sanctions and a trustworthy monitoring system are all necessary to ensure appropriate implementation of any worthwhile agreements. Held (1999) argues that attempts to develop institutional structures of globalization have been going on for many years. He emphasizes the need for examining culture and the idea of immigrant transnational networks and cosmopolitan democracy when researching the social impacts of immigration on a local community. The idea of transnationalism is relatively new and the extent to which it exists may depend on the economic and social status a migrant has at any given time. A migrant’s life in a host community can be configured in many ways. Some will commit to a long term stay and will seek to integrate into the host society. Some, who may be uncertain of the future, may consider themselves short-term visitors who at some point in time expect to return to their home country. Others see themselves as members of transnational networks that are spread over two or more locations. How a migrant configures his life influences expectations in the host society. This, in turn, may impact his willingness to integrate and may also influence how he is treated by nationals of the host society.
Moving to the Island: Getting Closer to the Issues

In Ireland, contemporary debate on globalization is concerned with the effects of globalization and Ireland’s economic success in local communities. The benefits and shortfalls of globalization are hotly debated. Over the past twenty-five years, Ireland became wealthy, liberalized and secularized. The economy thrived, divorce and homosexuality were legalized and some claim migrants brought multiculturalism. Kirby, Gibbons and Cronin (2002) argue individualism, entrepreneurship and competitiveness as personal attributes and cultural values have replaced national identity, nationalism and self-sacrifice. Over the same years, a considerable amount of literature emerged as social policy rose to become an academic discipline. Most books and articles focus on the historical development of the state and reflect the economic and ideological shifts that led to societal shifts. (Allen, 1999; Clinch et al., 2002; Kirby, 2002). Some authors focus on nationalism, racism and the cultural changes that have occurred (Fanning, 2002; O’Connell, 2003), while others draw on international data to examine poverty and social inclusion in the state (Nolan, 1994; Nolan, 2000; Kirby, 2002). The theories and assumptions that provide the basis for works dealing with Ireland’s evolution may be less relevant in a smaller local community where today, jobs, income and security have become major concerns. Peet (2007) argues that economic modernization enabled Ireland to avoid social inequalities that created problems in other countries, but the consensus on that evaluation is not as clear as Peet would have us believe. Kuhling and Keohane (2007) argue that accelerated modernization has resulted in what they term “cultural collisions.”
David Jacobson and Peadar Kirby from Dublin City University draw on input from universities, state agencies, local authorities, and NorDubCo, a regional think tank headed by Deiric O Broin to combine academic expertise with practical experience in addressing governance issues at the national level. These subject matter experts recognize that no aspect of local development can be separated from global influences. Kirby writes, “The local is being profoundly shaped and reshaped by the events and actions that happen in distant places” (Jacobson et al., 2006, p. 13). Professor Charles Sabel of Columbia Law School, who played a role in the development of a governance model when the Irish economy was thriving, issued a report in 1996 titled “Ireland: Local Partnership and Social Innovation.” The concept of social partnership implies an economic and social governance model that includes participation from the government, business leaders, farmers, trade unions, community members, and voluntary sector agents. Recently, voluntary sector agents have attempted to play a more formal role in policy-making through the social partnership process. Sixty percent of the funding for this sector comes from public funds. The close relationship with government agents and the high level of public funding have led some to question the independence of some voluntary groups. When the government pays, some argue that advocacy and agenda setting may be compromised. Social Partnership is presented as a mechanism through which economic and social policy is coordinated. O’Cinneide (1998) is critical of the effectiveness of the partnership given the concentration of power in the hands of bureaucrats. He argues that in Ireland social partnership is neither participatory nor democratic. Much of the writing on social partnership seems to be about its potential rather than about actual success stories. This may be because it is a long journey between
generated ideas and the time when those ideas become implemented realities. The journey is even longer when progress is impeded by conflicting interests along the way.

In Ireland, globalization has been accompanied by political corruption. Ireland is rated twenty-third out of ninety-one countries on the Corruption Perception Index (2003). A Rowntree report concluded corruption is a central theme of Irish life and politics. The country is now regarded as one of the more corrupt countries in the EU (Harvey, 2002). As most people are aware, crooked politicians impoverish the state and its people.

Jacobson et al. (2006) use the concept of the “competition state” to explain how globalization changes the way in which the state fulfills its social obligations. They argue that a competition state prioritizes economic success over social welfare. Cerny (2005) states that in a competition state, social spending depends on the state’s capacity to spend, and when a low tax model dominates as it does in Ireland, social spending will be cut. When corporate taxes are low, social welfare benefits are curtailed and lead to the “pauperization of segments of society” (Cerny et al., 2005, p. 29). Cerny argues that rights become conditional on participation in the labor market, and that education is geared toward compelling the poor to go to work. Even though the Irish state spends heavily on training programs to increase employment, the National Economic and Social Council (NESC) reports that they achieve only limited success for the economically excluded. Recent media reports documenting how Foras Áiseanna Saothair Training and Employment Authority (FAS), the agency responsible for training programs, squandered government funding for personal gain, may in part, explain the lack of success. Several studies have documented class based inequalities in state led industrialization, and Ireland is no exception. Breen et al. (1990) and Breen and Whelan (1996) conclude that the
liberal theory that industrialization facilitates social mobility is less appropriate in Ireland where a position of relative privilege and property ownership is a more powerful predictor of attainment than access to education.

As Ireland evolved to become the Celtic Tiger, the work of authors with opposing viewpoints paint different pictures of immigrant status in Ireland. In 2006, the Irish economist David McWilliams painted a picture of the ‘New’ Ireland, depicting immigrants adjusting to Irish ways, becoming successfully integrated in Irish society, benefiting from a robust economy and an advanced technological infrastructure. However, as the Celtic Tiger lost strength between 2007 and mid-2008, McWilliams had a change of mind, arguing that the economically challenged Irish government had catered to the interests of lobbyists, and how they handled success represents an example of the things a country should not do. Fanning (2002) was ahead of the McWilliams curve, painting a more somber version of the immigrant status, a picture depicting the institutional barriers minorities experience in accessing services provided by the state. He argues that immigrant workers are often excluded from basic worker protections.

The writings of Doyle, Hughes and Wadensjo (2006) focus on labor migration in the EU and lean more toward Fanning’s viewpoint as they present a measured and cautionary view of employment practices. The authors cite examples where foreign companies employ their nationals at lower than legally recognized rates of pay for the job, and give examples of the failures of the regulatory authorities to respond to the exploitation of foreign workers and the displacement of Irish workers. Several incidents occurred in other EU member states that validate their findings. In 2004, Latvian builders had to stop work because a local trade union discovered they were being paid unfair low
wages. The same year, Germans were outraged when about 25,000 abattoir workers lost their jobs to immigrants who were willing to work for less than five euros an hour. In March 2005, a Polish construction company was fined in Denmark for undercutting local wages (Barysch in Giddens et al., 2006). The research of Doyle et al. (2006) also uncovered incidents regarding underpayment of migrant workers, replacement of indigenous workers, and a general decrease in employment standards. Their study offers a view on the economic impact of labor migration, and the authors suggest their work needs to be complemented with research on the experiences of the migrant workers themselves. In Ireland such cases are regarded by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) as breaching the terms of Sabel’s “social partnership.” One could argue those same exploitative practices also harm lower-skilled national workers in local communities.

Initially, Ireland’s economic success was credited to market liberalization (Clinch et al., 2002), but other scholars argue Ireland’s dependence on Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) puts the country in a vulnerable position. Smith argues Ireland is not the glowing example of globalization as painted by some, and “can hardly be regarded as a show piece for social inclusion” (Smith, 2005, p. 200). Kirby (2002) also cautions against accepting that economic growth in itself indicates social progress. He argues that in Ireland, economic success is accompanied by social failure. Research on integration done by government sponsored ‘independent’ consultants covers various aspects of the immigrant inflow to Ireland. They tend to present a positive picture, one closer to the view McWilliams held in 2006. On a cautionary note, it might be advisable to evaluate the ‘independence’ of research groups in light of who is paying for the research. One
might envision that a bottom-up view, willingly provided by local residents to a non-government researcher, would differ from one paid for by government agents. Responses from a representative sample population in a discrete community will add another perspective to the studies and evaluations already in place.

Miller tells us that “between 10 and 20 percent of the world’s population currently belongs to a racial or linguistic minority in the country of residence” (Miller, 2007, p. 169). Predicting migration flows is not an exact science, and as economic conditions change, some countries become less attractive to new migrants and may also make the host society even less tolerant of strangers. In the current phase of globalization, ‘different’ has become more common place in Ireland. In 2001, the National University at Dublin carried out a survey of 1500 adults, asking each respondent whether he or she had a positive or a negative attitude toward people from minority ethnic groups. Just under a quarter of those surveyed stated their views of Black African/Caribbean people and Eastern Europeans as either “negative” or “very negative.” Members of the Chinese communities were most likely to be perceived “positively” or “very positively.” Responses to the research questionnaire in this project will help determine the extent of attitudinal change that has occurred over the past seven years.

Information regarding how people in the community feel about institutional policies will add to the existing literature by reinforcing or invalidating some of the more general arguments made about the impacts of globalization and migration in the community. A 2002, study titled “Cultural Identity and Political Transformation” indicated that in Ireland cultural identity is, and always has been, a key national theme, and that the official culture has an underlying assumption that ‘different’ should be
isolated and remain silent. If the ‘different’ new-comers become alienated, they may follow examples set in other countries and establish movements where solidarity and common purpose can gain wide-spread attention and pressure the status quo. Huntington (2003) appropriated the title “Clash of Civilizations” to argue that future world conflicts would form around cultural differences framed in terms of ‘good’ and ‘evil’; however, there are many, including this researcher, who disagree with Huntington’s thesis arguing that future conflicts will occur when desperate people rebel against powerful global institutions and unresponsive governments as they seek economic and social equality.

Information gathered in this effort will add to the existing literature by capturing attitudinal changes regarding immigration over the past ten years. The information will compliment top-down studies and evaluations that have taken over the same time period.

Goals and Scope of the Research

The purpose of this research project is to look at immigration through the lens of globalization and to draw attention to the forces that influence social relationships in a local community. The focus is on immigrants who have relocated because of global changes and on communities that are infused with influences that come with globalization and subsequently with immigration. The links between global processes and shifting local patterns of stratification will be examined, exploring the extent of social inclusion experienced by immigrants in an Irish community, and the impact of globalization and international migration on the host community. Social inclusion is defined as a person’s ability to participate in community affairs, to enjoy adequate housing, employment and education because the essence of social justice is equality of
opportunity. The theme of social capital has emerged as an umbrella term linking sociology, economics and politics. Pieterse defines social capital as “the capacity of individuals to gain access to scarce resources by virtue of their membership in social networks and institutions” (Pieterse, 2007, p. 65). The World Bank defines social capital as the “glue that holds society together.” Using the idea of social capital as a yardstick, this research will broaden the understanding of the issues faced by immigrants and local Irish people as globalization and immigration bring ethnic minority groups to an area that was until recently, white, mono-cultural and conservative both religiously and socially.

The role of immigrants in transforming a host community and the integration of immigrants into the political, economic and cultural systems of the community is at the center of this research. Because the effects of migration are more concentrated in a local community, the challenge will be to examine and reconcile the introduction of recent economic, social and cultural differences within traditional local norms. Elite integrationist discourses existing in a vacuum will not resolve everyday problems, and broad theoretical debates, at some point, need to be grounded in real life. The debate on migration cannot be settled at a general level. It must be addressed in the context of specific issues surfacing in the day-to-day life of the community. The local community is the vantage point from which social relationships and cultural practices can be viewed and analyzed. The research strategy is to locate the effects of globalization in the local community, examining the social impact globalization and a global market driven economy has on the community. Held et al. (1999) suggest examining migration within a conceptual framework that looks at; extensity (how far), intensity (how many), velocity (how long to get from place to place, and how long they stay). They recommend looking
at the impact of migration on both host and sending countries focusing on infrastructure, transportation, communication, and on the institutions that direct and maintain labor markets and migratory flows (Held et al., 1999, p. 283), which would be an enormous and worthwhile undertaking, but is outside the scope of this effort. This project is limited to the impact of globalization on a specific community in the host country, and makes no attempt to examine the impacts on the sending country.

The research focused on three thematic areas, employment, education and housing. Where we live and work are primary indicators of our place in the world, and the local housing construction model has a significant bearing on the integration of immigrants in the community. In Ireland, the housing market once characterized as an owner-occupied sector with few rental opportunities has evolved. In local communities today, many believe construction industries contributed to the economic success; however, those same industries also contributed to the deterioration of the physical landscape and environment. In a local community, admittedly a small space, this researcher will explore the behavior and practices of people within the community to determine the extent to which globalization and migration impact perceptions and attitudes. The economic and social experiences of immigrants and nationals in the community will be examined, and it will be argued that for immigrants, effective policies dealing with housing, employment and education will, over time, allow immigrants to work their way up the social ladder to create a new ‘Irish’ middle class without infringing the rights of the nationals. As the economy rebounds, a robust middle class will be needed to sustain age-related social expenditures in an area where the elderly population is increasing at the same time when there is a decline in the working age population of
Irish nationals. The gap can be filled by immigrants who see a viable future in Ireland. As cultural patterns overlap, they can result in mutual accommodation and respect, or they can result in resistance and opposition. In either case, globalization and international immigration bring contradictory pressures and human dilemmas to a host community. This dissertation will assess the current level of social inclusion in the community by questioning indigenous people and immigrants. To achieve inclusion and equality in any community, government policies and agents must facilitate processes that allow immigrants and the poor in society to eventually participate as equals in a cosmopolitan work-force and in civil society without disenfranchising other segments of the population.

As a component of contemporary globalization, “international migration is part of a transnational revolution that is reshaping societies and politics around the world” (Castles et al., 1995, p. 5). In light of that, this study attempts to answer three questions. The first seeks to answer whether immigrant pressure on education, housing accommodations, and the labor market results in inequality, marginalization and the emergence of ethnic minority communities who suffer additional social disadvantages. The second question is whether existing institutional policies and programs have any impact on the real issues that immigrants and nationals face. Globalization at the local level occurs within a broader context and is influenced by ideas and trends from far away places, so the research will examine the links between local, national and regional policies to determine whether they promote equality and democracy for all people in the community. Capturing local perspectives regarding actions and events intended to promote wider tolerance for civil and political rights of all members of a society may
indicate which policies and programs do the most good. This question will also seek to uncover local reactions to recent changes in the education system, labor market, and housing market.

Within the concept of globalization there are many ‘local’ scenarios. They can be social, economic, political, or cultural, and they can exist in ethnic minority groups, resistance movements, or Internet discussions groups. Lewellyn (1987) argues that the local has become de-territorialized, and according to Appadurai, locality is “primarily relational and contextual rather than scaler or spatial” (Arjun Appadurai, 1996, p. 177). To understand this idea, one must think of the local as a moveable feast, something people carry around with them from place to place. In some cases the traditional model of assimilation has given way to an alternative experience for migrants, one described in recent scholarship as “transnationalism,” where globalization shortens the material and subjective distance between country of birth and country of destination for immigrants (Sassen, 2007). Levitt (2002) argues that assimilation and enduring transnational ties are not necessarily incompatible, that a migrant’s sense of being and belonging are not tied to any particular place and can vary with time. Intellectual attempts to spread the “transnational migrant” philosophy are growing. Levitt (2002) seeks to reformulate the concept of society beyond the boundaries of a single nation-state, but strong nationalist sentiments within state boundaries remain strong. Following through on the idea of transnationalism, the third question looks at the immigrant population in the community to determine whether economic and political cross-border linkages slow down the integration of immigrants to the new locality. The importance of other linkages such as team sports and cultural activities will help uncover the realities of the transnationalist
social phenomenon on integration. Portes (2003) argues that if immigrants are not integrated into the host society, especially if they have been subjected to hostility or discrimination, they are more likely to maintain “durable contacts with home communities” (2003, p. 874). This researcher would agree that where discrimination and hostility toward immigrants exists, the desire for stronger home country ties may be greater. Examining the experiences of all segments of the local population in a controlled study may prove useful more broadly as other communities deal with immigration as the size, shape and form of the world’s countries change. One interesting though unplanned aspect of the study may indicate whether native attitudes toward immigrants can be correlated with support for EU membership, or whether in the current economic environment, national attitudes toward the EU can be correlated with attitudes toward globalization and migration.

The region selected for analysis in many ways resembles other communities throughout Ireland as the number of immigrants increases. An Irish community makes an interesting case for assessing the impact of globalization. An open economy, highly dependent on FDI and on migrants, led some authors to argue that market aspects of globalization dominate domestic policy. The interaction between political agents and issue specific interest groups such as the financial sector and construction industries is thought to have shaped the Irish state and local communities. One might ask why it is important to examine integration in this Irish community, and why it is important to do it now. The town is described fully in the section dealing with the location and context for the study and demonstrates that the town is like other small towns in Ireland, in Europe, and even in the US. In spite of the current economic situation the town continues to host a
significant immigrant population working in local industries even though some immigrants who contributed to the recent construction boom in the area both as laborers and as consumers are now unemployed. Attitudes toward immigrants existing in this community are expected to vary and to reflect some of the same attitudes that exist globally in communities of all sizes. Although this dissertation is based on the experiences of immigrants and local people in a specific community, it is intended to illustrate that some policies, processes and practices impact working-class immigrants as they attempt to overcome the multi-dimensional disadvantages associated with their status, regardless of geographic location.

Status is important because it determines a migrant’s rights, their access to services, and their capacity to participate in civic and political structures. Because social exclusion occurs at the local level, and social deficits are manifested at the local level, it is appropriate to understand the issues and solve the problems at the local level. It is up to the local authorities to ensure immigrants have access to jobs and to adequate housing. Local authorities control housing construction, and they are responsible for addressing bias and discriminatory practices within their region. They are also accountable for responding to negative national reactions toward immigrants. An analysis of land usage in the area since the arrival of the immigrants will confirmed that the town's housing construction model contributes to class or social segregation. Educational conflicts regarding how, where and when the host country language and foreign languages should be used must also be resolved at the local level. Integration policies are designed at higher political levels, but responsibility for implementation rests at the local level. Churches, trade unions and the media are important actors in local communities, and the
extent to which they attempt to combat discrimination and social exclusion is important. This research project will add a more comprehensive picture of lives changed by globalization reflecting a bottom-up view as opposed to the more prevalent top-down perspective. Much has been written about inequality between countries, in global cities, and across peoples of the world. Examining equality among people in a smaller area where immigration and unequal development have occurred may uncover specific issues overlooked at the global or national level. The area is currently suffering through the first recession since the birth of the Celtic Tiger, which is negatively impacting most aspects of life in the community and will no doubt impact national attitudes toward immigrants. Giddens tells us, “The liveliest local economies are characterized by the three ‘Ts,’ talent, technology and tolerance. They are above all cosmopolitan” (2007, p. 67). An examination of an Irish community will determine how ‘lively’ and ‘cosmopolitan’ the local economy is. Mittleman asks, “If immigrants can’t ascend the local hierarchy how can they ascend the global hierarchy” (2000, p. 70). This project will help us understand the obstacles preventing immigrants in one Irish community from ascending the local hierarchy.

Research Structure and Method

This dissertation will consist of five sections. The introduction includes an overview of the project, the purpose, the structure and method that will be used, and a review of existing literature on the subject. The second section titled “The Globalization Debate,” discusses what is meant by globalization in broad terms along with the risks, limits and opportunities embedded in contemporary global processes. The third section looks at treaties and conventions dealing with open borders and the treatment of migrants
in the EU. Recognizing that global structures are not bound by geographic boundaries and that migration is a key component of globalization, the section will also discuss links between international migration and the nation-state focusing on the relationship between economic success and social well-being in the Republic of Ireland. Section four provides a view of the country in recent times, discusses the local community, and the area’s business profile. Changes in land usage that altered the physical landscape of the locality and contributed to new stratification patterns in the local community will be included. This will complete the background picture and establish a starting point for gathering data. Upon completion of the research, the data will be analyzed and a final report will present the data along with conclusions in section five.

The research will focus on local residents in a case-study approach and will solicit information through the use of interviews to capture the experiences of people in the area. Because economics impacts culture, the proposed questionnaire incorporates aspects of ‘time usage’ to determine how people spend their time outside of work, and disposable income. How much money people have to spend, and how they elect to spend it is important. How people spend their time is as important as how they spend their money and can speak volumes about their place in the community. Integration policies and practices involve, not just state authorities, but also local authorities and civil society, so some questions are designed to determine whether policies are perceived to result in a zero sum game. The views of people in the community including immigrants will be incorporated in the research. Objective indicators will include residence, occupation, education, employment opportunities. The extent of immigrant attachment to the home
country will be measured by examining travel and communications patterns. Data gathering will be facilitated through an interview process and questionnaires.

In order to gather a representative sample from the community, information from the Central Statistics Office (CSO) databases regarding nationality, age, gender, family status and employment of people in the community was used. The CSO maintains eight employment categories along with the number of the people in the community that belong in each work category. The percentage of people in each work category was used to develop and refine the list of participants in the sample population. The sample population includes immigrants, affluent Irish who are typically land-owners and entrepreneurs, professional and highly skilled workers, many of whom commute to Dublin to work. The study also includes less privileged Irish people, those who have lagged behind in Ireland’s economic success, or those who have been adversely impacted by the current economic environment. Specific sections of town and the surrounding areas are designated as either high-density affordable housing or low-density upscale housing. This construction model was useful in identifying a sample representative of people from each social stratum in the region.

Some of the questions will help determine the level of economic security that exists by asking participants if they feel secure about their jobs, whether all employees have the same pay and working conditions for the same job, and whether equal opportunities for advancement exist. In the current economic environment, some of the questions may strike a sensitive chord in some segments of the community. Questions regarding participation in Irish cultural activities, social club memberships, sports and political associations will help indicate the level of social inclusion. Specific questions
about participation in Irish events may indicate how important English language proficiency is to social inclusion. Responses to other questions will indicate whether the existing transportation system prevents segments of the population from acquiring jobs or education. For immigrants, questions regarding the extent of home country attachments and the length of time a person has stayed, or expects to stay, in the new locality will be included. Questions regarding the perceived effectiveness of EU intervention in managing integration are included. The questions will be framed to identify attitudinal changes before and after the economic downturn. Participants will include men and women, and the analysis will look for differences related to gender. Information from community leaders will be solicited to help determine whether their perceptions are aligned with the perceptions of members of society who rely on them to ensure fair treatment. Several attempts to gather quantitative data about migrants living in Ireland have been made. In this effort, I am not seeking a scientific measurement to illustrate the extent to which social inclusion and social mobility have been achieved in the area. The idea is to draw conclusions about how immigration as a component of globalization is conceptualized and operated upon at the local level. Focusing on a single community allows for an examination of how the dynamics of globalization are interpreted and experienced. From the bottom-up view, this researcher aims to capture how people in the community accommodate or resist the impacts of globalization and immigration. The feelings and perceptions of people in the area regarding the level of social integration that has been achieved, the extent to which people are socially mobile, and the perceived effectiveness of institutional programs will be solicited. Identifying the benefits and shortcomings of official policies by those who participate in the study will indicate which
policies hinder or help a person become an active participant in local civil society. The data collected during the interview process is expected to uncover actions and events that are considered barriers to inclusion, and those actions and events that contribute to a more inclusive society. International experience shows temporary migration can turn out to be permanent and globalization has brought immigrants some of whom will permanently settle in Ireland. Effective inclusive policies that foster integration for shorter term migrants as well those who are longer term residents should eventually lead to a sustainable social structure where all members feel that they have a stake in the host society.

The discussion now turns to the global context within which questions regarding migration arise.
CHAPTER 2

THE GLOBALIZATION DEBATE

The world is growing smaller even as it grows more complex. Lifestyles are changing as globalization presents opportunities and challenges at different times in different places, creating communities that become in many ways more homogeneous and in other ways more different. This section looks at the ideologies, institutions and organizations that are embedded in contemporary global processes, and examines the extent to which recent global trends impact people in communities across the world. Globalization impacts all aspects of life, even in small communities where ideas and ideologies of global capitalism are reflected in the way people live their lives on a daily basis. A great deal has been written about globalization. As a concept, it catapulted to headline news in the media toward the end of the twentieth century. References to globalization appear in academic, business and political publications, and since the 1980s every academic discipline has grappled with the issue. The Encyclopedia of Globalization notes that in 1994 there were thirty-four references to ‘globalization’ in the catalogue of the United States Library of Congress. By the year 2006, that number had reached 6,500. The term is used in academic and popular literature to explain contemporary transformations in the world order. Libraries are stocked with hundreds of books on globalization, some of which praise the phenomenon as beneficial, something to be encouraged, while others warn of its dangers arguing it is unjust and should be opposed,
but all agree that the complex connections of today’s global processes touch the lives of people no matter where in the world they live. Contemporary globalization is multi-dimensional and includes economic, cultural, political and social exchanges and conflicts. It seems clear globalization is not a single phenomenon. Mittleman (2000) describes it as a syndrome of processes and activities. Of the many facets of globalization, global connectivity has emerged as a major theme. New forms of global connectivity that emerged or reached higher levels since the middle of the twentieth century have opened up the world to a much broader audience. Huge strides in fiber-optic communication—the Internet, satellites, global production chains and international electronic money movement—are components of globalization earlier generations knew little about. Langhorne (2006) writes that contemporary globalization happened because heretofore technological advances eliminated many of the physical barriers to worldwide communications that limited cooperative activity over long distances. Of course, some regions of the world and some societal groups are affected more intensely than others. When Thomas Friedman (2006) writes “the world is flat,” it does not imply that every place and every person is equally ‘globalized,’ although to a different extent, globalization does influence and impact everyone to some degree. Supporters of globalization claim it provides opportunities for the poor and leads to more efficient use of resources. Anti-globalization movements encompass separate social movements that oppose the human costs and ecological damage, which they argue are consequences of the unregulated power of transnational corporations and the global institutions that facilitate the spread of capitalism.
To set the stage for determining the impact of globalization on a specific community, a definition of what is meant by globalization is a necessary starting point. Globalization is complex. It is horizontal cutting across state structures, creating structures of its own, so it is difficult to find a concise comprehensive definition. Scholars care about how contemporary globalization affects the world we live in, and they address different aspects of the phenomenon. Most hold strongly held views that are diverse and contested. Depending on the bias of the definer, globalization is credited or blamed for many things, among them the global economy, the impact of technology, international migration, and for social and environmental degradation. Manfred Steger makes an analytical distinction between globalization, which he defines as social processes of intensifying global interdependence and globalism, which he defines as “a political ideology that endows the concept of globalization with market oriented norms, values and meanings” (2005, p. ix). This ideology promotes economic deregulation, free trade, privatization and unfettered capital markets. It is described as “a lateral movement crossing state borders in the form of capital, technologies, tourism, information and knowledge spreading norms and values that penetrate the state.... It is therefore argued that economic globalization brings democracy” (Mittleman, 2000, p. 247).

Toward the end of the twentieth century, the vision linking capitalism and democracy came under attack because of perceived social inequalities and emerging cultural tensions. The assertion that freedom, free trade and democracy are synonymous terms is challenged by Steger who argues this theory is based on limited procedures such as voting. He argues that formal elections legitimize the ruling elites and make it difficult for popular movements to challenge the rulers. Held defines globalization as something
that “can be taken to refer to those spatiotemporal processes of change which underpin a transformation in the organization of human affairs by linking together and expanding human activity across regions and continents” (1999, p. 15). Globalization implies integration on a broad scale. Defining integration is as big a challenge as defining globalization because it involves identifying the degrees of integration that are pursued at the state level, and states set different criteria. Economic and political integration are the most commonly cited consequences of globalization, but recently social integration is emerging as an equally important aspect. It is worth noting here, that in order to effectively integrate any of the three components, language skills may be the biggest advantage or detriment. It is widely accepted that a good education system is the foundation for a good society, yet in most developed countries families in lower skilled employment sectors are sometimes locked into a life of social exclusion and feel like losers, while others in the community thrive in a competitive economic environment. Immigrants who are not conversant in the host language face challenges in areas of education, employment and social integration unless the state proactively addresses language differences in the education system. Investment in education and training increases employability, and a slogan from Denmark “Protect the worker not the job” highlights their importance and responds to protectionist rhetoric. Schools are a critical contact point for immigrant children in reducing the isolation many youths feel. Schools also help reduce the *ghettoization* of newcomers, which has been problematic in some countries. Ideally, the process of integration begins in school where children from different countries and ethnicities learn and play side by side. The alternative is alienation.
In booming economic times, there are some people who benefit from the economic processes of globalization because they are positioned to take advantage of the business opportunities provided in global markets. It is argued the power structures that exist in global processes cater to privileged segments of society, so not everyone in a community can benefit from economic restructuring. Globalization excludes certain groups from participating in the decision-making processes impacting their welfare. Inequality and lack of opportunity among those disadvantaged by global processes leads to tensions between societal groups. When the economy enters a recession the wealthy, although their wealth diminishes, generally remain better positioned to weather the storm while the less fortunate usually find themselves competing for even fewer resources. Immigrants are particularly at risk in such an environment because their position in the community is directly related to the success of other segments of the population. In recent years, the global economy generated incomes and consumption patterns in more segments of the world’s population, encouraging the creation of minimally paid servant class positions such as maids, bus boys, and landscape workers who suffer inequality and marginalization. Globalization’s promised trickle-down effect of wealth is not reaching many people, and policies that appear to favor the wealthy contribute to feelings of discontent. On a global basis, conspicuous consumption by the rich seems to have generated a level of discontent among a number of the less fortunate.

Contemporary globalization is primarily seen as the unprecedented integration of economic life, the emergence of powerful economic actors and the global dominance of the capitalist system. The liberal economy helped produce unprecedented levels of global growth in some regions of the world while others remained poor. Friedan and Lake
(2000) write that the richest one-fifth of the world’s population enjoys 86% of global consumption expenditures, while the poorest one-fifth accounts for only 1.3%. These percentages may be less in individual states; however, it is generally acknowledged that the wealth of a nation belongs disproportionately to a select few. After the Second World War economic growth increased the average standard of living across the world, but many argue the gaps between the wealthiest and the poorest societies also increased. Broad statements about the benefits of a capitalist economy can hide reality where dimensions of an open economy negatively impact the well-being of many people within a society. Contemporary economists debate the impact of globalization on poverty and inequality. Proponents argue globalization is the tide that raises all boats, that it is the engine that propels economic growth, prosperity and democracy. Opponents argue globalization undermines democracy and legitimizes social inequalities by supporting powerful elites, thereby threatening social stability and democracy in the world. There is also an argument that globalization diminishes the capacity of the public to participate in shaping their destinies. Contrary to the optimistic view of globalization put forth by neoliberal proponents, many scholars like Dani Rodrik have a more critical perspective. Rodrik writes, “The process that has come to be called ‘globalization’ is exposing a deep fault line between groups that have the skills and mobility to flourish in global markets and those who either don’t have those advantages or perceive the expansion of unregulated markets as inimical to social stability and deeply held norms” (1997, p. 2). Efforts to develop governance models that are equitable and global have been going on for a long time and have achieved some success only in limited issue specific areas such as the environment. Hot button issues such as migration, integration and the economy
have yet to achieve effective governance and there is no actor that oversees interstate agreements on migration or integration either at the global or regional level.

Although globalization has many facets, emphasis is put on the economic dimensions of globalization derived from the evolution of the current world order and the institutions that were established following the Second World War to provide governance and to ensure fairness in the system. Today the term ‘governance’ is applied to almost any collective endeavor. There is corporate governance, local governance, and global governance, and overuse of the term makes its meaning vague. For purposes of this effort, governance implies a power paradigm that operates in an interdependent network of states, prominent non-state actors and economies.

The Financial Institutions of Global Governance (IFIs)

The current era of globalization emerged out of agreements that were reached following the Second World War. The major economic powers of the global North met in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire in 1944, and created an international framework for the development of rules governing economic activities, trade, and the reconstruction of areas devastated by the war. The explicit goals of the Bretton Woods system were to promote the expansion of multilateral trade and payments. The system began to take root in 1945 and lasted until 1973. Three major institutions were created, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), an organization that works to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, and promote sustainable economic growth. The IMF provides short-term loans to help countries in financial difficulty to restructure their economies. The second institution, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development,
provided loans for post-war construction. The organization evolved to become the World Bank (WB), providing longer-term loans and assistance in order to promote the well-being of populations in developing countries. It also provides technical and financial assistance to developing countries, and assists in humanitarian emergencies. The third organization, the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) was established to design and manage interstate trade agreements. Initially, GATT was a mechanism for dismantling tariff barriers on the basis of reciprocal concessions. In 1995, GATT evolved to become the World Trade Organization (WTO), which is responsible for promoting free trade, for resolving interstate trade disputes, and for policing member state’s adherence to global trade agreements. It also addresses conflicts in matters of the environment, labor standards, and food safety.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the two financial institutions controlled economic risk and contributed to the stability of the international system for nearly three decades. Although the agreements reached in Bretton Woods fell apart in the 1970s, the IMF and the WB continued to make and enforce the rules of the globalized economy, reinforcing what some say is the concentration of economic power in a few places. The two institutions enjoy a privileged position in the global economy. They enshrine neo-liberalism and remain the biggest sources of funding for international development. Economic instability and two major oil crises in the 1970s convinced key politicians in the global North that a neo-liberal approach to the economy would secure a self-regulating market system that would lead to equilibrium of supply and demand. In the 1980s, the two financial organizations together promoted the free-market ideologies favored by the United States and other industrial countries. This neo-liberal revolution
gave the IMF and the WB the go-ahead to introduce Structured Adjustment Programs (SAPs). In return for providing funding, the institutions demand borrowers implement programs referred to as the “Washington Consensus,” which describes a set of capitalist oriented policies that include fiscal discipline, tax reform, open trade, financial liberalization. The policies are intended to facilitate internal economic reform and promote international trade. The purpose of imposing conditions is to encourage recipient governments to put on what Friedman calls, “the golden straightjacket” (1999, p. 86). For some of the poorer countries who depend on the IMF and WB, the conditions attached to the assistance provided preclude governments from following policies that could provide education, health and social welfare benefits that would close the gap between the elite and the poor. This means poorly educated people are not equipped for skilled jobs, and higher costs for medical treatment means more suffering for the poor. In addition, shrinking government budgets mean fewer public sector jobs, so overall, desperate people accept desperate wages and remain in poverty, or they migrate seeking a better life outside of their home country, sometimes without benefit of proper legal documentation. In developing countries, eliminating environmental laws and human rights to attract foreign direct investment (FDI) when combined with reduced subsidies for basic requirements, inhibits democracy and encourages migration. Many scholars cite the conditions imposed by IFIs as a threat to the sovereignty of national economies, arguing that they open up the country to exploitation by TNCs and promote undocumented migration in poorer, less educated segments of the population.
State-Centric Organs of Global Governance

Since the end of the Second World War several international organizations have emerged from attempts to achieve global governance in an interdependent world, among them, the United Nations (UN) with all of its issue specific agencies. The UN and its agencies were established by member states to provide guidance, governance and facilitate co-operation among members. The UN was established in 1945 to prevent wars between countries by providing a platform for dialogue. The UN is firmly rooted in the principles of a state centric world, and its charter calls for “higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development” in member states. Currently there are 192 member states in the UN, and although the most powerful states can sway decisions and use their veto power to manipulate outcomes, many of its agencies are proactive in addressing global issues. The UN Development Program (UNDP) finances energy efficiency and anti-pollution programs in developing countries. The UN Environmental Program (UNEP) is responsible for scientific research on global and regional environmental issues and for monitoring state responses. UN agencies attempt to address cross-border problems such as environmental problems which are not national problems. Ozone depletion and exhausting un-renewable natural resources are global issues. UNEP emphasizes sustainable development and introduces environmental considerations into decision-making. The agency has made some progress; however, until governments of the world collectively address the causes of environmental degradation, solutions will be piecemeal at best. The UN Children’s Fund, UNESCO is successful in promoting the welfare of the world’s underprivileged children. The agency’s philosophy is that education, research, culture and knowledge are public goods
that should be available to all citizens, and the agency promotes these ideas in member states. The World Health Organization (WHO) is the public health agency within the UN. The organization has offices around the world and its primary focus in the twenty-first century is to improve public health systems in UN member states. The UN is at the forefront promoting human rights on a global basis. The creation of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and the International Criminal Court indicate a change in the relationship between the state and the individual.

Another global organization, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) brings together representatives from governments of thirty member countries committed to a market economy and democracy. To facilitate adherence to best practices in member states, OECD compiles information on patterns of trade, the environment, agriculture, technology and social change and its published findings have become the ‘bible’ for reporting how countries measure up in these areas. OECD also serves as a forum for coordination of economic policy.

All interstate organizations that are involved in global governance are considered by many to be cumbersome and ineffective. Attempts to restructure them have not met with a lot of success because international and national politics seem to have a way of confounding progress. At the end of the day, regardless whether the global issue is an economic recession, global warming, or international migration, in the absence of effective global governance, resolutions will depend on how well state governments work together.
Globalization in the EU

In addition to global interstate institutions, supranational organizations such as the EU have a direct impact on governance in member states, assuming responsibility for regulatory functions that were historically managed by the state. Sassen (1998, p. 92) refers to this policy-making shift as the “unbundling of sovereignty.” The original idea behind the EU was to promote trade between member states. Today, the EU covers a broad range of areas including the economy and the free movement of people within the Euro Zone and is increasingly concerned with managing the many impacts of globalization. During the twentieth century, Europe focused on the development of capitalist democracies. States typically had responsibility for defending the physical and economic well-being of their citizens, but today economic uncertainty and large scale immigration are perceived as making the state more vulnerable in efforts to provide essential services to citizens (Spellman, 2008). Member states are now facing concurrent challenges as they struggle to manage increasing in-flows of migrants and economic constraints. The development and growth of the EU has altered how member states interact with each other, and how they govern within their territories. European populations never considered themselves as countries of immigration, and writing for the New York Times, Noah Feldman argues that in general, Europeans are not convinced that culturally and religiously ‘different’ immigrants should be treated as full members of their societies. The assumption that some ‘others’ are so different from ‘us’ that they will become a collective threat to the nation’s cultural identity and value system is being peddled by self-serving politicians and by some in the media. No country or society is totally free of anti-immigrant prejudice and the recent economic downturn accompanied
by unemployment and crumbling markets encourages anti-immigrant rhetoric. The effects of banking bailouts, rising unemployment, and lower tax revenues have raised the debt level in EU states. A combination of rising public debt and reduced growth prospects is forcing governments to reduce spending on social benefits. The world order, especially in turbulent economic times, restructures societies causing social consequences for immigrants and for the host community. In response to the current recession, the familiar arguments are heard every day in western democracies; immigrants take jobs from nationals, they are criminals, and they threaten the security of the host country. Extreme right-wing groups such as Front National in France developed the slogan “immigration equals unemployment” to fuel fears linked to social and economic insecurity. Ireland, once a steady source of emigrants, now has one of the highest rates of immigration, and is, for good or bad, a multicultural state.

Economic globalization and resistance to it did not recently erupt in contemporary globalization. In every colonized country resistance movements protested slavery, the theft of indigenous land and resources. Today with the aid of technology, civil society is becoming more openly critical of governments and governance institutions. The term anti-globalization movement is used to describe a number of diverse initiatives that protest an array of issues including the power of TNCs, the power of the United States government, and the power of global governance institutions such as the WTO and the WB. Energized by evidence of irresponsible corporate behavior, many people join movements to proactively attempt to change the rules governing global trade. Some groups lobby governments and TNCs. Others simply try to restrict corporate profits by leading targeted Do Not Buy initiatives against specific companies. The complexities
embedded in today’s global processes have led many to believe new and innovative approaches are needed to provide governance at the international level. Non-state actors have emerged to represent civil society, and have been successful in drawing attention to problems existing in world affairs. Advocacy groups such as Amnesty International, Greenpeace, Doctors without Borders, and Oxfam play an increasingly important role in political decision-making. These groups are influential in representing millions of people who are prepared to challenge nation-state governments in order to promote the democratic rights of ‘world citizens.’ Some authors argue the rise of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) represents a shift away from a purely state-centric system to a political environment where many actors participate in what has been called “multilayered global governance.” The emergence of civil society is an expansion of the political sphere where groups of people amplify the signals of social problems to the public arena. Advocacy groups, however, are not permitted to join state sponsored organizations. Membership in state-run institutions is limited to member states that have exclusive decision-making authority.

Transnational Business Corporations (TNCs) in a Globalized World

One of the main driving forces behind globalization is competition between corporations and between countries. The most visible and perhaps the most controversial actors in today’s global processes are TNCs. They, together with the WTO, form a powerful partnership which many believe diminishes the value of humans in the spread of capitalism and its pursuit of profits across the globe. TNCs influence the economic climate in nation-states by providing foreign direct investment (FDI) that by some
accounts creates jobs and helps maintain robust employment. Corporate institutions control much of the world’s wealth and have the power to bypass nationally based rules and regulations as they manipulate production processes and global operations. Competition acts as a catalyst for companies to become more efficient and more productive and a key argument regarding the inequality of globalization is that TNCs can employ a disposable ‘cheap’ labor force and enjoy significant tax incentives in many countries. Globalization is viewed by many as a capitalist process based on greed and profit, but its advocates credit TNCs with bringing capital, jobs and technology to lesser developed countries. They argue that TNCs raise the standard of living and merely respond to what people want. Opponents respond that millions of people barely eke out an existence, that they either sell their labor for a pittance, or are forced from their land to live in city slums, or to migrate to other parts of the world. In some developing countries dissenting voices are drowned out by the voices of TNCs and other special interest groups. In other countries such as Ireland where foreign direct investment by TNCs actually resulted in employment opportunities and a better standard of living, most people were not likely to voice criticism as long as the country continued to experience the benefits embedded in global processes. Lately, in the world of finance, national financial organizations operating in a complex global economic web, engaged in risky transactions that destabilized the global economy and impacted people across the world. Distress in the world’s financial system has highlighted the risks associated with ‘Big Business’ organizations that put profits before prudence. Corporations are in business to make money, and they hire public relations firms to put the best possible spin on the public debate around negative aspects of their global operations. Recently, however, the front
page of most daily newspapers carry criticisms of global economic processes featuring stories of the complicated asset-based securities, derivative transactions and ‘Ponzi’ schemes that created volatility and insecurity, not just for global speculators, but also for average people living on what the media calls Main Street.

It is generally accepted that the wealthiest countries are democratic open market countries. Some even argue that the persistence of poverty and inequality in underdeveloped countries is due to insufficient globalization rather than too much. There is an argument that preventing global trade keeps the world’s poor mired in poverty. In the current economic situation, the international institutions and TNCs that for years enabled growth are now viewed with fear and mistrust. Given today’s global economic troubles it is becoming increasingly difficult for supporters of globalization to argue that it benefits everyone, that global financial institutions and big corporations save economies. President Obama recently said the current recession was caused by a perfect storm of irresponsibility and poor decision-making. Many people agree with this evaluation, and globalization as an umbrella term has become a target and is blamed for many of the financial and social tensions existing in the world today.

Winners and Losers in Contemporary Globalization

Contemporary globalization seems to foster a winner-take-all mentality. Because globalization fosters competition between countries to attract foreign direct investment, countries endeavor to create an environment that will attract businesses. TNCs favor setting up satellite operations in countries that have open markets and mobility of capital, goods and services. Countries with reliable democratic institutions, fair judicial and legal
systems, and good educational systems are more likely to be successful. Advocates of globalization claim globalization is not necessarily the cause of ills in many countries. The problems, they argue, usually arise from poor governance, weak institutions, and bad economic policies at the national level. Although to some extent that may be true, people who feel deprived in a society, people who have not experienced the positive aspects of globalization will still strive for a better life, if not at home, then somewhere else. Today, technology makes it possible for people to witness the extent of world poverty and inequality on television and the Internet. Technology also allows the poor to witness extravagant lifestyles of people in western democracies. Those who support globalization argue that western displays of affluence can instill hope that one day the poor can also reap the benefits of globalization. There is a strong counter argument that western displays of conspicuous consumption fuel the fires of civil unrest and may promote terrorism among the disadvantaged. Some argue there is no effective authority to manage the impact of globalization on economies, countries or people. Robert Keohane (2001) argues that in the complex interdependent world existing today, too many people are in charge. That means effectively that no global actor is in charge and when something goes wrong, people look to their elected state governments for solutions. They will challenge aspects of globalization that negatively impact their well-being and will focus blame on the institutions and organizations they perceive to be at fault.

There are many transnational actors contesting the impacts of contemporary globalization. New social movements have risen to become the voices of global civil society. Since the end of the twentieth century, challenges to globalization have been rising and communication technologies allow people from all over the world to come
together to resist powerful global institutions. On November 30, 1999, thousands of people took to the streets of Seattle to protest several aspects of globalization, and they were successful in shutting down the WTO meeting. The confrontation has been labeled the “Battle for Seattle.” Out of the many causes represented, a consensus emerged that globalization allows wealthy transnational corporations to undermine local governments and trample on people’s rights in pursuit of profits. The Internet has been used by ad-hoc groups to organize, seeking to change the status quo. The protests in Prague during the September 2000 meetings of the WB and the IMF were another powerful critique of the dominant neoliberal ideology. The Internet also facilitated a global demonstration on February 15, 2003, where an estimated 16 million people marched to protest the impending war on Iraq and the perceived indifference of the United States to international law. The march was coordinated across the world. All over Europe, in London, Madrid, Rome and Dublin, people marched. They marched in Australia, New Zealand and even in the US. Tarrow (2007) calls it the biggest international demonstration in history. At a time when trust in politicians and governments is declining, the desire for democracy and transparency is rising. These desires are reflected in the diversity of issues arising in anti-globalization groups. Ad-hoc advocacy groups can raise funds quickly and effectively to achieve goals that could never be achieved in the cumbersome structures of governments, or in the existing structures of global governance. As the current economic recession impacts more and more people, they must grapple with the difficulties embedded in contemporary globalization. World trade has shrunk, and trade financing has effectively evaporated as a result of the recent economic crisis. Historically in times of economic upheaval populist movements have adopted a
strong theme objecting to aliens in the state. Conventional wisdom is such that
disillusioned and bitter workers who did not enjoy the benefits of the economic boom
will see imports and immigrants as threats to their livelihoods. Because most migrants are
on the bottom rung of the social ladder, worsening economic conditions affect them the
most. This may well encourage marginalized migrants to also use technology in efforts to
seek security and humane treatment regardless of where they live in the world.

Globalization and Migration

New technologies and cheap transportation facilitate frequent and multi-
directional flows of people and ideas, and suddenly beginning in the 1990s international
migration has become a polarizing issue in the globalization debate. Mittleman argues
that the processes of contemporary globalization increase interdependence, creating a rise
in transnational flows that, at least in some respects, makes the world a single place. He
writes, “The manifestations of globalization include spatial reorganization of production,
the interpenetration of industries across borders, the spread of financial markets, and
massive transfers of population” (Mittleman, 2000, p. 15). The global movement of
people is part of the broader process of economic globalization as workers move in what
Castles and Miller (2003) call the Age of Migration. Many scholars argue that few people
really want to leave their home and family. A combination of push and pull factors are
used in literature to explain migration. Push factors are related to problems in the home
country. They can range from difficulties in obtaining employment to major issues such
as war and famine. The pull factors include attractive employment opportunities and a
stable secure environment in the host country. Economic migrants respond to the pull
factors of globalization (Langhorne, 2006; Spellman, 2008). The same factors also attract asylum seekers and undocumented migrants. The relationship between economic success and labor migration in host countries is based on the migrant’s chance of finding better economic opportunities beyond the geographical boundaries of the home country. International migration is subject to economic cycles and political situations, and to vulnerabilities that accompany growth and decline in the economy. There is a popular saying, “migrants are the last to get work and the first to be without work.”

Patterns of migration cannot be understood simply in terms of individual decisions. They occur because of broader political and economic dynamics. Castles and Miller (2003) describe the typical life-cycle process for today’s economic immigrants as follows. The primary migrant is usually a young person in search of temporary employment with a goal to make money. He intends to return home when enough money is saved; however, difficulty in reaching monetary goals delays the return and encourages family reunions in the host country. These migrants become catalysts in a chain of migrations where family members follow the primary economic migrant.

As a component of globalization, international migration is accepted as a major factor of social transformation in all regions of the world. Approximately 180 million people or 3% of the world’s population now reside in countries other than their place of birth. To put that number in perspective, the United Nations’ Population Division estimates that in 1965 the total was 75 million and by 1985 the number had risen to 105 million (Spellman, 2008, p. 8).

In May 2004, a record number (over 85,000) of workers from EU member states entered Ireland legally for employment purposes. That number represents more than 4% of the country’s labor force. So, considering this movement of people and the prevailing anti-immigrant sentiment, one might question whether Miller is correct when he suggests,
“we are in a crisis of belonging, of who, what, when and where.” He also argues that “more and more people feel as though they do not belong, more and more people are applying to belong, and more and more people are not counted as belonging” (Miller, 2007, p.165). Or, is Sassen right when she argues migration patterns are not new, that in the normal course of events migration patterns always follow economic cycles in the receiving locality, and that waves of migration end. Regardless which author got it right, whether migration in Ireland is part of Sassen’s normal economic pattern where economic changes and immigrants leave their mark on the host locality, or whether immigrants are as Miller describes, displaced and disenfranchised people in a foreign country, local host communities must respond to the issues immigrants bring to the community.

In earlier waves of international migration, slower and more expensive transportation, longer distances between home and host countries, and more primitive communications channels separated migrants from their homelands. Historically, migration meant crossing borders usually for permanent relocation, and migrants were expected to become assimilated into the culture of the majority. Caroline Nagel’s (2004) study on the effects of migration on identity and citizenship indicates how citizenship and belonging are used to frame expectations of how migrants should behave. Traditionally, migrants had to adopt a new culture choosing between what they left behind and their future. Although some sense of dual orientation existed as migrants adapted to the host-country culture, it was generally sentimental ties that bound.

Until recently, most immigrants became permanent residents of the host country and became assimilated. The traditional concept of immigration was directly tied to the
concept of the nation-state and national laws where the nation-state is defined by territory, language, shared history, ethnicity and culture. The guiding principle was that immigrants would base their social relationships in one society and would pledge allegiance to one nation-state (Castles, 2003). In modern democracies, social welfare has been tied to ‘citizens’; where citizenship is defined as belonging to a particular nation-state. Citizenship in a nation-state confers the right of residency, and residency for non-citizens is subject to rules set in international and national laws and policies. Dr. Juss reminds us that “the sovereign right of states to exclude non-citizens from their territory is only a late nineteenth-century right” (2004, p. 298). Taylor (2005) tells us that of the 192 countries in the world today only four, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States have formalized programs of permanent migration. Until the late 1950s these four restricted non-white immigration and encouraged white immigration through settlement schemes.

Citizenship in the EU and the benefits that accrue from that status are no longer tied to a single nation-state. Within the EU contemporary globalization creates porous borders and migrants navigate across borders without relinquishing cultural traditions, maintaining strong ties to people and places in their country of birth. Migrants live their lives across borders engaging in recurrent enduring cross-border activities. Levitt et al. (2002) share the premise that migrants configure packages of livelihood strategies taking advantage of opportunities in their home and host countries that bring them the greatest benefit. Today, migration does not undermine the significance of origin or family. In many ways it emphasizes the importance of attachment to ‘home’ as something that anchors people, providing stability in a changing world. In an era of increased mobility,
family ties and relationships become more important. Lien and Melhus (2007) write that connections enable a sense of stability and belonging in what they call a “fragmented world.” Ideas of behavior and belonging are increasingly complex and lend some urgency to understanding the impacts of exclusion in the receiving country and immigrant attachments to place of birth. Most migrants are forced to leave their home country for economic or political reasons, and, to the extent that they can maintain strong ties to home and family, they will do so. For purposes of this project it is important to understand how connected the migrant is to the home country. The dimensions of those linkages can be economic, cultural, political, or any combination thereof. The importance of being rooted in one’s country of origin, of being proud of one’s heritage and home, of remaining connected to the home country may be reflected in migrant attitudes toward the host community. It may also affect the host community’s attitudes toward the strangers. Migration has implications for the immigrants and for the people whose lives they connect with, and is one of the key forces of social transformation. Multiculturism as a facet of contemporary globalization includes the emergence of a dual orientation in the migrant population, what Castles (2003) calls bifocality. This is something experienced in everyday life that influences patterns of assimilation, social inclusion, and cultural reproduction. Today, migrants within EU member states can change their country of residence with relative ease and can just as easily return to their country of birth or to another member state. Under these conditions migrants need not make lasting commitments in the host country. Some authors argue the importance of a nationally based identity has diminished, paving the way for a transnational identity for migrants. Contemporary migration discourse uses the term “transnational migrant” to describe a
migrant who does not sever links to the home-country. Migration scholars argue this newer breed of migrant cannot be viewed in separate social spaces or communities, that people now belong simultaneously to more than one nation-state. Regular participation in home-country politics and familial events means migrants constitute a single community spread across a variety of sites in a space called a “transnational migrant circuit.” There is a growing acceptance of the notion of a transnational identity among migration scholars. Guiraudan (2007) argues that migrants operate socially, culturally and politically in a “transnational space.” Although Castles argues bifocality is difficult to measure, Levitt et al. (2002) argue that some aspects of transnational life involve observable actions that can be measured. How migrants configure their existence has implications for their position in the host community and for how easily they become integrated in the host society.

Cruz (2007) calls migration the “engine of history.” Today, states have been forced by economic and political trends to react to immigration as if it is a national crisis. Because of this, opportunities for legal migrants in many western countries are limited and are determined by the needs of businesses in the host country. No state allows full freedom of movement across its borders. It is ironic that although according to Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, citizens cannot be prevented from leaving their home-country, there is no corresponding provision for right-of-entry of non-citizens. Where immigration is permitted, it is usually on a selective basis with priority given to the educated, the skilled, and the wealthy. Undocumented immigrants are at the low end of the acceptance hierarchy and face a difficult transition in the host country. They are typically poor people from low-income countries who cannot always avail themselves of legal immigration opportunities. Conflicting policies for different classes of immigrant
are not only complex but raise ethical and moral questions because there is no common baseline of rights for all immigrants. Insecure legal status and unequal rights for segments of the migrant population contribute to discrimination and segregation in the labor market and in housing. In western democracies immigration is politicized. Anti-immigrant arguments center on the social costs migrants impose on the host country. Integration of low-skilled immigrants is hampered by the presumption they negatively impact the indigenous workforce by putting downward pressure on wages, worker safety, and social security standards. Spokespersons against immigration claim migrants have a negative effect on the economy, arguing that the social services provided outweighs the impact of taxes paid by the low-wage earners. Most migrants pay taxes in the host country, even undocumented migrants who can never collect on social security benefits associated with ‘legal’ employed taxpayers. The current economic crisis has raised anger and frustration among national workers, and has led to strikes and protest marches against immigration policies in many European countries. Recently, arguments regarding the potential health hazards accompanying some immigrants have surfaced. A resurgence of tuberculosis in some communities is the most often cited example of this. Environmentalists also argue against migration, claiming over-population caused by immigrants in some areas contributes to environmental degradation. Family reunification has risen to become one of the most emotional topics in the migration debate. In some states, it is viewed as a gateway for uncontrolled entry of mothers whose newborn ‘Irish’ children become a burden on state resources. In the European Union where close to 60% of recent immigration is family related (Spellman, 2008), member states have generous policies regarding family unity. Perhaps because of this, when immigrants arrive in the host
country under family reunification rules they are faced with national resentment. In their new space, they are commonly treated as ‘the other,’ the ominous outsider who threatens time-tested social and economic norms. As long as poor migrants are perceived as taking more from the state than they contribute, national opposition to immigration will remain strong even when there is a need for migrant labor (Spellman, 2008).

The pace and scope of globalization has raised anti-immigrant sentiment in developed countries. In some segments of the population, hostility and suspicion toward immigrants is based on the notion that immigration is a capitalist instrument used to divide the working classes by lowering wages and working conditions. Throughout history, the biggest immigration flows occur during economic upturns when labor demands are high; however, it is difficult to synchronize demand and supply of labor in a business cycle. It takes time for an economic downturn to manifest itself, and when it does it results in rising unemployment and falling wages. The end of sustained economic growth gives rise to spatial segregation that is tied to unemployment. Under these circumstances even mild anti-immigrant sentiment can escalate into a crusade against outsiders and demands to curtail further immigration.

Sassen (2002) tells us that in modern Western capitalist societies immigration is increasingly seen in terms of threats. In modern societies like Ireland, Smith argues that “ethnic nationalism remains a powerful force, and the sense of common nationality is deeply ingrained and widely diffused in the population” (1995, p. 45). Toby Miller (2007) suggests increased immigration results in a culture that progressively becomes a marker of difference rather than collective identity. In many places, fears of immigration waves have not only fueled resentment, but have also fueled an increase in protectionism
regarding the national identity and national interests. Hall (1991) is concerned with responses to the erosion of national economies and culture, which he sees as a defensive and regressive exclusionism exhibited in policies and attitudes toward immigrants. Smith agrees, writing that “[f]ears of immigrant waves have fueled resentments and spurred renewed interest in cultural identity, national solidarity and defense of national interests” (1995, p. 15). Cultural changes usually lag behind economic changes, and in general, there seems to be a tendency to de-couple the economic success that globalization brings from the multiculturalism and the diversity of ethnic identities that globalization also brings. Ethnicity and multiculturalism are usually addressed within the context of the nation-state, but Pieterse argues that bracketing the framework in this way ignores the “overlapping authorities and crisscrossing loyalties” (2005, p. 196) that exist in contemporary globalization.

The independence of individual states is challenged by the existence of a global network of economic, political and social interdependencies that represent the ‘new world order.’ Cyberspace transcends borders. Non-governmental organizations and large corporations operate across borders and boundaries, and supranational organizations institute international conventions that override sovereignty. The nation-state as a “territorial unit of cultural and civic membership” (Morris, 1997, p. 197) is being challenged by immigration flows that give rise to issues of social exclusion and anti-immigrant sentiment. Labor flows alter the distribution of income, and some argue that migration is a mechanism of globalization, which creates winners and losers in the economic sphere and in the social well-being of members in a community. Recent scholarship recognizes the challenges governments face when attempting to reconcile the
wishes of their citizens with the needs and human rights of immigrants. Integration is a long-term process, generally, first generation immigrants are products of their upbringing and reflect the feelings, preferences and perceptions of right and wrong that were instilled at a young age. The success of integration policies are determined by the success of the children of immigrants. The success of the second generation will be depend on how inclusive policies dealing with education, labor and housing are, and how well they are implemented. To date, the nation-state is still the focal point for policy debates on immigration and policy-makers often reach conclusions that do not reflect how immigrants and nationals experience globalization.

Contemporary Globalization in Ireland

As countries go, Ireland was perhaps the least known politically, had a comparatively small population, and was set apart from continental Europe. In many respects, Ireland was regarded as a subsidiary of Britain everywhere in Europe except in Ireland. The Irish nation as envisioned by its founders was a nation that would be home to a people who valued material wealth only as a means for survival, a people who would live a godly life devoted to things of the spirit. Reality is that in Ireland social class, segregation and inequality have always existed. Class differences were not openly discussed in Ireland, but double standards existed nonetheless. The Irish feminist, Monica Barnes describing Irish ‘snobbery’ in provincial towns writes, “The small town snob system was complex. It rarely came out in the open but everyone knew their place” (Donoghue, 1991, p. 47). In 2000, a reflective editorial article in the Irish Times
commented on the irony of racism in Ireland, a country that had always prided itself on its empathy with the plight of Third World countries.

Until recently, Irish schools were run by the clergy, and even as late as the 1950s excessive corporal punishment was used extensively on girls and boys, and was condoned, or at least tolerated by the public. The old saying, “spare the rod and spoil the child” was adopted as a guiding principle in the education system, but was administered unequally depending on the social class of the student. Institutional abuses were often visited on the most vulnerable in society. In the 1950s, the only people of color in Ireland were students from developing countries. Those young people were typically sponsored by religious organizations and suffered the same harsh treatment in their native schools that was common in Irish schools at the time. During the 1950s, most children did not complain about being punished in school because parents held teachers, many of whom were clergy, in high esteem and generally the assumption was that if a student was beaten in school he or she probably deserved it. On June 18, 2000, the *Sunday Tribune* carried a story by Catriona Crowe where she argued that in Ireland the private domain of personal experience was always at odds with the official stories sanctioned by the government and by the Church. Historically, in Ireland class relations and culture were always complicated.

Ireland was known as a Catholic country for a very long time but migration has started to add religious diversity. The percentage of Roman Catholics in the population fell to 80% in 2002. Between 1946 and 1961 the Protestant population fell almost five times faster than the overall population, but by 2002 there were sizable increases in the number of Protestants reversing a long-term decline over previous decades. The number
of Muslims and Orthodox adherents increased from four hundred in 1991 to over ten thousand in 2002 (Irish Times, 2/9/2004). Immigration flows have changed Ireland from a nation noted for homogeneity to a multicultural space. External influences have historically left their mark on the Irish people, and in Ireland, colonialism was particularly complex. While Ireland was being colonized by Britain, Irish regiments in the British army were serving British imperial interests in places like India. According to Fanning (2002), throughout the nineteenth century the British army and colonial police forces were disproportionately of Irish origin, and he argues that history may have created a race of Irish people who adopted a colonial ideology of superiority that is reflected today in attitudes toward new immigrants.

Beginning in the 1960s, Ireland started to emerge from the dark days of the 1950s. Smaller families and better educational opportunities were more available to more people. Although the educational system increased social mobility for some, it did little to encourage a culture of equality, tolerance, or integration. The 1960s have been described as “the best of decades”; however, Ireland’s success in that decade may be exaggerated. What really changed in the ‘best of decades’ was better educated young people refused to accept the sanctification of deprivation advocated by earlier government ideology and by the Church. Toward the end of the decade young Irish entrepreneurs bought into the neo-liberal ideology and started business ventures that later brought some of them recognition on the global economic stage. The standard of living began to rise for working-class families and the benefits of land speculation were recognized by some. Ireland was beginning to embrace a free-trade philosophy and young people embraced liberalism and secularization. By the 1990s, globalization had
changed the perception of Ireland as a poor nation on the fringe of the European continent and created a new picture based on affluence and on a dynamic society. Economic success and migration to Ireland started later than in other Western European states, but in the 1990s globalization changed Ireland’s place in the world, and Ireland’s sense of place in the world. Ireland’s economic transformation from a third-world country in the 1950s to the most globalized country in the world in 2004 attracted many immigrants. In a *New York Times* article about Ireland, Jason DeParle notes that international migration over the past decade “has brought to this island of red-haired Marys and blue-eyed Seans the demographic version of an extreme makeover” (*New York Times International*, 2-25-08). Many people in Ireland regard their national identity as privileged. Names, symbols and myths are passed from one generation to the next lasting though conquest and colonization building a sense of national character. Since cultural identities are shaped by shared experiences and values, newcomers are generally considered outsiders. A growing population can create social issues in any community and when that population is diverse in terms of ethnicity and social background, inherited cultural norms are challenged. Events in some EU member states demonstrate that if an environment that fosters social segregation is allowed to exist, it can create an unsustainable class structure and lead to civil unrest. Exclusionary models that impinge on the rights of the immigrants, or on the rights of the indigenous people can result in a divided society, and actions at the local level can deepen the division and destabilize the region. In Ireland, immigration and integration have become hot-button issues in public debate provoking strong feelings in most segments of the indigenous population.
Between the mid-1900s and 2004, Ireland reaped the benefits of contemporary globalization. It became a modern trade-dependent state that attracted foreign direct investment from United States industries in the high technology sector. Many firms established European customer service operations in Ireland and the country also benefited from a rise in consumer spending and a robust construction industry. Ireland was a textbook example of successful neo-liberalism. The labor market was flexible, the financial infrastructure was considered sound, the workers were English speaking, and corporate tax rates were low. To put the tax rate in perspective OECD reported the following corporate tax rates in 2008.

Table 2.1

2008 OECD Corporate Tax Rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Tax Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>39.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>34.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>30.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>28.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>25.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>21.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>12.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Some economists criticized an industrial policy that focused on foreign direct investment rather than building a better infrastructure for Irish business. Such criticisms
were drowned out by the success foreign companies brought to Ireland. Foreign capital and cheap money fueled a spending spree that poured money into the housing construction market, raising house prices. Banks were willing to make risky mortgages in pursuit of profits, and people recklessly bought into the belief the Celtic Tiger would last forever. In 2005, the Irish economist David McWilliams wrote;

Ireland has arrived. We are richer than any of us imagined possible ten years ago. No Irish person has to emigrate, none of us need to pay for education and even our universities are free. Unemployment is the lowest in our history. We have more choices than ever….We have more cash in our back pockets than almost anyone in Europe. We are better off than 99% of humanity (2005, p. 3).

A more formal evaluation agreed with this assessment. A. T. Kearney/Foreign Policy Magazine’s Globalization Index measures economic, person-to-person, and technological integration in sixty-two countries that account for 96% of the world’s gross national product. In the fourth annual assessment in 2004, Ireland was ranked as the number one globalized country among the sixty-two. Ireland had an unprecedented economic run lasting for more than a decade, and that success could not have been achieved without membership in the EU and participation in the free-market economy. Membership in the EU was primarily driven by financial considerations, not by a strong desire to adopt a European identity. In 1974, a poll indicated that the most important aspect of membership was economic not political. The Labor party and the nationalist Sinn Fein party campaigned against joining; however, the issue of sovereignty was subordinated to economic considerations.

Membership in the EU positioned Ireland to benefit from free trade, free movement of capital, and the stability of a common currency. Between 1994 and 1999 Ireland received 7.2 billion pounds in structural funds from the EU. The successful
economy and generous welfare system attracted migrants from the newer EU member states. A new power and class structure emerged as the state filled half of the jobs created in Ireland with non-Irish EU nationals. Since the beginning of the 1990s, a booming construction business fueled the economy. McWilliams (2005) tells us that the annual number of building completions went from 21,000 in 1993 to over 50,000 in 2000. The construction boom dramatically changed the physical landscape, and this particular aspect of globalization may have long lasting effects on communities as the economy weakens. On January 3, 2009, headlines in the *Irish Independent* declared that more than 70,000 new houses are lying empty across the country because hundreds of families can no longer afford to buy their own homes. The exuberance over the economic success globalization brought to Ireland created opportunities for entrepreneurs who capitalized on the neo-liberal market system, and many people were more than willing to take advantage of the banking system’s willingness to lend. Allen writes that in contemporary Irish culture, this new class of entrepreneur has “replaced the rebel as the hero of modern society” (2000, p. 67). However, debts cannot expand indefinitely. When economic circumstances seriously deteriorate and banks no longer lend, governments and people can no longer borrow and are forced to limit spending. The credit bubble that expanded between the 1990s and 2007 burst in 2008, bringing an abrupt end to many businesses and forcing the government to bail out the country’s financial institutions. In the current environment, uncertainty about the future has altered the social psychology of Ireland’s people. In Ireland, as in many other places, questions regarding the benefits of globalization are common. Many of the changes that globalization brought to Ireland are no longer considered beneficial.
Today, Irish nationals are faced with the impact of major changes compressed into a short time frame. At the same time, they are dealing with an economic crisis impacting all aspects of daily life. One of the more controversial issues the Irish face is the impact immigrants have on the health, education and welfare systems. Reports indicate Ireland is absorbing about 50,000 immigrants annually. On a per capita basis, that is four times the rate absorbed annually in the United States (Kline, 2004). Nearly half of the immigrants came from the newer EU accession states. More than half of the immigrants were between the ages of 15 and 24 and approximately one in ten were children under the age of 15. In April 2007, the Central Statistics Office in Ireland reported that between the natural increase in population and immigration, the population increased by 106,100, bringing the total population estimate to 4.34 million. These statistics raise concerns regarding whether strains on the educational and health systems can be managed to sustain an acceptable level of service for the entire population.

The increase in population brought an increase in crime. An Irish Prison Service report in 2003 indicated that more than one in five inmates committed to Irish prisons in 2002 was a non-national. When this information is reported in the media it generates anti-immigrant sentiments. In 1997, graffiti on Dublin walls urged “Blacks and Pakis [to] go home,” and in 1998 a new organization, The Immigration Control Platform was established to promote restrictions on immigration. In a 2004 essay, “The Changing Social Environment of Modern Ireland,” Benjamin Kline questions whether Ireland has become a racist state because of mass immigration. He asks whether the Irish are going through a period of fear as they adjust to cultural insecurities, fears that are expressed as distress signals from local communities, or whether the Irish are demonstrating what they
themselves call a “culture of begrudgery” where economic advancement is perceived as a zero-sum game. In other words, if one person is doing well, it must be at the expense of someone else, and no Irish national person wants to be short-changed when it comes to employment opportunities or social welfare benefits.

In the economic environment of 2010, many Irish people have become suspicious of the things that brought success. Cheap and available money, free capital markets, free trade, and free mobility of migrants are no longer held in high esteem. Most Irish people today realize the current downturn in the global economy undermines the government’s ability to manage its sovereign debt position. They also know employment and social welfare policies that threaten fulfillment of the moral obligation to defend the values of social justice may be at risk. In spite of this knowledge, downgrades in social welfare benefits for indigenous people are sure to be met with strong opposition. The government will face stiff challenges if government sponsored benefits are reduced, if some are eliminated, or if the costs to individuals increase. The biggest losers in an economic downturn are typically working people in the private sector and the less fortunate in society, but the current recession has had a negative impact on many more segments of the population. Economic globalization is blamed for promoting marginalization and the sense of powerlessness people feel when they are excluded from participation in decisions that control their destinies. It is also blamed for introducing the neo-liberal ideology into social relationships and the welfare system where social welfare is seen as an obstacle to achieving competitive advantage and economic success. Allen tells us that globalization created in Irish nationals what he calls a “discontented majority.” He argues this phenomenon is not a sentiment that “is focused or structured around a particular
political outlook. It does not register directly on electoral figures or find spokespersons to articulate a coherent alternative to the status quo.” Instead, he writes, “it manifests itself broadly and is visible in surprising ways, not the least of which is the enormous popularity of strikes and other forms of resistance” (Allen, 2000, p. 5). Voter apathy in local and national elections is seen as evidence of discontent, and recently reported incidents of abuse and corruption have tarnished those in the religious hierarchy, all levels of government and the financial infrastructure in the country.

The media has had a field day covering and reporting on recent events in Ireland, including political corruption. The extent to which politicians lined their pockets shocked most people, but since it initially did not directly affect the lifestyles of the middle or upper class in Irish society, the shock did not translate to protest. The media also facilitated greater openness regarding past abuses by the clergy and published articles about recent attempts to cover up abuses. As a result of the extensive media coverage regarding corruption and abuse, younger people in Ireland hold very different views on morality and nationalism than those imposed on the generations preceding them. The media has also given broad coverage to the bail out of the financial institutions that until recently were considered the backbone of the country’s success. In Ireland, freedom of the press has come a long way from the strict censorship that existed from the Second World War through the 1950s.

Mittleman writes, “International migration is building multicultural societies beset with socioeconomic problems” (2007, p. 7), and many scholars believe that children of immigrants who remain in the host country will become a political concern, one that Kosack (1995) refers to as a “social time bomb.” Some locals, alarmed by the number of
arriving immigrants cite examples of Britain’s young blacks and the recent trouble with France’s young Arabs as a warning of things to come. Some people rightfully ask what will happen over time to the shoddy, high-density ‘affordable’ buildings that sprang up as the Celtic Tiger roared. People are also afraid globalization is undermining the state’s ability to control criminal activity, particularly in the light of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, in the United States, and the recent arrest of terrorists in Ireland. As the glow of globalization and economic success fades, new complexities are rising in Ireland. People are pitted against each other as they compete for scarcer resources. Even in 2006, when the economy was stronger and Ireland was rated as one of the wealthiest societies in the world, the Irish Think Tank (TASC), which focuses on social change, reported Ireland had a significantly higher than average poverty rate among EU member states. In assessing democracy in Ireland, TASC reported that spending on social protection was rated low by EU standards. The report titled “Power to the People?” captured aspects of life in Ireland that reflected a high level of inequality, and indicated that the less privileged suffer in important areas such as transportation and education. The same report noted that although the legislative framework has improved, Ireland had not ratified the Convention on the Rights of Migrant Workers and the Members of Their Families, which is intended to provide immigrants with security regarding housing, family life and employment. If the level of inequality was high in the ‘boom’ years, how will the Irish respond to the poor in their midst as the ‘bust’ years leave their mark on the community? The founding father’s vision is far removed from the contemporary realities of today’s Ireland where social exclusion has many faces and presents more complex challenges than Irish people could have envisioned in the past. Mittleman could have had
the ‘new’ Ireland in mind when he asked, “If immigrants can’t ascend the local hierarchy, how can they ascend the global hierarchy” (2000, p. 70).

The next chapter looks at the regulatory context in which global, regional and national policies and governance structures aim to achieve integration and social inclusion.
CHAPTER 3

IMMIGRATION POLICIES AND GOVERNANCE

IN THE REGIONAL CONTEXT

In the EU, there is not a single country that has a fertility rate ensuring growth in
the indigenous population over the next decade. Immigrants are needed to fill the gap left
by an aging population and a low birthrate in OECD countries. Developed countries in
the EU also attract asylum seekers and their families, as well as undocumented people
from outside the community, people who risk everything including their lives to attain the
freedoms and security guaranteed under EU treaties. Illegal activities are rising in many
countries throughout the world. International drug smuggling is perhaps the most
common, but international trafficking in human beings for purposes of sexual or labor
exploitation is also a major problem. Migration and widespread illegal activities are
considered consequences of globalization, and in many countries nationalists lament the
deterioration of local communities caused by global connections and mobility. Although
many aspects of immigration are common in developed countries today, each country and
each community is to some degree unique, and migration flows result from specific
conditions at a given point in time (Castles & Miller, 2003). The capacities of migrants
are affected by events and developments in their home counties, and by events and
developments in the host country. As long as huge disparities in wealth exist, and hunger
and poverty are tolerated, there will be migration legal or otherwise, and illegal
immigration is on the rise in most developed countries. This section provides a perspective on EU and national attempts to deal with migration and integration, and with the protection of the fundamental rights and freedoms embodied in EU treaties. Broadly speaking, immigration policy covers admission criteria and immigrant rights. International law, EU treaties and conventions, and national laws are sources for the interpretation and implementation of social, economic and humanitarian policies that enable the growth of a successful society, one that reflects Tawney’s vision where “[a] society is free in so far and only so far as its institutions and policies are such to enable all members to grow to their full stature” (1964, p. 235). Policies that deal specifically or uniformly with integration and equality do not exist in the EU state system. Migration issues are usually embedded in other policy areas dealing with the economy, citizenship and culture.

Policies and Governance: A Perspective on EU Influence

Until the emergence of the EU, Europe was merely a geographic term and within the land mass called Europe there were interstate conflicts and rivalries. The European state system was characterized by frequent wars and endless diplomatic maneuvering, and earlier attempts to unify Europe were through conquest. In the context of the nation-state system, people sought security and fulfillment of their aspirations within nation-states, and citizens expected national governments to protect them and ensure their welfare. People believed that within each state there were things binding them together, and things making them different from other people in other nation-states. Language, memories of national conquest or defeat along with myths and legends kept nationalism
alive and well, and disloyalty to the nation-state was considered a grievous sin called treason. Even today within the European Union, states remain different from each other, each maintaining a unique history and spirit.

Two World Wars in the twentieth century changed the face of Europe, and by the end of the Second World War dramatic changes had altered the continent. The population had been significantly reduced, much of the infrastructure and many of the political institutions had been destroyed. It was at this point in history the modern wave of migration in Europe began. The loss of young men and women due to war forced warring countries to recruit cheap labor from other countries as ‘guest’ workers to address labor shortages. The Second World War had lasting consequences for the state system in Europe. The traditional position of leadership attributed to the region for ages was gone, and European states were divided into rival spheres. In one, the Soviet Union exercised tight control over Eastern European states, and in the other the United States adopted a more cooperative approach in Western European states. In 1989, after a long period of evolving developments, Soviet and Eastern European communism collapsed and significant numbers of people moved to OECD countries in Western Europe. In 1992, a European Commission survey found that twenty million people in Central and Eastern Europe wanted to emigrate to Western Europe, and it is believed approximately half a million illegal immigrants arrive in the EU each year. Generally, western European states tend to have strong economies, good school systems, and good social services, so migrants from poorer areas are drawn to a better life. At the same time, while migrants moved to developed countries, resistance to globalization emerged in the context of migration in Western Europe.
During the 1990s, globalization emerged as the most significant phenomenon in the evolution of the current world order, blurring the lines between what is national and what is international or transnational. Contemporary globalization changed concepts of the political community in nation-states because states are now positioned in both internal and external spheres. Today, nation-state governments no longer operate as closed political entities. Political power is repositioned and shared in a more complex system that has evolved over time. In light of the diffusion of political authority in the EU and the erosion of the distinction between what is internal and what is external, nation-states face a situation where definitions of national identity and citizenship are becoming complex. The EU today is a group of democratic nation-states committed to working together in pursuit of peace and prosperity. New political institutions hold EU member states together in an effort to achieve conformity across a broad range of issues including migration. Creating a union while at the same time maintaining strong states is a constant challenge in EU countries. “The EU is caught between the old politics of bounded territory and the new politics of global space” (Rifkin, 2004, p. 265). As with globalization, if one looks for a definition of the EU there are many to choose from. It can best be described as a network of nation-states where sovereignty is ‘pooled’ to achieve a stronger community (Koehane & Hoffmann, 1991). It is an extra-territorial governing institution whose laws supersede the laws of member states even as member states struggle to define the limits of power they are willing to cede. The EU oversees a transnational cooperation of member states and has become a regional force and an important actor on the international stage. Velluti (2007) describes the EU as a dual
system, one of intergovernmental cooperation, the other an institutional system, one
where systems overlap creating horizontal and vertical networks of governance.

The EU has expanded through accessions and has led member states through half
a century of peace and prosperity. “The EU is now the third largest governing institution
in the world. It has 455 million citizens spread over a landmass that is half the size of the
continental United States” (Rifkin, 2004, p. 197).

The main institutions of the EU are the European Parliament which works with
the European Council in most policy areas. It is directly elected by the people and has
legislative power. Secondly, the European Council, which consists of several sub
councils that are function specific, one of which is “Employment, Social Policy, Health
and Consumer Affairs.” Thirdly, the European Commission is the guardian of EU
treaties, and initiates infringement proceedings against those who violate community
rules. The European Court of Justice (ECJ) is the supreme court of the EU and
adjudicates on matters and interpretation of European law. The European Court of
Auditors controls the EU budget. At the center of EU economic and social policy is the.idea of four freedoms: free movement of goods, capital and workers, and the right of
individuals to establish businesses and to provide service. Institutionally, in the EU
migrant rights are protected by the ECJ, the Parliament, the Commission, and by agents
at the national level including the courts, social service and economic ministers
(Guiraudon, 2000). Freedom of movement is governed by the European Commission and
Parliament under the jurisdiction of the ECJ. These institutions along with some member
states have attempted to develop a common ‘harmonized’ immigration policy even as the
national political environment and national resistance seek to restrict harmonization.
Migration control remains an emblem of national sovereignty; however, migration issues are not confined to a single national agency because the arrival of immigrants has implications for many policy areas. To make the situation more complex, Guiraudon (2000) argues that in the EU, migration decision-making tends to be horizontal across states, and also suggests a vertical dimension is more appropriate given the different levels of governance involved and the number of states involved. Schmidtke et al. (2008) argue that harmonization of migration policies at the EU level is difficult because, contrary to what some people believe, borders are not on the verge of collapse, and states still control entry and determine eligibility of rights within their territories. However, the same authors argue the EU could do more to enforce state cooperation because it has a unique legal system that operates alongside of and in conjunction with the legal systems in member states, and at times the EU overrides national law particularly in the areas of economic and social policy. Most human rights are codified in treaties and cover basic rights such as the right to life, personal liberty, humane treatment, and free movement. International and regional organizations such as the United Nations and the EU provide structure and guidance in international activities including standards for the protection of migrants; among them, the United Nations International Convention on the Protection of Rights for all Migrant Workers and Their Families, the European Union Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and the 1977 European Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers. In the EU, upon ratification of these treaties, states agreed that in the area of human rights, jurisdiction passes to the realm of regional and international law, and states are expected to harmonize their domestic laws with those they are bound to by treaty. States are, however, allowed to opt out of agreements, and
they interpret how agreements are implemented within their territories. Velutti (2007) argues the EU governance tool kit relies on a mix of legal and policy institutions that are not clearly identified and may encounter conflicts between constitutionalism and governance.

The role of law is fundamental to the EU and is embedded in all treaties and agreements that bind member states. Until recently, the EU was primarily concerned with trade and the economy, but now social issues of importance in everyday life are receiving more attention. These issues include freedom, security and environmental protection, all of which are critical in efforts to make globalization work for everyone. The evolution of the EU is changing the political, economic and social landscape of the continent. As Europe struggles to manage its relatively new position as a community of nation-states, migration has become an important political issue in the region because of its electoral impacts. In many EU countries, the well-being of the country’s nationals is perceived to be threatened by the economic cost of migrants, particularly in light of the recent downturn in the global economy. In addition, law and order concerns and national security have become even more important politically since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in the United States and the recent arrest of terrorists in Ireland.

Immigration policies are generally driven by labor market necessity; however, asylum seekers, family reunification migrants, and undocumented immigrants are exceptions to market-driven policies. Governments face policy challenges that include managing immigration and integration in a changing environment where the economic situation is deteriorating and national anxiety is rising. At the same time, globalization increasingly pushes member states into an ever widening array of treaties, covenants, and
regional and international policies that sometimes undercut national sovereignty. Many scholars agree the increased flow of migrants highlights the need for a well-defined common migration policy at the EU level. They argue that in addition to dealing with legal economic migrants, policies should address the rights of asylum seekers, those seeking family reunification, and other third country nationals and undocumented immigrants. From a human rights perspective some scholars argue comprehensive policies should also address the criminal aspects of migration such as human trafficking and organized crime. At the present time, however, member state governments are reacting to an economic recession, and economic constraints at the national level may lessen the appetite for investing time and money addressing immigrant issues.

In principal, policies are intended to provide a favorable environment within which agreed upon goals can be achieved. In the EU policy-making involves negotiating and balancing the interests of conflicting states, and policy instruments vary depending on the issue. Theoretically, evaluating results should be straightforward if the participants have agreed on the expected outcomes, but without uniformity of standards, it is difficult to evaluate policy outcomes. In the EU context, social policy does not refer to health, housing, or social services usually associated with the welfare state, and how these issues are addressed within each member state depends on the political and economic climate in the state. Social policy at the EU level is limited to employment and migration, and although these areas also have variations from state to state, there is pressure to harmonize policies in order to protect states with higher standards from losing competitive advantage to states with lower standards. For some social issues, policies emanating from the EU could set clear guidelines; however, to be realistic, proposed
processes cannot be micromanaged from the EU level. The job of implementing
migration and integration policies falls to local authorities. Local agents manage housing
and labor market issues. They control access to health and social services, and they are
responsible for elevating integration issues to a broader national and EU policy-making
agenda. Issues in the labor market and education, including language training, require
local attention. Being located in the geographical areas where problems surface makes
local authorities better positioned to identify and target areas for improvement. Local
agents are responsible for the fair and equitable implementation of the rule of law
governing access to housing, the labor market, and welfare benefits. In the absence of a
perfect model, the EU as a community and its member states to varying degrees, strive to
accommodate the needs of the immigrants as well as the demands of the electorate. The
EU made headway in addressing gender equality in the Amsterdam treaty, which
included the principle of equal treatment regarding employment for women. It also
included an agreement to combat discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin, but
states have resisted external interference in these areas because they are important to the
electorate. Today in many states, people have become disillusioned with domestic
politics and resentful of increasing external influence in domestic affairs. As a result,
 attempts to harmonize migration and integration policies have major hurdles to
overcome.

Critical agreements influence migration policies in the EU. Among those of
influence are the Treaty of the European Union or Maastricht Treaty, the Amsterdam
Treaty, the Nice Treaty, the Schengen Agreements, and the various protocols that are
attached to the treaties. This body of treaties represents the constitutional instruments of
the EU. They establish the rules and facilitate judicial decisions that are binding on member states.

The treaties governing the EU have been amended over time to reflect changing conditions. The more significant of these include:

- **1957 Treaty of Rome**  Effective: January 1, 1958
- **1986 Single European Act**  Effective: July 1, 1987
- **1992 Treaty on European Union**  Effective: November 1, 1993
- **1997 Treaty of Amsterdam**  Effective: May 1, 1999
- **2001 Treaty of Nice**  Effective: February 1, 2003
- **2007 Treaty of Lisbon**  Effective: October 23, 2009

The Treaty of Rome and the Single European Act (SEA) were big building blocks in the construction of the EU that brought the original member states into a closer working arrangement and created a more effective governing model. The Treaty of Rome established the European Economic Community (EEC), which is also called the Common Market. The EEC established common external tariffs and common agricultural policies. These treaties incorporated advantages for each member state and strengthened community institutions and powers. The SEA committed members to creating a single market for goods, services, capital and labor. It emphasized centralization, provided for completion of a common market by 1992, and communitarized competencies in areas dealing with the environment, technology and social policy relating to employment.

The Maastricht Treaty establishing the EU was signed in February 1992 and implemented in November 1993. The preamble speaks of its intent to bring the peoples of Europe closer together, to confirm the solidarity which binds Europe. The treaty also
amended the Treaty of Rome to go beyond areas of trade and finance to include intergovernmental cooperation on issues of defense and justice. Sections of the treaty focus on social policy, education, vocational training and youth in an effort to promote employment and improve living and working conditions within the community. However, as became evident recently, some member states mismanaged monetary policy and ignored fiscal commitments to suit short-term electoral demands. If states ignore policies that protect the economic wellbeing of the country and its citizens, it is hard to believe immigration and integration policies will be high on the political agenda. As Tawney (1964) explains, in governance structures it is not a good recipe for enhancing the public’s wellbeing if power is divorced from responsibility.

The concept of citizenship in the EU where all nationals of member states also became citizens of the EU was introduced at Maastricht. The treaty gives every non-national citizen of the EU residing in a member state the right to vote and to stand as a candidate in municipal elections in the member state where he or she resides under the same conditions as nationals of that state. The treaty secures freedom of movement for workers within the community, and the abolishment of discriminatory practices based on nationality. It also secures freedom of establishment, including the right to pursue activities as self-employed persons. The treaty does not impact a member state’s responsibility to maintain law and order, and to safeguard internal security. One could argue this aspect of the treaty has the potential to allow law enforcement organizations to abuse their power at the expense of migrants. In the US, Arizona is a good example of this. While drug related organized crime is escalating in-state, would-be bus-boys and lawn maintenance workers from Mexico and Central America are also arriving, entering
the US illegally because legal paths are closed. Anyone familiar with immigrant aspirations could have predicted poor migrants seeking a fair day’s pay for a fair day’s work would attempt to enter the US by any means possible. In Arizona, powerful underworld crime organizations and poor illegal migrants are tragically painted with the same brush and illegal immigration is being politicized. A controversial new law giving police authority to stop people and ask for documentation ignores the fact that the hard-working migrants have not provoked a crime wave as some politicians and media pundits claim. The US has had a very long time to learn how to deal effectively with immigration, yet to date, politicians have not mastered the art of immigration management. Ireland is very new to the process and is less prepared to respond to citizen anxiety that comes with the inflow of migrants.

The Maastricht Treaty divided policy into three main areas called pillars. The first pillar, the Community Pillar, dealt with economic social and environmental concerns. The second pillar, the Common Foreign and Security Pillar, dealt with foreign policy. The treaty was one of the legal steps in the formation of a migration policy when a third pillar, dealing with Justice and Home Affairs was added to the existing pillar framework. The third pillar created an institutional structure under which cooperation on crime, terrorism and immigration would be coordinated.
Table 3.1

*European Union Pillar System*

<table>
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<th>Purpose:</th>
<th>First Pillar</th>
<th>Second Pillar</th>
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<tr>
<td>Purpose: European Community</td>
<td>Common Foreign and</td>
<td>Common Policies on:</td>
<td>Justice and Home Affairs</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Security Policy Area</td>
<td>Immigration/Asylum</td>
<td>Migration</td>
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<td>Coverage:</td>
<td>Economic Union</td>
<td>Human Rights</td>
<td>Democracy</td>
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<td>Environment</td>
<td>Common Policies on:</td>
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<td>Social Inclusion</td>
<td>Foreign Policy</td>
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<td>Education and Culture</td>
<td>European Security</td>
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A resolution reached by EU leaders at the Tampere meeting in 1999 aimed at developing a common asylum and immigration policy; however, efforts to reach consensus on a migration policy proved difficult. This may have been because development of a successful common immigration policy requires common policies dealing with settlement and integration for different classes of migrants, and how member states viewed the process of integration did not always coincide. Integration strategies in western democracies fall into two categories: Assimilation, where foreigners adhere to the customs, characteristics and culture of the host country; and Multiculturalism, where the different cultures of immigrants are recognized and accommodated. The EU strategy is to promote multiculturalism, but at the state level and
in Irish communities, adherence to long held traditions and core values seem to be the integration method of choice. A directive emerged from the Tampere session stipulating that when third country nationals are legally resident in a member state for an uninterrupted five year period, and are self-sufficient posing no threat to public security, they should be granted the same rights enjoyed by EU citizens. The directive concerning third country nationals who are long-term residents of a member state does not apply in the United Kingdom, Denmark, or Ireland.

The mid-1980s saw key changes in migration policies. Following the Tampere session some member states became frustrated with the lack of progress and took steps to abolish border controls between their territories. France and Germany concluded a bilateral agreement to this end. The Benelux countries joined France and Germany, and the five countries signed their first agreement in Schengen on June 14, 1985. A second more detailed convention was signed in Schengen on June 19, 1990. The Schengen Convention is an agreement which allows for the abolition of internal border controls without focus on social policy or employment. The Schengen countries have common rules regarding entry and short-term visas that are issued to students, seasonal workers, and vocational trainees. The agreement removes checks at common borders and allows people present in one participating country to travel to any other participating country without border checks. Separate conventions apply at airports within the Schengen area and arrangements for coordination between police, customs and the judiciary in participating states are included. Initially, fifteen states, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain and Sweden implemented the Schengen arrangements. By December 2007, the Czech
Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia had implemented the agreements. Ireland and the UK have agreed to cooperate on police and judicial aspects, but have opted out of the border control and visa provisions. The Schengen arrangements deal with travel within and between the participating states. They do not impact the rights of people to live and work in other countries. The Schengen Agreements had two primary goals; the first established controls around the external borders of the community and established rules to control immigration and asylum. The second goal was to combat cross border criminal activity including terrorism, human trafficking, drug trafficking, and fraud. Member states agreed that judicial, administrative, police and customs authorities would cooperate to secure the Schengen area. Although the EU maintains primacy on directives and regulations regarding the movement of people, member states exercise significant influence in how those directives and regulations are implemented in their territories. By 1991, there were calls for common rules and policies on migration, not just on border controls, but also on policies intended to increase social cohesion among member states. To date, however, most states have resisted all but the most general guidelines, the current climate economic considerations taking center stage.

The Treaty of Amsterdam in 1999 affirmed that the EU is “founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law.” It also laid the groundwork for enlarging the EU and set a date for adopting a single European currency. The treaty led to monetary union and included commitments to limit budget deficits and sovereign debt. The creation of a single currency in 1999 was a major achievement. Prior to that, people traveling across Europe
had to cope with border crossings and with currency fluctuations that had no standard value. The treaty attempted to provide within the EC framework, the ‘communitarisation’ of policies relating to migration and the free movement of people. Initially, member state governments failed to recognize the human dimensions of migration, treating people as components of the economic system. However, in the Amsterdam Treaty most of the relevant migration provisions were moved from the third pillar to the first pillar representing a major step toward integrating aspects of migration into the institutional framework of the EU. In accordance with the terms of the treaty, the EU gained primacy on immigration and asylum policy. To help further the development of a common policy along with the necessary enforcement tools, the Schengen arrangements were incorporated into the *acquis communitaire* of the Treaty of Amsterdam and became part of the legislative framework. Border control was thus transferred from most member states to the supranational level. A provision on social exclusion within the treaty meant that for the first time an explicit legal basis for EU action on issues of social exclusion was accepted by member states. In addition, small scale funding for innovative projects and information sharing regarding best practices dealing with social inclusion went into effect. An Employment Committee was established to monitor employment policies and promote coordination on labor market policies. The committee has as its objective, the promotion of employment, improved living conditions, proper social protection, dialogue between management and labor, and the development of human resources with a view to attaining lasting high employment and combating exclusion. The employment network consists of two members from each member state who monitor employment policies and promote coordination on labor market policies. In 2002, a network of national contact
points on integration was established to function as the national focal point for immigrants in each state. The main purpose again was to share information and communicate best practices. The principles put forth by the EU are designed to help immigrants overcome obstacles to integration. They include fundamental rights such as equal employment opportunities, integration into the education system, access to the institutions of the State, and easy access to citizenship and naturalization. The principles are admirable; however, progress on migration policy and legislation proceed at a slow pace. Only two important directives have emerged and both occurred in 2003, one dealing with family reunification, the other with long-term residents’ rights. Failure to adopt a European constitution has diminished the Union’s ability to develop an enforceable integration agenda

Parsons and Smeeding (2006) tell us that generally, migration and integration policies are long on rhetoric and short on effective implementation. Expectations of the development of a common migration policy within five years after the Amsterdam Treaty went into force in 1999 were not met. Although aspects of the Amsterdam Treaty address employment, member states continue to control the nature and extent of harmonization within their respective territories. As stated earlier, Ireland and the United Kingdom opted out of the Schengen arrangements in order to preserve the Common Travel Area existing between the two entities. Irish citizens and those in the UK have had the right to travel freely between the two jurisdictions since the 1950s. If Ireland adopted the Schengen arrangements and the UK did not, it would impose border controls between the two countries and between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. Such border controls would not be practical in a situation where the two societies are highly
integrated. Although Ireland opted out of aspects of the arrangements, the state agreed to participate in information sharing, and the Irish government promised to, “participate in EU measures to the maximum extent compatible with the maintenance of the Common Travel Area with the UK.”¹ MacEinri argues that adopting the Schengen arrangements in Ireland would have radical civil liberties implications, which would likely include more intensive policing and increased police powers. He suggests these measures could reinforce marginalization of immigrants. That may be the case, however, the agreement reached with Ireland and the UK allows the two countries to opt out of any subsequent legislation in the area of migration. After coming into force, the Amsterdam Treaty expanded the scope of the EU to include a single currency, cooperation on human rights and the environment, and on space exploration. A common foreign and security policy, and a rapid reaction force to respond to humanitarian and peace keeping crisis were also included. This treaty created a multifaceted organization much bigger than the original economic entity.

Following their emergence from Soviet domination, Eastern European states sought accession to the EU. The 2000 EU Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) held in Nice prepared for the largest expansion of the EU by renegotiating the make-up of the institutions by reaching an agreement on voting procedures for a much larger number of member states. The planned expansion was the largest in terms of people and territory. The less developed nature of the new member states was a concern to older members who feared an influx of immigrants among other concerns. The generous financial aid

received by some older members would now have to be shared with ten new states in order to enable them to modernize their economies. Anxiety arose over the likely impact of expansion centered on Eastern European workers of all skill levels who were willing to migrate and work for lower wages than their native counterparts. Under the rules for amending any EU treaty, a new treaty must be drawn up and must be ratified by all member states before it can go into force. A 1987 decision by the Irish Supreme Court mandated that international treaties that conflict with the Irish Constitution require the approval of the people and must be put to public vote. Initially, the Treaty of Nice was ratified by parliamentary procedure in all member states except Ireland. At the time of the Nice Treaty referendum, the Irish people worried about the treaty’s impact on smaller states, they were concerned about how the treaty might impact Irish military neutrality. Fear of job competition with cheap immigrant workers fueled anti-immigrant sentiment prior to the Irish referendum on the Nice Treaty in 2001. The situation was aggravated by political rhetoric from anti-Nice politicians and the labor unions regarding nationalism and protectionism. A number of reports in the media prior to the enlargement forecasted mass immigration and was, along with protectionist propaganda, responsible for the defeat of the initial ‘Nice’ referendum in Ireland. Some authors note that increased nationalism and xenophobia usually surface and are warning signs that typically precede a rejection of globalization or of deeper integration of immigrants. Following defeat, the Irish government sought and obtained a confirmation that the sanctity of Ireland’s policy of military neutrality would be recognized. Having addressed the neutrality issue, a massive campaign by the pro-treaty politicians and economists led to a second referendum on the Nice Treaty which resulted in a yes vote.
Following ratification of the Nice Treaty, EU attempts to liberalize internal border mobility were happening concurrently with reluctance on the part of many states to accept less-skilled workers from the new member states. In 2004, only three of the older fifteen states, Ireland, the UK and Denmark, opened up their labor markets to Eastern European migrants. Not all Irish people were enthused with that decision. When the Celtic Tiger was flourishing, the advantages of globalization and of EU membership overshadowed the downside of events that were occurring in Ireland, so complaints were seldom heard. However, as time passed and what were perceived as downsides became more apparent, enthusiasm for global integration waned. Clinch et al. (2002) tell us that in 1972 when Ireland voted on joining the EEC, 71% of the voters turned out to vote. Of those, 83% voted yes, which means that 59% of those who were eligible to vote approved. By June 2001 when the first referendum on the Nice Treaty was rejected only 35% of the voters turned out and only 46% of them voted yes, meaning that the proportion of eligible voters who voted yes was only 16%.

In December 2001, the Laeken Declaration, named after a Brussels suburb, committed to improving EU transparency and efficiency, and set out a process to produce a Constitution for the EU. The proposed Constitution was approved and signed by twenty-five member state representatives in Rome on October 29, 2004. However, in the 2005 referenda of several member states, the Constitution was rejected. Because of the required unanimity to amend Constitutional treaties, the proposal never went into force, and by June 2007, when agreement could not be reached, a Reform Treaty took its place. The reform treaty aimed to streamline decision-making in the twenty-seven country bloc and dealt with eliminating the pillar system, reducing the number of
commissioners, and creating a position of President that would operate on a thirty month rotating basis rather than the existing six month term. A proposed new position of Foreign Affairs was expected to present a unified EU position on policies. The treaty would also make the Charter on Human Rights legally binding. The treaty was finally signed by heads of government on December 13, 2007, in Lisbon, and as with previous treaties, took the title Lisbon Treaty. Like all other EU treaties the Lisbon Treaty is not an autonomous text. It is comprised of a number of amendments to earlier treaties. The treaty was planned to be ratified by member states by year end 2008; however, the treaty was rejected by some member states and by the Irish electorate. This occurred even though the Irish government was strongly behind the treaty and business organizations including labor unions also supported a ‘Yes’ campaign. In light of the economic recession, Ireland’s initial rejection of the Lisbon Treaty may confirm the argument that, “Vulnerability finds expression in disillusion with politics and the political process” (Clinch et al., 2002: p. 53). Sixteen months after rejecting the Lisbon Treaty, the BBC news reported 67% of Irish people had endorsed the treaty the second time around even though the economy had not improved. This turnaround may prove Tawney’s point that, “A government may temporarily secure the support of the majority of the nation by success in diverting attention from the nightmare” (1964, p. 210). EU treaties require unanimous ratification from all twenty-seven member states. Ireland is the only country that must ratify by popular vote. All other countries approve the treaties through their parliaments.

In 2007, the EU put forward two proposals aimed at harmonizing conditions of entry and residence for highly skilled third-country nationals. The first proposal,
Commission (COM) (2007) 637 sought to improve the image of the EU as an attractive destination for qualified non-EU nationals, a fast-track procedure for the admission of workers meeting professional qualifications. Many member states encourage highly skilled individuals, and the methods they use to accomplish this vary widely. The proposal established a framework for the development of common procedures and criteria to attract such individuals. To be eligible, the person has to earn at least three times the minimum wage in the host country, although as usual, there are exceptions to the rule and member states control the number of those admitted. The proposal provides a Blue Card permit that authorizes the carrier access to the labor market and allows residence. The Blue Card entitles the bearer to a series of rights regarding education, housing, social security, and social assistance, including favorable conditions for family reunification. The Card also allows a bearer to move to another member state after two years of legal residence for purposes of employment. The second proposal, COM (2007) 638 introduced a single application procedure for third country nationals seeking work in member states. This proposal aimed to simplify the process by creating a ‘one stop shop’ system that provided safeguards while the application is being processed. A second element provides certain rights for third country nationals legally working in a member state. These rights are broadly based on the rights of nationals although with some restrictions and encompass: working conditions, trade union rights, education and vocational training, some social security provisions, and access to public goods and services, including housing and employment.

The challenges posed by immigration at the EU level are complex and difficult to resolve because they include economic, social, political and cultural issues, which
directly impact member state governments and member state nationals. In the EU, the principle of “subsidiarity” means that policy is made at the most relevant level of administration, so states maintain responsibility for social inclusion, integration and the eradication of poverty within their territories. Managing immigration and integration while experiencing economic upheaval and national anxiety present policy challenges for EU countries and the EU coordinates activities in these areas through a “soft regulation” approach called Open Method of Coordination (OMC). OMC emerged as a mechanism to improve the efficiency of the labor market by providing equal opportunities for employment in all member states. OMC was explicitly identified as a form of governance at the Lisbon Summit. The goal was to enable the EU to become the most competitive, dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world. To achieve this goal, member states would have to be capable of sustaining economic growth by investing in better job opportunities and greater social inclusion. OMC has been described as a mechanism to help spread better practices across member states, and is used where coordination of EU policy is desirable, but where EU regulation is not appropriate. The process method was expected to include: guidelines and recommendations, participation from varying levels of government, agreement on policy goals, multilateral monitoring of progress, and annual assessments and benchmarking.

Procedurally, OMC is about setting broad objectives and guidelines for each sector of intervention, translating those objectives into national plans. The high level goals speak of a social model that will eradicate poverty and protect the environment. Based on these guidelines, member states develop National Action Plans (NAPs) outlining how they plan to facilitate participation in employment, social inclusion, and
how to ensure all people within their territory have access to their rights and to all available resources. The approach is based on voluntary cooperation of member states. OMC does not impose explicit obligations. In the event of deviation from guidelines, a non-binding recommendation against the errant state must rely on peer pressure from other states to urge compliance. In essence, where the EU lacks the power to intervene directly, member states agree to cooperate voluntarily and to apply best practices from other states to their own national circumstance (Ferrera in Giddens et al., 2006). Velluti calls the program a “concerted action based on exchange of information and benchmarking with non-binding guidelines as a complement to existing legislation” (2007, p. 76). Peer pressure and a ‘name and shame’ tactic were intended to promote cooperation and adherence. Velluti (2007) argues that OMC can be used effectively to develop a comprehensive migration policy focusing on human rights and the democratic deficit in situations where the limitations of soft law can be overcome. She explains that the exchange of information on policies and practices between member states will lead to the development of common principles. On the other hand, this form of governance where there are no controls or sanctions could be perceived as a move away from uniform standards that protect the less privileged in society. According to Giddens (2007), results have fallen short of expectations; however, since there are no common indicators or common reporting, the success of the OMC initiative is hard to measure.

One of the aims of OMC is to involve social partners such as NGOs, Labor Unions, and migrant organizations to further define success in the realm of integration. Some areas covered by OMC include participation by social partners, but others are closed and controlled by government agents. Understanding and accepting how other
states behave may help institutionalize best practices, but without the power to sanction those who do not comply, the best outcome will see member states inching their way toward common goals while adamantly protecting national sovereignty. Economic stability and robust employment are important to national governments. If adhering to OMC guidelines has a negative impact on national budgets, the tendency will be to ignore the guidelines. The lack of binding legal authority and formal sanctions is perhaps the gravest weakness in OMC because states can ignore guidelines with impunity. It is broadly accepted that if governments place more emphasis on human rights and freedoms, OMC responses to the challenges of integration might allow migrants to lead fulfilling lives in a host community. If, on the other hand, migration is considered a consequence of the demands of global corporations when the economy is flourishing, it may be difficult to implement integration policies in a struggling economy. In the absence of a legislative package to compliment the ‘soft power’ of OMC, one could argue national governments will opt to improve their monetary bottom line at the expense of OMC goals. Managing integration is a challenging task. Article 63 of the treaty establishing the European Community ensures economic, social and political participation for immigrants; however, without common definitions, countries in the community, to a greater or lesser degree, will avoid the soft power of the “name and shame” game embedded in OMC. What was once touted as a cross-national learning process is now inhibited by economic factors and by localization of responsibility for implementation. As economies weaken and member states guard their sovereign rights in this area, consistent common policies are increasingly more important and increasingly more difficult to attain.
In the EU, the current legal framework dealing with migration law is fragmented, and integration in the framework deals mainly with interstate movement of member state nationals and their families to other member states. Third country nationals who fall under the scope of European Union agreements, and who have special links to the community are included in the framework. How the European Union migration policy developed may be a consequence of growing pains as the Union expanded and the diverse policies dealing with migration that preexisted in member states. Papagiannie (2006) argues that traditionally, migration policy has been viewed through the lens of other European Union policy objectives, and not as a policy in its own right. In 2008 as the global economy struggled, the EU attempted to construct a border-free community of member states while national governments looked inward to protect their political positions as anti-immigrant sentiment grew among the electorate. Some students of contemporary Europe might suggest that the long established political, economic and social relationships between states is evolving toward a new society; however, in the current economic environment there is little agreement on how successful and how cooperative interstate relationships in the EU really are.

Policies and Governance: A National Perspective

Immigration is a new dimension in the Irish experience. Known historically for its high emigration rates, during the 1990s, Ireland became an attractive country for immigrants. In Ireland, the term immigrant refers to a person who comes to the country for longer than a short visit. The 2006 census reported 275,775 people with EU nationality were living in Ireland, and in September 2007, the Christian Science Monitor
reported Ireland was faced with integrating migrants from 150 different countries into Irish society. Economic expansion and immigration over the decade starting in the mid-1990s brought ethnic minority groups to an area that was, until recently, white, monocultural, and religiously and socially conservative. Immigration changed Irish society. A strong economy and a good reputation regarding the school system and social services drew immigrants from less fortunate areas of the world. Contemporary globalization and migration have profoundly transformed Ireland over the past several years and are increasingly becoming contentious issues in public discourse though the effects of migration on Irish society are not always clear due to a lack of clear-cut, uniform policies dealing with immigration and integration. It may also be that the costs and benefits, explicit or hidden, connected with migration are not clear, or it may be as Allen (2007) says it’s due to Ireland’s labor system having developed in an ad hoc fashion.

Irish responses to migration and integration are primarily concerned with citizenship and rights. The legal system of nation-states distinguishes between citizen and non-citizen, and administrative agencies determine entitlements based on those classifications. Citizenship becomes the umbrella that protects the ‘national’ community. Citizenship laws define the terms under which people belong to a political community. They allocate benefits to members and exclude those who do not belong. In Ireland, the debate on migration, integration and social inclusion is tied to the paradigm of citizenship. Immigration first became regulated by the Aliens Restriction Act of 1914 which formed the basis for the Aliens Act of 1935, which, in turn, gave the government discretionary power to deport individual aliens or categories of aliens. Although Ireland ratified the 1951 UN convention on the status of refugees in 1956, no legal or
administrative infrastructure was put in place to satisfy the country’s obligations until the mid-1990s. In Ireland, the benefits of successfully integrating migrants into Irish society have proved difficult to sell politically. Personal preferences play a role in perceptions of whether or not migration is a good thing. In developed countries including Ireland, there is a simplistic assumption that liberal-minded people think migration is always a good thing, and more xenophobic conservatives think migration is always a bad thing.

In Ireland, the Department of Justice, Equality and Law (formerly the Department of Justice) has primary responsibility for developing and controlling immigration policy at the state level and for Ireland’s contribution on migration issues in the EU. The Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment along with the Department of Foreign Affairs are key participants in the operational aspects of immigration policy. Ireland experienced difficulty developing effective policies for immigration and integration for many reasons. The rapid pace of change since the mid-1990s when combined with limited experience in dealing with immigrant inflows brought challenges as government agents attempted to formalize appropriate policies. Until recently, immigration policies in Ireland focused on how many and what kinds of migrants entered the country. In EU member states, all citizens and those in the European Economic Area (EEA) are entitled to unrestricted access to a residence and employment, and many economic immigrants from other member states are now living in Ireland. Non-EU/EEA citizens including labor migrants and their families, students and asylum seekers who reside in Ireland enter the country through various mechanisms. At the present time, there are five categories of migrants seeking to enter Ireland: students, legal economic immigrants, asylum seekers, refugee family reunification migrants, and undocumented immigrants.
Students from non-EU countries are permitted to study in Ireland, and in 2005, approximately 28,000 students were registered. Students must be full-time participants in a recognized program and must pay for their education. They are allowed to work on a part-time basis while they attend school.

Ireland has two policies regarding economic immigrants. The first is unlimited access, an open door policy that applies to all EU member state and EEA nationals who are entitled to unrestricted access to live in Ireland for the purposes of employment. The second policy provides limited entry for non-EU nationals based on the needs of employers. In this case, a migrant requires a renewable work permit. The goal of the work permit policy is intended to match the needs of employers with the inflow of skilled workers from non-EEA countries while protecting the rights of indigenous workers. The work permit system causes a good deal of insecurity on the part of the non-EU migrant because renewal is at the discretion of the employer. Migrants in Ireland on a working permit do not enjoy the same mobility as migrants from other EU Member States. They are effectively tied to one employer for one year and must get permission from that employer if they wish to obtain a permit to work at another job. Getting a new permit can take up to twelve weeks, and employers can inhibit a migrant’s ability to accept a better job. The work permit policy has attracted workers from as far away as India, China and South America. In March 2006, Ireland’s National Television and Radio Broadcast RTÉ News warned of a serious weakness in how immigration is managed in Ireland. The report stated that 750,000 work permits had been issued to migrant workers in the prior five years, but the government did not know how many of these workers stayed, or how many family members had joined them. Ireland currently processes separate permits for
residence and for access to employment. Each area is handled by a different department of government. The RTÉ report blamed the lack of credible data coming from computer systems in each of the four departments that collect data on immigration. The computer systems are incompatible with each other, which makes it difficult to establish a single database.

Other categories of immigrants are also vulnerable to discrimination and exploitation. Undocumented immigrants are not authorized to work in Ireland under any circumstances. The Employment Act of 2003 makes it illegal for anyone in Ireland to hire a non-Irish national who does not have the appropriate documentation; however, as is the case in many Western countries, acquiring the necessary papers can be a daunting task. Some people have become undocumented because their temporary permits expired. Others may be victims of exploitation or human trafficking who do not approach government agents because their fear of imprisonment or deportation is a powerful deterrent.

Asylum seekers enter Ireland under the protection of the Refugee Act of 1996, and they may be the most vulnerable category of migrant. According to the act, a refugee is “[e]ntitled to seek and enter employment to carry on any business trade and profession and to have access to education and training in the state as well as to receive the same social welfare benefits as those to which Irish citizens are entitled.” Under the Refugee Act of 1996, those who have been granted refugee status in Ireland, have a legal right to have their spouse and any unmarried children under the age of eighteen live with them in

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Ireland. Refugees and asylum seekers are usually third country nationals, and because they must rely on government payments and accommodation, they are susceptible to high levels of poverty and social exclusion. In 2002, Direct Provision, a separate welfare system for asylum seekers, was introduced and removed entitlement to universal social assistance provided by the Irish Health Board. Weekly rates of payment for migrants in this situation are much less than for other migrant categories. To make the situation even worse, radicalized claims depicting asylum seekers as ‘baby tourists’ led to passage of a referendum in 2004 narrowing the definition of citizen. The specific baby tourists accused of exploiting the Irish Health Services were black Africans. Allen (2007) argues that their exclusion from economic and social rights can be described as racism. Fanning (2002) agrees, stating that historically, racism has always been an attribute of ‘Irishness.’ All EU member states are bound by the Geneva Convention of 1951, the UN Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and by the amendments of 1967, which allow a refugee to remain in the country while the application is being processed. Since 2000, those who are granted refugee status in Ireland are given a twelve-month residence permit which may or may not be renewed.

Under the EU treaties, the principle of free movement for workers was developed with the expectation that each member state would ensure the rights of workers within their borders. However, in the EU, there seems to be a general tendency to presume that nationals take priority over foreigners. Over the past several years, the Irish economy became highly dependent on migrants and although the migrants are usually young and willing to work hard, many Irish nationals consider them as mere cogs in the economic system. Because of this, migrants are often deprived of adequate security regarding
employment, housing and education. Responses to globalization in Ireland have been
described by Roche and Cradden (2003) as a form of corporatism that favors capitalism
and competition over social considerations. The majority of political agents in Ireland
accept the economic benefits that come with the immigrants. Paul Coghlan, a Fine Gael
spokesperson, noted in 2005 that Ireland would need to import skills to ensure the
country remained a world-class player. Many politicians in Ireland align themselves with
business executives to promote a low business tax rate for local industry and to attract
foreign direct investment, which, in turn, is supposed to trickle down to the less affluent.
Immigration has been a major driver of economic growth in Ireland, but many of the jobs
that were created were not high quality, and the associated wages and working conditions
were not attractive.

A long period of successful economic growth helped to minimize the social
implications of migration. However, now that Ireland like other countries is experiencing
an economic downturn, the positive or passive acceptance of immigrants may be
changing. One can envision the worsening economic climate will have a negative impact
on integrating immigrants in Irish society. The economic downturn is impacting Ireland
more severely than many other EU country. In a Wall Street Journal article on June 25,
2009, Quentin Fottrell reported that according to the IMF, Ireland is facing the worst
recession in the developed world and the country’s worst economic situation since 1933.
According the Social Research Institute, consumer confidence has been badly shaken and
there is evidence some Irish people are responding to the situation in ways that hurt the
economy even further. As most people are aware, politically, the island of Ireland is
made up of two entities. The Republic of Ireland, usually called Ireland is a member of
the Euro Zone. Northern Ireland, which is part of Britain has the British pound as the national currency. In Ireland, when jobs were more secure and salaries were high, the costs of goods and services didn’t prevent shoppers from spending in their own country. A deepening recession when combined with a weaker British pound, lower wages, and a lower tax rate in Northern Ireland have made shopping north of the border an attractive option for Irish shoppers. Buses full of shoppers arrive to shop in towns north of the border daily. To counteract this, retailers in the south are cutting prices, which, although it is welcomed by consumers, will eventually result in a negative impact on wages and employment.

As is the case in many developed countries, politicians in Ireland walk a fine line between encouraging immigration and satisfying the electorate. It is interesting to note that during the 2007 general election, immigration was not considered a big issue. From a political standpoint it seems there was little to be gained by politicizing the issue although in political debates the Fine Gael party did raise increases in crime and driving offenses as issues needing attention. They also drew attention to the impact immigrants had on healthcare, education and public services. In the run up to the elections, Labor Unions argued that Irish workers were being displaced by immigrant ‘cheap labor.’ The Irish Times quoted Pat Rabbitte, the leader of the Labor Party, as saying that Bertie Ahern, the head of the government, had given an Irish Ferries company 4.3 million euros to replace Irish workers with workers that were willing to work for less. As we know, political criticism by one political party during the run-up to an election is designed to undermine the credibility of the other(s). The Irish Ferries Case, as it has come to be called, is described by Doyle et al. (2006) and shows how, when bad business practices prevail,
migrants can be employed on unacceptable terms and conditions that bypass legislation and ignore policies intended to protect the weak in society.

A case in point: In September 2005, management of a company operating ferry services between Ireland, the UK and France announced that it planned to offer redundancy terms to 543 seafarers and to replace them with agency workers mainly from Latvia who would be paid 3.6 euros an hour, less that half the minimum wage. The company planned to re-register its vessels in Cyprus, and justified the action on the grounds most of its competitors were using agency crews rather than directly employing seafarers. The Irish government could not prevent the company from re-registering in Cyprus to avoid Irish labor laws. Many of the Service, Industrial, Professional Technical Union (SIPTU) seafarers reacted in November by occupying one of the company’s ships while it was docked in Wales. There was considerable public support in Ireland, the UK and France for the seafarers. It culminated in December 2005 with the biggest national demonstration seen in Ireland in thirty years. In addition to supporting the seafarers, the demonstrations demanded that foreign nationals employed in Ireland should be paid the collectively agreed rate of pay for the job. Irish Ferries eventually entered into negotiations with SIPTU. A compromise settlement was reached under which the company could proceed with the plan to re-register its vessels in Cyprus, but agreed to pay its agency workers the minimum wage of 7.65 euros an hour (Doyle et al 2006)

When examining migration, it is important to differentiate between immigration and integration. Integration is a vital component of a migration strategy. It has been defined as a three-way process that places obligations on migrants, on the host community, and on the state. In 2002, however, an Irish attitudinal study showed that
nationals believe immigrants abuse the social welfare system, increase unemployment, and hinder the education system. Even as some Irish people try to control immigration and curtail migrant rights, others in NGOs and the court system defend immigrant rights as they seek residence and employment. Some advocate integration, not only in employment, but also in the social and cultural sense. A Think Tank for Action on Social Change (TASC) completed a comprehensive audit of democracy in Ireland in 2007. The group’s director, Paula Clancy maintains that the lack of data makes it difficult to evaluate the government’s efforts to integrate immigrants. According to the report, although Ireland was one of the wealthiest societies in the world, it may also be one of the most unequal. Public spending declined as a percentage of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and spending on social protection was low when compared to other EU member states. According to the FAS Quarterly Labor Market Commentary, First Quarter 2007, migrants accounted for 11% of the Irish labor force, and although they contribute to Ireland’s economic success, they face challenges preventing them from becoming full members of an inclusive society.

In Ireland, some interest groups are perceived to have privileged access to government policy decision-making. In the past, the Catholic Church influenced members at the highest level of government to support a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion and divorce. More recently, other organizations have gained influence. Murphy (2006) argues that policy suggestions are selectively amplified to promote market liberalism and competition. The Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI), a small but powerful voice in Irish politics, advocates market driven initiatives. FAS, a government agency established in 1987, gained autonomy in policy-making and
became independent of the Department of Labor, the ministry responsible for overseeing the agency. FAS was perceived to enhance Ireland’s prestige in the EU, and as such, garnered credit for the many market and labor achievements that came with economic success. According to Boyle (2005), the Irish government leveraged FAS as an all-purpose solution for many of the problems that surfaced. Boyle refers to FAS as a “Swiss army knife,” a tool that can perform many tasks, but does not necessarily do any of them well. Even so, the agency wielded influence in policy decision-making until the scandals broke. On November 23, 2008, *The Sunday Independent* exposed a waste of taxpayer money by the agency. Foreign junkets for officials and their wives included first-class airfare, four-star hotels, gourmet meals, and rounds of golf. The FAS scandal generated public anger which escalated to outrage when it was learned that the General Manager who was forced to resign was leaving with a golden parachute valued at 1.4 million euros. In Ireland, as in many other places, some special interest group leaders fulfill the adage that power corrupts.

The migrant population in Ireland is diverse, and the status of a migrant at the time of entry impacts the opportunities available in employment, and consequently, in other aspects of social well-being. Skilled workers, many of whom are recruited for specific jobs, fare much better than those who come to Ireland without the promise of a job. Some people argue that if Ireland is to remain competitive, immigration policies must promote integration of foreign nationals, and policies must include right of access to education, which, in turn, will lead to employment. Unfortunately, at the current time, immigration into Ireland is being presented as a law-and-order and national security issue. When national policies promoting education are bogged down in disagreements...
and bureaucracy, it creates frustration among migrants and nationals. Other policies have a dampening effect on integration. Since 2004, when Habitual Residence Conditions were introduced, EU/EEA workers had to reside in Ireland for two years before they could access some forms of social welfare. That same year a *jus soli* constitutional right to citizenship for Irish born children of immigrants was removed by popular vote. Rumors and media coverage claimed many pregnant asylum seekers were arriving in Ireland so their children could be born there, which increased hostility toward asylum seekers and their Irish born children. This, at least in part, led Irish citizens to vote in favor of removing loopholes in the constitution allowing anyone born in Ireland the right to Irish citizenship. The 2004 referendum was passed by more than 80% of the Irish voters. This was considered one of the most significant events in the politics of immigration in the Republic of Ireland (Fanning & Mutwarasibo, 2004). The removal of automatic citizenship to those born in Ireland is even more controversial given that citizenship based on bloodline will remain. People whose grandparents were born in Ireland and have no other connection to the country are entitled to citizenship based on bloodline. Children of immigrant parents who are born in Ireland are no longer entitled to citizenship. The current policy prioritizes biological lineage and appears to foster exclusionary practices. MacEinri (2006) argues that Irish people ignore the contradiction between their rights to live fulfilling lives as immigrants in other countries, and the rights of immigrants to live the same way when they come to Ireland. In the current economic environment, a climate of fear has left Irish people feeling vulnerable. It may be that as the economy weakens further, the numbers and types of immigrants that are deemed undesirable will increase.
The Irish government does not appear to have established a viable economic case for immigration or integration, one the electorate can understand and buy into. Even in a depressed economy, there is space in society for immigrants to help run the engine that keeps a modern nation functioning. Some people believe the anti-immigrant arguments that focus on job loss, wage depression, and loss of social benefits. Others worry about the people who arrive in Ireland seeking sanctuary only to be arrested for crimes that threaten the well-being of citizens. Peter Lindert, author of *Social Spending and Economic Growth Since the 18th Century* argues that political tensions regarding society’s unwillingness to pay increased taxes, and objections to government spending for social services are based on a false premise that immigrants diminish native access to social benefits. In an uneasy economic climate, regardless of evidence that immigrants help the economy, many indigenous people will resist them and governments will react by cracking down on immigration. When migration is set in the context of economic upheaval and a weak job market, the self-reliance that arises from economic participation by migrants will be ignored, and the springboard for societal integration that economic participation brings will be lost. Being an isolated foreigner in a new place can be dispiriting, but if the state’s policies and agencies encourage foreigners to become integrated economically and socially, then all members of a local society will benefit.

Looking more closely at the issues leads the discussion to globalization and immigration in the Irish context.
CHAPTER 4

THE AREA UNDER STUDY: LOCATION AND CONTEXT

Ireland, a small island located in the extreme northwest of the European continent is politically partitioned. The Republic of Ireland holds sovereignty over twenty-six counties, and the United Kingdom is sovereign over the remaining six counties which constitute Northern Ireland. This arrangement was introduced under the Government of Ireland Act in 1920, establishing the Irish Free State which later became the Republic of Ireland. The island is surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean on the north, west and south, and by the Irish Sea on the east. The island has a total area of roughly 32,500 square miles of which the Republic occupies just over 27,000 square miles. The maximum length of the island is almost three hundred miles, and at its widest point is a little over one hundred and seventy miles. The coastline measures approximately 1740 miles. The center of the island is fairly flat but is surrounded with mountains along most of the coastline. However, although County Monaghan where the research will take place is located inland, it is called the “County of Little Hills.”

Compared to other countries in Europe, Ireland is sparsely populated. The twenty-six counties in the Republic are unequal in terms of size and population. The larger counties lie toward the west, and although the eastern counties are smaller, they have substantially larger populations. Apart from the city of Dublin, the northeastern region has the highest population density in the country.
Ireland has four seasons, but the Gulf Stream keeps temperatures mild throughout the year despite its northerly geographic location, and generous amounts of ‘gentle’ rain keep the landscape green all year. A few consecutive summer days where the temperature reaches the mid-seventies (F) is considered a heat-wave, and an inch of snowfall in winter is a remarkable event. There are, of course, exceptions to normal weather conditions. Some older people still talk about the Blizzard of 1947 that brought the country to a standstill. December of 2009 was the coldest in sixty years and will no doubt make it to the ‘remarkable’ category in future weather related conversations.

In 1841, Ireland had a population of 6,528,770, the majority of whom resided in rural areas and worked in agriculture. Famine and emigration reduced that number, and many of the people who remained moved from the countryside to urban areas in search of work. Just a few decades ago, the country was an isolated economic failure that had missed out on the industrial revolution, but today, Ireland has a modern trade-dependent economy. Growth in the industrial sector along with improvements in education and transportation made urban living more attractive and more lucrative than mere survival on small farms. Agriculture, which was once the most important economic sector, has been dwarfed by industry and the service sector. By the year 1966, more than 50% of Ireland’s recorded population was resident in urban areas. The social and physical changes that have occurred in Ireland are reflected in the statistics regarding potato farming, which has long been regarded as a country staple. The Central Statistics Office (CSO) reports that in 1846, 656,014 hectares¹ of land were dedicated to potato farming. In 1847, as a result of a blight and subsequent emigration, the figure dropped to 89,000.

¹ One hectare equals 2471 acres.
By 1927 prospects for potato farmers had improved, and 150,000 hectares were dedicated to potatoes. By 2006, as the Irish economy prospered in other areas, the number of hectares of potatoes declined to only about 12,000. A review of recent employment trends between 1998 and 2006 demonstrates the move away from agriculture and manufacturing, and shows the largest increase in employment occurring in the construction sector.

Table 4.1

*Employment Trends by Sector 1998-2006 (in thousands)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>1998</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>% Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing</td>
<td>136.0</td>
<td>122.5</td>
<td>114.5</td>
<td>-15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production Industries</td>
<td>302.4</td>
<td>318.1</td>
<td>288.5</td>
<td>-4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>126.1</td>
<td>180.0</td>
<td>262.7</td>
<td>+108.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale &amp; Retail trade</td>
<td>211.1</td>
<td>247.8</td>
<td>284.4</td>
<td>+34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels &amp; Restaurants</td>
<td>97.8</td>
<td>103.8</td>
<td>116.3</td>
<td>+18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation &amp; Communications</td>
<td>87.0</td>
<td>111.1</td>
<td>120.7</td>
<td>+38.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial &amp; other business services</td>
<td>171.1</td>
<td>217.1</td>
<td>267.3</td>
<td>+56.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Administration and Defense</td>
<td>70.9</td>
<td>81.3</td>
<td>105.1</td>
<td>+48.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>93.3</td>
<td>103.8</td>
<td>135.6</td>
<td>+45.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>113.9</td>
<td>144.0</td>
<td>201.2</td>
<td>+76.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>84.5</td>
<td>92.4</td>
<td>120.6</td>
<td>+42.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although there are fifteen airports in the Republic of Ireland, only three, Dublin, Cork and Shannon are substantial in size, and Dublin is the most important in terms of size and activity. The primary Irish carriers are Aer Lingus, the country’s flagship carrier, which was privatized in 2006, and Ryan Air, a no-frills budget airline. Beginning in 1974, upgrades to Ireland’s internal transportation systems got underway, and, as a result, some regional and commuter rail and bus lines are efficient, particularly those servicing major cities and larger towns. Many road construction projects were initiated to cope with the increase in the number of cars and roadways, which, in sections of the country, have undergone major improvements. The telecommunications industry was deregulated, and a 2008 investment of 300 million euros in the broadband infrastructure will eventually allow every household access to broadband at prices less than the average in OECD countries. There are over sixty credit institutions incorporated in Ireland, and the International Financial Services Center (IFSC) services retail and corporate customers throughout the EU. The IFSC, established in 1987, is a central hub specializing in corporate treasury fund administration, asset financing, insurance and banking.

As Ireland became a participant in a globalized economy, many aspects of Irish life changed. The period between the mid-1980s to the mid-2000s brought immense changes to the Irish economy and society. The make-up of the population and the labor force changed, and employment and living conditions rose dramatically. The most significant changes occurred in the political sphere, the role of the Church, the demographic makeup of the population, and the physical landscape. The country went from being a low-income land of emigration, to a high-income, high-spending land of immigration. Joining the EU opened markets and brought an enormous amount of money
in the form of structural funds. Between 1994 and 1996, Ireland received 7.2 billion pounds from the EU. Leveraging this transfer of funds, the government focused on developing and promoting a market driven economy, and on establishing policies that helped attract foreign direct investment. Kirby (2008) tells us that in 1983 there were close to one thousand foreign companies operating in Ireland, half of which were from the US. EU funding and foreign investment also brought opportunities for political corruption that reached a level never before seen in Ireland. Prosperity added diversity to the population as a significant number of migrants came to Ireland during the construction industry boom. The CSO indicates one hundred eighty-eight countries are represented in the non-Irish population; however, 82% of immigrants come from only ten countries, mainly other EU countries. As the economic crisis forces changes in communities, trust and faith in those with power has seriously deteriorated. The exalted position of the Roman Catholic Church has eroded. Many younger people rejected the sanctification of deprivation promoted by the founding fathers and recent scandals involving priests and Church officials have exacerbated the situation. Evidence of political corruption even at the highest levels has led to voter apathy, and migrants are no longer considered a benefit to the country.

The Political Landscape

Ireland is a republic with an independent judiciary and free press. People elect a president, MEPs,2 TDs,3 and they vote on any EU treaty that might interfere with, or

2 An MEP is a member of the European Parliament.
3 A TD or ‘Teachta Dala’ is a member of the lower chamber of the Irish Parliament.
change the Irish constitution. Ireland is a Welfare State although Kirby (2002) argues that in recent years the title “Competition State” is a more accurate characterization. Taxation and welfare systems are the main instruments through which the government seeks to redistribute wealth and income. Public health service provides free care for low-wage earners and subsidizes coverage for other citizens. Unemployment benefits, minimum wage, and retirement benefits are high by comparison with other developed states.

Beginning in the 1960s, the Irish government implemented elements necessary for the country to be economically successful. Over the past thirty years, Irish society became prosperous, sophisticated, well-informed, and outward looking. The education system is rated among the highest in OECD member states. Free tuition for education exists at all levels for all EU citizens; however, because of the current economic situation, there is concern tuition fees, which were abolished in the 1960s, could be reinstated. Text books and housing accommodations for students attending a university are high-cost items especially in Dublin. In 1998, over 42% of the population aged between twenty-five and thirty-four had completed third-level education, and according to the CSO, Irish literacy is at 99%. A young educated English speaking work force and an attractive industrial policy made Ireland a gateway for US companies wishing to access EU markets. Some argue that efforts to improve the educational system reflect the relationship between the competition state and the market.

Smyth and Hannan (2000) point out that in Ireland educational levels are tightly coupled with social background. Participation is higher in families where the parents have higher educational levels. Families where the parents are blue collar workers, or where the parents are out of work tend to have lower levels of education. The work of
Smyth and Hannan (2000) indicates education tends to marginalize those from disadvantaged backgrounds. A common practice referred to as “grinds” seems to confirm arguments made by Smyth and Hannan. The term is used to describe private fee-based tutoring by subject-matter experts that help prepare high school students for State examinations. The results of these examinations, in terms of the number of points scored, determines what career options are available for college-bound students. Affluent parents can afford to pay for the service, so their children can achieve good results. The practice, which by all accounts is necessary, seems to provide some students with an unfair advantage. It also raises a question regarding the ability of some tenured teachers in the secondary school system. One might ask whether some teachers unfairly accept credit for results that would not exist without widespread use of grinds.

Kirby (2002) argues the economic success and social failure that characterize the Irish State is derived from its dependence on inward investment. An industrial policy that promotes low taxes on corporate profits, much of which leaves the country, results in lower levels of social spending. Those who favor globalization give priority to the global economy, and governments in competition states like Ireland are forced to shape social policy in an environment where social policy is subservient to economic policy. An economic and social governance model referred to as a Social Partnership program was intended to include participants from government, business, farmers, trade unions, community leaders, and voluntary groups, and was touted as the forum for allowing input to decision-making processes. Taylor (2005) speaks of Ireland’s relationship between government and social partners as a new and developing mode of governance; however, some authors are critical of how effective the partnerships are. Kirby (2008) argues that
partnership arrangements impose disciplines of a competitive market economy on society, and O Cinneide (1998) argues that the disadvantaged are not represented in a meaningful way and therefore cannot overcome their weak position in society during negotiations. The primary engine driving social policy in Ireland is the political process, so groups with the least political influence are less likely to secure policies that protect their interests.

One of the fundamental outcomes of social inequality is unequal access to healthcare. Immigrants and the poor are short-changed when it comes to healthcare. Brian Nolan (2000) argues that structural inequalities within the healthcare system favor those who can afford to pay fees for services. The government pays doctors a salary to service public patients. Those same doctors also have private practices for fee-paying private patients who can afford to pay directly. Those who can pay are more likely to receive faster and better service. A January 2001 article in the Irish Times reports the mortality rate of infants in poor families is 50% higher than in wealthy families, and working men die from heart attacks at a much higher rate than men who are well-to-do. Patients who do not have supplemental health insurance must wait, sometimes many months to receive medical attention and/or preventative medicine such as a colonoscopy for early cancer detection.

The Public Sector

The government is a significant employer in the state, providing civil and public services. A report published by the CSO in 2005 put the number of public service employees at 350,000, 20% of the total work force of 1,857,400 at the time. The
government controls large segments of the economy, including the bus and rail systems, the Electricity Supply Board (ESB), Radio Telefis Eireann (RTE) radio and television broadcasts, and the Post Office, although in most cases these entities are open to competition from the private sector. The government favors a low taxation policy to attract foreign direct investment, and the income tax system is intended to spread the wealth across all segments of society. Income tax and revenues on goods and services are considered exorbitant by many. There is a 21% value added tax (VAT) on most consumer goods. In particular, alcohol, tobacco and gasoline are highly taxed. In 2007, Ireland had the second highest price levels in the EU. Salaries for public sector employees in Ireland are higher than other OECD countries. They enjoy job security, what some call “a job for life,” and a guaranteed pension. Most public sector employees are unionized, so, as the economy worsens, recommendations or suggestions of salary reductions or layoffs in the public sector are met with protest marches and strikes. Labor Unions have the power to disrupt government attempts to lower wages. They make demands that may be in the best interests of their members, but not necessarily in the best interest of the country, or in the best interest of all workers in the country.

Today in Ireland, it is broadly recognized the government cannot continue to maintain a pay program for public employees costing between 60 and 70% of government spending. Even so, reaction to government plans to reduce public sector pay is met with anger and pessimism. A virtual shutdown of public service occurred in the country on November 24, 2009. Schools and public offices were closed and hospitals were left to manage with a skeleton staff. When the economy falters in a neo-liberal, low-corporate tax state like Ireland, one expects to see the government introduce cost-cutting
measures in areas of social security. According to the CSO, the number of people employed in the private sector fell by about 15% since September 2007. Private sector workers have accepted reductions in pay to avoid job losses, and it is argued that if workers must tighten their belts, then all sectors should share the pain. From a very practical standpoint it can also be argued public sector strikes send the wrong message to international investors, a message that can diminish the government’s ability to attract FDI. Foreign investors will stop investing if they consider the country unstable.

The Irish government as part of a four-year program delivered fiscal improvements in the 2009 budget, making cuts amounting to four billion euros. Many people call it the most painful budget in a generation. The country’s attractive 12.5% corporate tax was not raised because it is considered vital to draw US companies. Ireland has opposed attempts to coordinate taxation systems with other member states because common tax regimes would undercut the competitive advantage Ireland currently enjoys through its low corporate tax structure. In 1999, when the euro became Ireland’s currency, the country could borrow at lower interest rates. Cheap credit and real estate promotions fueled the economy, and personal incomes soared.

Euro membership also has some drawbacks. In an economic downturn, EU member states can no longer devalue their currency to facilitate tourism and make exports more attractive, so they are left with politically unattractive options that include cutting wages at a time when workers struggle to meet their debt obligations, and cutting back on social welfare programs.

Since the early 1900s, widespread political corruption in Ireland has eroded public trust in politicians. Four semi-judicial Tribunals of Inquiry, a parliamentary inquiry and a
High Court investigations into allegations of “off the record” payments to politicians including the former head of the government, by businessmen who hoped to sway administrative decision-making have made headlines in the media. It is alleged that substantial sums of money were paid to politicians and planning officials by real estate developers to obtain favorable votes on re-zoning land for development. Banks were willing lenders to unqualified borrowers. They were also willing collaborators in financial schemes designed to facilitate efforts by wealthy people and politicians to evade taxes by hiding large amounts of money in off-shore accounts.

The Changing Religious Focus

In the 2006 census, the vast majority of the population, regardless of nationality, were classified as Roman Catholic. Other Christians make up 12% of the population, and there is a growing number of Muslims, over one third of whom come from Asia and Africa. The census also revealed that almost ten thousand Irish nationals categorized themselves as Muslim. As the Irish people became more affluent the population became secular, moving away from the strict Catholic traditions of the 1950s and 1960s. Although 80% of Ireland’s population classify themselves as Roman Catholic, strict adherence to Church teaching is no longer observed by a disillusioned majority of younger people. When Ireland’s constitution was drafted, the Church and State were tightly entwined. The Catholic Church operated as an advisor to the State and strongly influenced development of Ireland’s constitution and the country’s culture. The founder’s fundamental vision of the constitution was such that people would live a godly life devoted to things of the spirit. Article 44.1.2 of the constitution specifically asserts, “The
State recognizes the special position of the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church as the guardian of the Faith.” The role of the church was paramount, and the laws incorporated blatantly discriminated against non-Catholic beliefs regarding divorce and birth control. The new nation sought to establish itself as unique. Organizations and institutions were established to further the Irish image. In addition to the Catholic Church, the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) among others, made efforts to reinstate the Irish language and helped homogenize Irish culture and build a sense of nationalism. The ‘special position’ of the Church was removed from the constitution by referendum in 1972, and the ban on divorce was finally repealed in 1995. In 2006, CSO statistics indicate the number of divorced persons in Ireland rose to 59,500 between 2002 and 2006, an increase of 70%. The number of unmarried cohabitating couples reached 121,800 in 2006 and is by far the fastest growing type of family unit in Ireland.

The recently published results of a nine-year investigation into allegations of rape and abuse of Irish children between the 1930s and the early 1990s, found that physical abuse and humiliation by nuns and priests were common occurrences. The results of the investigation, which were covered extensively by the media, left no doubt that thousands of boys and girls had been terrorized. The report also said government inspectors and the police turned a blind eye to the Church’s actions, and failed to stop the beatings, rapes and humiliation. The investigation found that girls were subjected to frequent assaults and humiliation designed to make them feel worthless. Boys were subjected to physical beatings, rape and molestation. The report concluded that when confronted, the abusers were transferred to other schools where they were free to abuse again. Ireland, a country that once looked to the power of The Vatican City for guidance and inspiration is now
guided and inspired by EU power in Brussels and by the economic forces of globalization.

The Impacts of Economic Change

Over the past several years, the Irish economy benefited from consumer spending, foreign direct investment mainly from the United States, and growth in the construction industries. In 2004, 4% of Ireland’s labor force was made of economic migrants from EU member states. Many immigrants came to Ireland to fill vacant construction jobs, and their presence in Ireland contributed to incorrect estimates regarding the number of housing units needed to house them. While the construction industry thrived, the average value of a new housing loan went from 74,700 euros in 1998 to 266,400 euros in 2007. As a result the loans that ordinary people must now repay have become a major problem as job losses rise and incomes fall. As global forces took control of Ireland’s economic destiny, by extension they rocked the nation’s social stability. In the current economic environment, the glow that engulfed Ireland as the Celtic Tiger roared is being replaced by a more somber evaluation of how secure Irish nationals are, how attractive Ireland is as an immigrant haven, and how much foreign direct investment the country can continue to attract. Between 1987 and 2005, average incomes rose by 125%, and the majority of wealth held by Irish people was invested in property. Today, falling property values and rising unemployment, which is attributed to a slowdown in the construction industry, pose challenges for the government and for people living in Ireland. For the first time in over twenty years, Ireland is experiencing a recession many believe will not be turned around quickly or easily. Until recently, many people lived with the rash expectation
wages would continue to rise and the construction bubble would last forever. To borrow Barry Goldman’s phrase, for many people their “enoughness switch” was broken. Richard Curran, a newspaper editor and RTE commentator, suggests that when Ireland’s economy was strong, too many people parked their brain cells and believed the hype regarding the economy and the construction industry, and spent money as if the bubble would last forever. Today, Irish people who rode the crest of the Celtic Tiger wave are experiencing what Curran forecasted. They are faced with property devaluation and tax increases across all aspects of daily life. As Cooper (2009) suggests, the property boom was like a praying mantis, seducing and then destroying. People in the private sector, particularly those who do not belong to a labor union, are impacted more severely than those in the public sector, but in all sectors the quality of life that changed with the country’s success is now being redefined.

Although it is becoming central to social policy discourse, quality of life is difficult to explain. The dimensions of life embedded in the term include education, employment, health, human rights, income, housing and public safety. In general, quality of life refers to how people feel about themselves and their surroundings. In a local community, it is fair to ask whether economic success leads to a better quality of life. There are hidden costs embedded in a fast growing economy. The struggle to ‘keep up with the Joneses’ sometimes takes a great toll. Kuhling and Keohane (2007) tell us that in Ireland, 300,000 people out of a population of approximately four and a half million are medicated for depression. That number is probably understated because many families see depression as a weakness and do not seek help. On December 30, 2000, the Irish Independent cited the high rate of suicide among young men aged fifteen to twenty-four
as an indication of the level of alienation in some segments of Irish society. Some argue that depression and suicide are caused by the strains of a fast changing society seduced by material assets. In a place where one’s quality of life is directly linked to one’s position on the economic scale, and to the extent to which one can buy social standing, there are some people who are relegated to a grim place with few chances for success. Ireland was transformed from a poor peripheral economy to a neo-liberal economic competitive state in a very short time, thus local communities provide a platform where perceptions of the gains and costs of globalization can be examined.

Migration and the Fallout

A look back to the late 1980s shows a net annual emigration rate of over 40,000. During the first six years of the past decade, immigration averaged 55,000 a year, and emigration averaged 25,000, resulting in a net inward migration of 30,000. The success that brought US investment and immigrants to Ireland’s shores is no longer robust, yet many of the immigrants remain, even as Irish nationals begin once again to emigrate. Job losses are occurring as the recession deepens. Reporting for the *Wall Street Journal* in September 2009, Mathew Dalton tells us that Dell, once a significant employer in Ireland, will close one plant and move part of its operations to Poland. This will result in a further loss of 1900 jobs. In September 2009, Quintin Fottrell wrote that Ireland’s seasonally adjusted, standardized unemployment rate rose from 10.1% to 11.6% in the first quarter of 2009. Unemployed Irish nationals who for a variety of reasons are unable to take advantage of government unemployment programs may resent what is termed government hand-outs to non-nationals. Broadly speaking, non-working immigrants,
undocumented immigrants, and refugees are considered a threat by many in society. There is a hypothesis that as more people become unemployed, more crimes including house robberies and muggings occur. This hypothesis seems to resonate with Irish people. In a 2008, public attitude survey by the National Police Service, 37% of the respondents were worried about becoming a victim of crime themselves, and 44% worried about family members becoming victims. Media reports over the past decade indicate that illegal activities and gang related crime such as arms trading and drug dealing, and the enslavement and trade of women and children for sex have grown in Ireland. It is also argued these crimes have become more brutal and ruthless. Castells (1998) calls the emergence of criminal networks an essential feature of the new global economy; however, motivation for crime can be associated with poverty, or with a social structure that permits exclusion and disadvantages of people in the class structure.

The Unnerving Decade

Ireland entered the first decade of the twenty-first century confident and self-assured with visions of a prosperous future. There existed an air of self-congratulations as people borrowed and spent money like the proverbial drunken sailor. In retrospect, the decade is best described using the opening line from Dickens’ *A Tale of Two Cities*, “It was the best of times, it was the worst of times.” US investment and a huge influx of structural funds from the EU were the drivers of growth in the Irish economy, and Ireland’s Tiger economy was considered a role model for successful development. The country’s apparent success drew government officials from other countries to study the secrets of the Celtic Tiger. Politicians dismissed economists who voiced warnings about a
pending credit crisis. In a 2007 RTE documentary titled, Future Shock: Property Crash, Curran forecasted that when the bubble burst it would result in falling incomes and a major drop in tax revenue. At the time, politicians and industry leaders in the real estate sector condemned the broadcast as alarmist and pessimistic. Economists such as McWilliams who also saw the dangers tried to gain attention but were dismissed as malcontents. Bertie Ahearn, the country’s leader at the time, told the Irish people that those who worried about the economy should commit suicide, a comment for which he later apologized. The years between 2000 to 2009 were a time of great achievements followed by a downward spiral that saw fortunes plummet. The glowing beginning fanned by proponents of economic globalization faltered under the weight of reality when political ‘spin’ could no longer hide the truth. With losses mounting, the media focused on the dramatic losses of the very wealthy, not on the plight of middle-class working people who suffered big losses in property values and on other personal assets. Going forward, working people will be unable to continue the level of spending that kept the economy strong, particularly when taxes are increased. As the year 2010 begins, the country is in the grip of the biggest economic crisis in recent years and the pillars of Irish society have fallen.

Elected politicians in Ireland delivered fiscal improvements in the budget for 2010 by making cuts amounting to four billion euros as the first part of a four year program agreed upon with the European Commission. Many people call it the most painful budget in a generation. The country’s attractive 12.5% corporate tax rate was not raised because it is considered vital to attract US companies. Ireland is winning praise from financial market analysts for taking harsh steps to correct the budget deficits. The
Celtic Tiger is dead. In its place, the Irish government has become the austerity leader in Europe, and the confidence and self-assurance evident at the beginning of the decade is no longer evident. Few things have captured the attention of the Irish people as much as the current economic crisis which has led to the erosion of trust in politics and in big business. Increasing levels of unemployment mean that the millions of euros needed to pay down debts will necessitate higher taxes, reductions in health system funding, and reduced investment in education. Difficult times lie ahead for ordinary citizens. Jacobson (2008) argues that if there is high public confidence, it increases the government’s ability to cope with economic problems, but when respect and deference is low the state will suffer. In Ireland today, the Church, politicians and bankers entrusted with the well-being of the people have seriously failed to live up to their responsibilities.

Carrickmacross: The Town, Its Environs and Its People

According to information on the web site smalltownnetworks.com, small towns are home to one-fifth of Europe’s population, and they provide a focus for social, cultural and economic aspects of life in their sub-regions. In the past, small market towns were the life blood of rural areas. Towns provided jobs and services, were central hubs for public transportation, and general stores allowed seasonal credit lines for farmers. Small towns vary in character and size, and exhibit a distinctiveness based on origin, age and history, and although the problems facing small towns also vary, there are many issues that are common to all. In many ways, life in small towns is similar to that in larger towns and cities. Hundreds of television channels provide global programming in a variety of languages. Children play the same video games, watch the same movies, and wear sport
apparel with the same fashion labels. In other ways, small towns are not at all like cities. In small towns, people really know one another. Many people are related and are attached to objects and places that reflect a common history. Often there are up to four generations of a family residing in the same town, some of whom live in houses passed down through generations. People are often born, raised, married and buried in the same town. They share experiences and a common way of life, including schooling and culture that make them part of the community. Of course, small towns are not perfect. Spiteful gossip and begrudgery, a local term denoting envy, exists, and it is not easy to keep one’s private life private. Carrickmacross in many respects is like many other towns in Europe. People are active in local politics and hold well-informed opinions on global politics and issues. People are conscious of their position in the community, and symbols of status do not go unnoticed. The size and location of one’s home, the make and model of one’s car(s), and the type of work one does all attest to a person’s place in the community. In a small town, one can sense an attitude of wariness toward outsiders, which in some cases leads to prejudice, and because outsiders do not share the history and common experiences, they are often excluded from membership. Kieran Allen’s critical look at Ireland’s success reminds us that class divisions always existed in local communities. He argues that the economic boom did little to improve the quality of life at the lower end of the social strata. In fact, he argues that economic success created immense social differences where only a small segment of people reaped the benefits. Commenting on Ireland’s class structure and the possibilities for social mobility within the structure, Layte and Whelan (2000) argue that Irish society became even more rigid and more excluding as the country became more economically successful.
Location Is Important

Carrickmacross has been in existence for over four hundred years. It is located within the eastern border region, and has been a noted market town since the sixteenth century, providing a trading center for livestock and agricultural products. The town is located fifty miles north of Dublin and about twenty miles from the eastern seaboard. At the closest point, it is about six miles from the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic. Some towns are economically important because of their geographic location, or because of the employment opportunities available both at the local level and within commuting distance of other industrial towns. Location and employment opportunities make Carrickmacross one such place. Changes in and around town are reflective of what is happening throughout Ireland and more broadly across the developed world. Changes in the town’s economy caused changes in the character of the physical landscape. Cheap and accessible real estate loans made building and construction industries the primary economic drivers. The character of the community also changed as ethnically diverse immigrants arrived to the area. On the Irish Towns Guide, Carrickmacross is listed among the top twenty most ethnically diverse towns in the country.

A review of popular tourist books covering Ireland did not uncover any reference to the town, and at first glance, the landscape around the town may seem unspectacular. However, infrastructure upgrades funded by the EU have made the area more accessible, and from an economic standpoint, for commuters it has become an attractive place to live. The town has a lot to offer nationals, immigrants and tourists. Tourists in the area are primarily from other EU countries and Americans of Irish heritage. The town is steeped in history. Old churches, graveyards and other historic buildings provide insight
into the town’s past. Unlike most Main streets in Irish towns, the Main Street in Carrickmacross is unusually wide and straight. It runs north to south, and the southern end of the street is dominated by the Anglican Church located on an elevated site facing north. The courthouse, an impressive Georgian building is also elevated and faces the Anglican Church at the northern end of the street. The two buildings mark the beginning and end of Main Street. Most cultural events and community celebrations take place on Main Street. The former Essex Castle, located next to the Anglican Church, is now a secondary school for young women. Shirley’s Castle on the outskirts of town is a one-thousand acre estate bestowed on an absentee English family during the colonial era. The family also owns many business structures and private residences in town which were leased to local residents a century ago. Since the mid-1800s, ownership of the Shirley estate has been a political issue in the area, and what makes the situation more significant today is that many of the leases that were based on the economy of a hundred years ago have expired. New leases which have been written to reflect ‘Tiger’ market values are creating an even bigger political issue.

Living In the Community

According to the 2006 census, there are over 4000 people living in the area. This represents an increase of 8.26% from a survey taken in 1991, despite the fact there was a declining birthrate of Irish nationals during that time frame. About 80% of the population are Irish, 2% come from the United Kingdom, 2% are Polish, 6% are from other EU countries, 3% from other parts of the world and 7%, the largest immigrant group in the area, comes from Lithuania.
In Ireland asylum applications rose from 39 in 1992 to over 4600 in 1998. Prior to the Irish referendum on the Lisbon Treaty on October 2, 2009, rumors were circulating in Carrickmacross regarding the arrival of Congolese refugee families to the area. Some people expected the rumors to instill apprehension in the voting population and influence people to vote against the treaty, but the treaty was accepted by the majority of the people. On Sunday, October 10, 2009, following acceptance of the treaty, the rumors were confirmed when the local Church bulletin issued a request for volunteers to help settle the Congolese families in their new accommodations. Sixty-six refugees in eight families moved to the area in November 2009. The group was comprised of twenty-one adults, seventeen teenagers between the ages of thirteen and eighteen, twenty-eight children twelve years of age and younger.

Table 4.2

*CSO Population Records by Age without Relocated Refugees*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 to 14 years</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 24 years</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 to 44 years</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 to 64</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 years and over</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Religion In the Community

There is a varied religious community of Catholic, Church of Ireland, Presbyterian and Baptist churches in town. Although the numbers for participating members of different religions in Carrickmacross are sketchy, the 2009 CSO breakdown for the town is reflective of the breakdown for the country as a whole. Approximately 80% of the population are Roman Catholic, about 10% belong to other Christian denominations. The other 10% are non-Christian. They either belong to other religions, or they did not specify a religious affiliation. The fall-out from the abuse scandal by the clergy is keenly felt in the area. An elderly priest who was born in town is as of November 2009 awaiting extradition from the US to stand trial for rape and molestation.

Political Landscape

The local authorities are responsible for matters relating to housing, roads, parks and open spaces. The town council is made up of nine elected members. Information on the Carrickmacross web site, carrickmacross.ie, indicates the council employs an outdoor staff of ten and an administrative staff of six. There are two school wardens, a traffic/litter warden, and an engineering staff of two. A Chamber of Commerce has been in existence since 1976. The terms of the president, treasurer and secretary change every two years. Membership has a broad representation from local businesses, from global companies doing business in the area, and all members of the community are welcome to attend meetings. The Chamber runs an educational program for individuals who are interested in bringing to the area new business ventures in manufacturing and trade where export potential exists.
The local government decides and regulates the economic, social and environmental aspects of life in the community. O’Broin (2006) argues that local governance involves not only local government, but also a wide range of public and private shareholders who join forces in efforts to achieve desired outcomes. Some kinder people in the community argue that decisions at the local government level are based on value judgments, not on any in-depth examination of options. Others who are more critical argue that market power and insider knowledge puts local authorities in a position to exploit their knowledge for the purposes of re-zoning the land to suit land owners and construction companies who profit from building industries. The process of granting planning permission for housing construction in Carrickmacross seems to have promoted segregation of local elites from the immigrants and the poor by permitting the construction of bigger more expensive houses in low-density zones for high-salaried commuters and local elites. Construction of less expensive housing complexes in high-density zones allowed entrepreneurs to buy or build ‘affordable’ houses for rental to immigrants and poorer nationals. According to Clinch et al., “the design of the high density development is low-end. There are few architects involved and there is low energy efficiency” (2002, p. 103). The availability of affordable residential structures when coupled with economic constraints in some segments of the population, interacted to create segregated sub-communities within the community, many of them based on ethnicity. The policy of zoning spaces in such a way have the effect of positioning people with certain characteristics as ‘the other.’ Within the community, people are organized in local support groups such as family, sports organizations like the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), and bridge clubs among others, and to the extent some people are
excluded, they will remain unequal and powerless. Estimates from the CSO indicate the proportion of foreign born persons in Ireland could exceed one million by the year 2030. With those numbers in mind, one could envision a housing construction model segregating locals from immigrants, creating an uneven and unfair social structure based on where people live. In a community where one’s residence distinguishes ‘us’ from ‘them’ there may be serious consequences for class equality and social inclusion.

Social group dynamics link our private lives to the society in which we live. Attitudes and behavior are influenced by the values deemed important in the community. In Irish society as elsewhere, people tend to associate with people who are like themselves in terms of social life, scholastic achievement, and life goals. The phenomenon is more obvious in smaller communities than in larger cities. The phrase “celebrating difference” has become a catch phrase in business and political circles; however, the term is not explained, and its value has been absent from the debate. Difference tends to be understood in terms of dualism. In Ireland, a good example is the use of “national” and “non-national” where each side is not valued equally. Looking at difference in this light, the term national is the dominant one against which non-national is defined and marked as different. Difference seems to be applied to minority groups and those who are marked as different are often treated as inferior. If immigrants are separated by neighborhood and employment, they will be marked as different, and their social experiences and economic opportunities will be limited. William Graham Sumner (1906) describes the feelings associated with those in ‘us’ and ‘them’ groups. People who are one of ‘us’ are a part of the community and are comfortable in their social circumstance. Those who are considered ‘them’ are not seen as belonging to the
community, and those feelings often foster stereotypes about the outsiders. On the other hand, if, because of social exclusion, immigrants are exposed to only some segments of the population, they too can form false impressions about the entire community. The term “non-nationals,” which in Ireland is used by government agents and by individuals to refer to immigrants, subtly enforces the ‘us’ and ‘them’ division.

The number of "MacMansions" in the area show that the high growth economy increased incomes for many people in the area, but it also increased more significantly the cost of living, most especially the cost of housing and food. Recently, many people in the community have lost jobs, and many have experienced a reduction in working hours with a comparable reduction in salary. Those who have lost jobs, or have suffered from reduced income in the recent downturn are particularly hard hit in the current environment. Issues arising from class or social status may be even deeper because the affluent life-styles of the new class of Irish nationals that emerged from the period of economic success have set the standard by which the less fortunate compare their relative circumstances. Based on experiences in other areas of the world it is clear chronic social cleavages that arise out of such a model could over time become the impetus for civil unrest.

Impacts of Economic Change

Like all towns situated near the border of Northern Ireland, the town suffered socially, economically and physically during the sectarian violence in the region that escalated during the 1960s and continued through the 1970s and 1980s. That changed when, as a result of US diplomatic intervention, areas near the border became more
peaceful. At the same time, during Ireland’s successful economic surge, Carrickmacross prospered and many people became affluent. The town’s proximity to the Dublin/Belfast corridor makes it ideally situated for people to use the island’s two major airports, and construction of the M1 motorway has put the area within commuting distance of Dublin and other market towns in the Republic and in Northern Ireland. There is good bus and rail service between Carrickmacross and Dublin, and between Carrickmacross and other industrial towns. As a result, the population increased and the town planners still expect that trend to continue albeit at a slower pace. The shortened journey time together with the comparatively cheaper land values in the area created a housing environment that attracted commuters. The increase in the immigrant population particularly since the enlargement of the EU heightened speculation in the real estate market and contributed to a construction boom in the area. The primary function of homes changed from traditional family homes to investment opportunities for speculators. From the mid 1990s through 2005 some property-owning entrepreneurs in the area saw their fortunes grow. There were dramatic rises in real estate prices, and in response, there was a large increase in the number of new houses. According to McWilliams, during that time frame more houses were being built in Ireland than the Germans built just after the Second World War as part of their all out effort to rebuild their country. *The Irish Times* reported that until 2005, construction accounted for an unsustainable 13% of total employment. Evidence of the building spree can be seen all over Carrickmacross. In the area, average salary earners borrowing against an uncertain future fueled a rapid rise in home prices. A report on the economy in the area indicated an average house that cost 11,430 euros in 1973 had risen to 220,000 euros by 2004. In the current faltering economic climate of 2010, house prices
in the area fell by approximately 30% and continue to decline. A quick look at the real estate web site daft.ie revealed over three hundred houses for sale in the area. One house that had a market value over 600,000 euros in 2008 is now listed at 360,000 euros. The building spree that took place over the past several years has stretched all aspects of the industry and the land. The character of the physical landscape is very different from what it was thirty years ago. Agricultural land was rezoned for construction of high density housing. The changes have raised concerns within the community. Forestry has suffered because land owners benefited from high land prices, and the extent of the building spree raised environmental concerns regarding the impact of construction on the local rivers and lakes. Some people argue the town is overwhelmed by modern development and environmental degradation. Water and sewer capacity is no longer adequate. The necessary infrastructure upgrades to gas and sewer facilities disrupted businesses in town because streets have been closed more than once for long periods as new underground conduits were installed to accommodate the increased demand for utilities. To add to the community’s woes, some investors and builders who did not look beyond the immediate to the longer-term costs and social obligations that accompany this particular consumption model are now faced with a glut of empty and partially completed structures. Some of the habitable empty buildings are now being rented by the government for use as refugee shelters.

The Town’s Business Profile

As the economic boom in the area got into full swing, Carrickmacross developed a number of industries requiring both a skilled and an unskilled work force, and provided
almost constant employment for the local inhabitants and the immigrants. Although the
town is not featured in tourist brochures, it is a progressive town with many successful
business establishments, and many residents have benefited financially from the
prosperity globalization has brought to the community. Boating, fishing and golf attracted
tourists and local businesses benefited. The town has three major tourist hotels, the
Nuremore Hotel and Country Club, which is set on approximately one hundred acres on
the outskirts of town and has on site a lake, a swimming pool, a health spa, a golf club,
and a tennis club. Cabra Castle, another hotel located about six miles outside of town,
also sits on one hundred acres of parkland and abuts a National Forest Park. The Shirley
Arms Hotel, an historic landmark, was built in 1831 as an inn to serve coaches on what
was then the main road between Dublin and the northwest.

The town is famous for its intricate lace, which is made by hand and sold
worldwide. Samples of the lace are exhibited at the Lace Gallery in town. Local cultural
venues include a center dedicated to Patrick Kavanagh, a deceased local resident and
renowned Irish poet. The center has an audio visual theater and research library that are
open to the public, and exhibitions of the poet’s work and local history are on display.
Thursday is Carrickmacross’s modern market day. Vendors set up stalls on Main Street
and sell everything from fresh flowers and plants to jewelry, household appliances and
utensils, garden tools and equipment, furniture and rugs, clothes for old and young, and
food. Market day attracts many shoppers, but many nationals consider it demeaning to
shop at this venue.

There are three major supermarkets in town, one is part of the German chain
called Lidl, and the retail giant Tesco was granted planning permission to build a new
department store in town. Recently, several ethnic food shops and restaurants have sprung up highlighting the diversity of the local population. Four major banks and one Credit Union in town provide businesses and individuals with financial services. A local newspaper called *The Northern Standard* has its main office on Main Street, and the town has an online newspaper called *The Carrick Gazette*. National and international newspapers are readily available from the local news-agents.

A 1996 survey indicated that the predominant employment sector in the area was manufacturing and those industries are still operating. Building and construction industries along with food preparation and packaging provided a strong employment base although as mentioned earlier, the construction industries are no longer robust. The town has an entrepreneurial spirit that attracted some well-known businesses. A division of the Bose Corporation, an international company that manufactures audio speakers for the domestic market and for export is located in town. Kingspan, another global company has its main facility about six miles from town and maintains a smaller facility in town. Kingspan’s web site advertizes they provide “Global Solutions for Global Issues.” The company is a leading manufacturer of sustainable products for the construction industry and operates in many locations around the world. Rye-Valley, a local employer in the area, manufactures prepared frozen meals principally for the export market. Farney Foods, a medium sized company, prepares pork sourced from the area to supply restaurants, delicatessens and retailers in Ireland and in Europe. C&M Coldstores established in 1995 has a working relationship with Rye Valley and provides a series of cold storage spaces constructed to accommodate the packaging and storage of non-frozen food in preparation for clearance by Dublin customs agents before it can be exported.
These businesses provide employment for many immigrants male and female many of whom work the night shift, and female immigrants have gained a good reputation working as maintenance cleaners for individuals and businesses. The hotel, retail and restaurant businesses in town also employ a large number of immigrants.

Table 4.3

*CSO Breakdown of the Working Age Population in the area (by work type)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Classification</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employer/Manager</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Professional</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Professional</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Manual</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual Skilled</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Account Workers</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture Workers</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment unknown</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in most Western countries, it seems to be generally accepted that immigrants do the jobs locals refuse to do. Doyle et al. suggest that in Ireland, immigrants are more
hard-working than the locals, writing that, “[a]ccession State nationals have a much higher labor force participation rate than Irish nationals, 90% versus 62%” (2006, p 54). While the community was thriving, there was a robust informal economy where unskilled work was done by low income immigrants who worked ‘off the books.’ People who work in the informal economy are not included as part of official employment statistics. When job losses and reduced income leave home owners with more time and less money, the people in the informal economy who can no longer find work are not captured as part of official unemployment statistics. Like many small towns across the globe, the economy has caused a real downturn in local retail businesses. Out of town shopping malls and discounted brand name outlets have taken their toll. Beleaguered retailers in town are facing an additional strain as shoppers head north of the border in search of bargains. Cheaper prices in Northern Ireland, a weak British pound, a wide gap in tax rates, and the short distance to the border entices local people to shop in Northern Ireland. Looking at the area under study, one can see that many businesses have closed down. In July, 2009 restaurants and local hotels offered special incentives to encourage people to eat out, and local retailers had what amounts to permanent sales.

Social Inclusion In the Community

Free trade, open borders, and labor mobility are embedded in globalization, and pose opportunities and challenges for local communities and governments. Until recently the problem of social exclusion in the community was seen as a problem of long-term unemployment in the native population, but today, diversity in the population makes social inclusion a more acute issue. When the economy was strong, acceptance of
migrants in the community was based on tolerance that bordered on indifference. Little effort was made to promote integration. Debates regarding social inclusion are anchored in the context of citizenship. In a new migration society, respect for diversity may be a token commitment while nationals hold on to a culture they consider normal. MacEinri (2007) argues that some efforts aimed at fostering integration such as establishing community relations forums, reinforces a power and class paradigm clearly denoting who controls society in the community. In the current environment, economic constraints may force local governments to choose between economic and social goals. The challenge facing local leaders is how to promote social inclusion for all social and political groups, and should encourage an examination of the nature and character of social relations at the local level. In the Irish context, global challenges are addressed by supranational and national institutions. National and local interests are the drivers in the local political arena. In the current economic climate, selfish interests at the individual level may have become the most important driver. In Carrickmacross, as in the rest of Ireland, the glow that engulfed the community at the beginning of the last decade has lost its sparkle and is now being replaced by pessimism. As individuals and businesses in the area struggle to recover from the burst of the massive property bubble, the Irish government is struggling to manage a dire public financial situation and lack luster economic recovery. In such an environment, issues of social security and social inclusion may get shifted to the back burner.

Definitions of what the community represents can only be temporary. During recent history there has been almost continuous change in the area, and definitions depend on who you are and your position in the community. There are many reasons to
study the impact of global events on Irish society, focusing on what can be described as an average small town.

This project is an attempt to gather unabridged, up-to-date information from members of the community by capturing differing viewpoints on a variety of issues that impact social inclusion. One’s position in the community may have a direct impact on one’s views regarding social inclusion. To be effective, the interviews will be conducted in a safe, non-threatening environment allowing people to share information anonymously. Responses from those who have prospered and from those whose voices have been overlooked in the area’s capitalist evolution will help determine how this community is adapting to the social changes that come as a result of the political and economic changes embedded in globalization. A local community contains sub-communities with different requirements and demands, and the local government is expected to respond to the wishes of its citizens. However, it is difficult to reconcile the demands of citizens and reliance on market forces that impose constraints particularly as the economy falters. John Tierney states the first principle in reforming governance is to concentrate on a bottom-up approach. In this project, we seek to determine how elements of globalization change people and development at the local level. Responses from community residents will help crystallize the real and enduring social impact of changes that have occurred and continue to occur, altering the quality of life in a small Irish town.
CHAPTER 5

GLOBALIZATION AND MIGRATION: UNDERSTANDING THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

Results and Conclusions

International immigration is in Ireland to stay. Not all migrants will stay, but many will because Ireland's minimum wage, the second highest in Europe at 8.65 euros and the state's generous social welfare benefits continue to attract migrants from Eastern Europe. Driven by national and transnational factors, people from a wide variety of cultures are now living in communities across the country. How migrants are accepted in the community, and how they, in turn, interact with indigenous people is intimately tied to effective integration. Social interaction, the process through which people reciprocally influence each other’s feelings does not occur in a vacuum. The attributes that impact social inclusion and integration most, fall into three categories: the education system, housing accommodations, and the workplace. In Ireland, over the past several years ascendancy of the state in the international arena elevated the prestige of the Irish nationals and the power of the government. Today, geopolitical weakness has reduced the prestige of the indigenous population and inhibits integration because conflicts emerge regarding jobs and social welfare entitlements.

This section summarizes the findings of the research, focusing on perceptions and attitudes concerning social inclusion and integration in a discrete community. The subject
has been of particular interest in Ireland since the late 1990s when the economy started to falter. The aim of this exercise is to create a picture of the views, extent and characteristics of integration in the community, and to assess the effectiveness of policies intended to improve the integration process. The conclusions are based on responses from a representative sample of the population, on how they feel about their lives, and about the changing environment within the community. Focusing on social inclusion and integration draws attention to the problems that arise in a community as newcomers foster perceptions of a zero-sum game and a climate of begrudgery. Understanding the issues that lead to these perceptions is important to all residents and policymakers.

Until recently, Irish nationals in the area shared a common way of life including schooling and a culture that made them a part of the community. All are conscious of their social position in the community, and there is an aura of elitism at the higher end of the social-class structure. In many cases, newly arrived migrants do the menial jobs the Irish shun. In addition, many migrants are not fluent in the dominant language, making integration more challenging. However, migrants are needed in Irish communities. As communities struggle to cope with an aging population and an anemic birthrate, migrants continue to fuel the local economy as workers and as consumers. The case for encouraging true integration lies in the fact that Ireland still needs immigrants, and all members of the community benefit from their presence. Sassen (1998) notes that labor importing countries achieve higher rates of growth. As the economy rebounds, a robust middle class will be needed to sustain age-related social expenditures as the elderly population increases at the same time there is a decline in the working age population. The gap can be filled by migrants who see a viable future in the community.
Globalization has enhanced the abilities of those with skills and resources, but it impacts different segments of the population in different ways. The varied character of transformation in the community has produced diverse and sometimes incompatible views of what is good and what is bad for the community. The purposes of this project are firstly to broaden our understanding of the issues faced by members of an Irish community as global processes alter lifestyles and attitudes of Irish nationals and immigrants. Challenging as the exercise is from a scholarly standpoint, the significance may be deeper. Historically, economic growth and success have enabled societies to prosper. Even those at the lower social strata make headway over time. In economic hard times, social safety nets become difficult to finance just as the need for them becomes more acute. Remembering Ireland’s own history of emigration and the country’s long-term support for underprivileged people in Third World countries, it is interesting to reflect on Irish responses to immigrants and refugees residing in their midst.

The primary focus of the research was collecting information from which the extent of social inclusion and integration in the community could be derived. Questions were directed toward a representative sample of adults who live in the area. The economic and social perceptions, ideas and suggestions of the sample population were captured and analyzed. Information was collected at the individual level and is presented based on demographic composition. The CSO 2006 census data shows the population in the area at approximately four thousand. Eighteen percent are under the age of sixteen and are not included in this study. A sample population was selected based on information from CSO databases that specify the age and profession or work category for all adult residents in the area. Eight employment categories along with the percent of
people working in each category were used to develop a list of potential candidates. Personal observation, general knowledge of the area, and assistance from local people helped refine the list to ensure that people who met the criteria for each employment category were included. Conversations with many people who did not complete the survey added to the evaluation process.

Participants in the study are categorized as National (citizen) or Non-National (non citizen), by gender, age, marital status, education and employment. Each participant was provided with an informed consent document (see Appendix A), an explanation of the objectives, and a description of the research method (Appendix B). A questionnaire (Appendix C) was used to facilitate the data gathering process. The first series of questions establishes personal information regarding nationality, age, family status, educational achievement, housing accommodations and general feelings regarding quality of life in the community. “Quality of life” is defined herewith as a many sided view of life that includes dimensions contributing to human well-being. These dimensions include access to resources such as money, knowledge, education, mental and physical health, living conditions, and social relationships. Lives are intertwined in relationships with others, so social relationships along with institutions and policies are instrumental in determining quality of life. Information on employment, economic status, and education was captured. Other questions sought to determine the extent to which individuals and families form friendships across nationalities and the extent of voluntary involvement in the community. An attempt was made to determine the extent to which immigrants in the community are considered and consider themselves to be transnational
154 migrants. Finally, there are questions regarding how people feel about participation in the EU from an economic, social and political standpoint. Answers to each set of questions sheds light on a different aspect of the same social world.

Researchers in the Comparative Analysis of Social Mobility in Industrial Nations (CASMIN) examined societal openness in European countries and identified Ireland as the least open (Breen & Rottman, 1995). Societal groups are often defined as hierarchical, where one’s social power permits an individual to undertake actions, or to be constrained from participation in actions. Social power refers to an individual’s position with respect to the resources he possess, and how it affects a person’s life chances. Class is deeply embedded in Irish society. Social class continues to be a central concept in societies, and in this community social class is arguably the most important determinant of success in life. Its influence extends from educational opportunities, life chances, and economic success. What people achieve in life depends to a great extent upon where they are positioned in the social order, because that position, in turn, determines the opportunities available to them. Class position also plays an important role in shaping perceptions. Hearing from people in the community and examining the currents and patterns embedded in their responses helps formulate suggestions for moving forward.

The government classifies the population according to an official set of ‘class’ categories relating to occupation. The definitions for some classes are imprecise at best, so for purposes of this research, the employment categories are defined in Table 5.1. The capacities of those in a particular class are roughly equivalent, not identical; however,

1 The term “transnational migrant” is used to describe a migrant that operates politically, socially and culturally across borders without permanent ties to a host country.
their characteristics, interests and perceptions were expected to be similar. The forty-six participants in the study reflect the character of the local population as defined by the CSO, and are depicted in the following tables.

Table 5.1

Employment Category Descriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Categories</th>
<th>Number of Surveys</th>
<th>Description of Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employer/Manager</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Business Owners and Managers of International Businesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Professionals</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Medical Doctor, Civil Engineer, IT Executive, Regional Bank Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Professionals and Non-Manual</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Teachers, Advertising, Sales, Banking, Office Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual Skilled and Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Butchers, Construction Workers, Factory/Warehouse Workers, Firemen, Hairdressers, Retail Workers, Steel Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Employed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Independent Consultant, Construction Overseer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm/Agricultural Workers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Farmer, Livestock Dealer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>People over 65 who no longer work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2 High School, and 1 Full-time College/Part-time Worker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.2

Breakdown by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Category</th>
<th>Number of Surveys</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employer/Manager</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Professional</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Professionals and Non-manual</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual skilled and Semi-skilled</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Account</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Workers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired persons</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.3

Breakdown by Age Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Category</th>
<th>Age 16 - 24</th>
<th>Age 25 - 44</th>
<th>Age 45 - 64</th>
<th>Age 65 &amp; over</th>
<th>Total Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employer/Manager</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Professional</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Professional and non-manual</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual skilled and semi-skilled</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own account Worker</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Workers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired persons</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td><strong>46</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Setting the Stage

Before reviewing the responses from the sample population, there are some data already known, among them:

- Ireland is in an economic recession
- The construction boom in Ireland is over
- Many migrants who worked in the construction and building industries are out of work
• Irish nationals are losing income
• Irish nationals are the most heavily borrowed in the EU (Cooper, 2009)

Things that are unknown include:

• How long it will take for the economy to recover
• How long the government can support the current levels of social welfare outlays
• How migrants will act as EU funding helps the economies of their home countries

General Perceptions Regarding Integration and Social Inclusion

The survey results show a complex combination of attitudes and assessments. Opinions vary regarding the collisions between global, regional and local influences. In some cases, there is apparent tension between new lifestyles based on individualism and affluence, and the traditional sense of community. One might assume individuals who share similar aspirations and behaviors would respond in a similar fashion to many of the questions, but that was not the case. Some people who had been married to each other for years had different views on the nature and extent of interactions between migrants and Irish nationals. Conclusions are based on the perceptions of the respondents regarding how they feel about their lives within the community. How members of the community perceive conditions for membership is an important aspect of social integration. Responses indicate Irish citizenship and Irish culture are embedded in the model for membership in the community and define the terms under which one can belong. Most people agreed that being classified as an Irish national in Ireland is a good thing. It was
thought that being a National establishes a link with the country and defines one’s identity. An extension of this is a perceived dichotomy between the national ideal of Irishness, the official host culture and that of all ‘the others.’ Regardless of age, gender or employment, Irish respondents equated assimilation with integration. Comments such as “encourage them (migrants) to embrace Irish culture,” and “make free handouts conditional on learning the English language” came from several people. Responding to the argument that when Irish people emigrated, they were welcomed in the host country, one person said “that argument is nonsense because Irish people who emigrated got nothing free. They had to work for everything they got.” Differences between social welfare entitlements of Irish nationals and migrants have created internal barriers to integration, the biggest barrier being the perception of immigrant ‘free-riders.’

When asked who was to blame for the economic crisis, the government and the banks were generally identified as the primary culprits in bringing about the economic crisis, but blame was spread around quite liberally. Without exception, respondents agreed that the housing construction model in the area over the past several years was irrational though those who make their living in building industries were less critical than others. The general consensus is that the Planning Authority failed to protect the landscape and the environment by passing too many building applications. Borrowers paid exorbitant prices for houses and borrowed exorbitant mortgages with little or no down-payment. One response, “planning gone mad” captures the feelings of most people. When asked whether the Irish government could do anything more to help achieve social inclusion in the community, people for the most part thought the government was already doing more to help the immigrants than they were doing to help Irish nationals.
There are mixed feelings about EU membership. Membership is generally perceived to have had a positive effect economically; however, people disagree about how beneficial membership is from a political economic and social perspective. In some cases the pre-EU lifestyle in Ireland is remembered with exaggerated fondness. There is agreement across all segments of the sample population that drugs, crime and anti-social behavior are a big problem in the community. Foreigners are thought to commit more criminal acts than Irish nationals, and it appears crime perpetrated by migrants gives Irish nationals an added incentive to avoid them. Responses indicate immigrants are not welcome in Ireland or in the community at the present time.

Although some in the community would disagree, based on responses, elitism in the indigenous population contributes to social segregation. A person’s place is defined by position, and it is generally accepted that people should know their place. Stratification in the community is built into the social conditions of everyday life. Neighborhoods are fundamental to social stratification and structural transformation in the community, which has resulted in ethnically based sub-communities. Migrants are separated from Irish nationals based on where they live, the nature of employment, and their earnings. Migrants typically live in low-income rental properties, while Irish nationals typically live in owner-occupied houses. Institutional discrimination in real estate exacerbates neighborhood segregation. In the sample population, all of the immigrant respondents live in town, in rental accommodations many of which have been built since 1996. This may be the case due to the transnational migrant syndrome as much as it is based on economic considerations. All Irish nationals who responded live in
owner-occupied homes, most of which are in the suburbs or in rural areas of the community.

In response to questions regarding the number of immigrants in Ireland and in the community, the vast majority of respondents, including some migrants, thought that at the present time there were too many. Most Irish nationals felt that migrants make no effort to integrate, and argue that when the economy was booming, having migrants work in the community was a good thing, but now they feel that the country would be better off if the migrants went back to their country of origin. Most nationals thought migrants are fairly paid for the work they do, though some agreed that occasionally migrants may be subjected to exploitation. There was disagreement regarding whether or not Irish nationals would do the menial jobs now done by migrants. Many thought nationals would not do those jobs; however, some thought government reductions in unemployment benefits would force Irish people to do whatever jobs were available. In almost all cases, migrants are considered detrimental to the community. Some nationals see migrants as a threat and believe they exploit the welfare system for financial gain.

The most significant indicator of the level of integration is seen clearly in responses to questions regarding the number of individual or family friendships respondents have across nationalities. It appears there is little or no social contact between Irish nationals and immigrants outside the workplace. The very definition of friend seems to be different depending upon whether one is relating to one’s own nationality or to non-nationals. Irish friends visit each other’s homes, go out to eat together, and celebrate family events together. Across nationalities, having a drink after
work with co-workers or paying an immigrant to look after the children seems to pass for friendship.

When asked about the impact of migrants on the education system, most people agreed the number of immigrants and the fact that many did not speak English put a strain on the system in two distinct ways; overcrowding in the classrooms, and the requirement to have additional special language teachers in the classroom which, in turn, increases expenses to an already stretched budget. A new education program, Educator Together, which brings children from different nationalities to the same classroom, got mixed reviews. One respondent said the level of education in those schools was sub-par and that he would not send his children to those schools.

Regarding the impact migrants had on the health system, people thought there were advantages and disadvantages. Many Asian doctors and foreign nurses work in Irish hospitals. This was considered an advantage by many even though there were language barriers some Irish nationals found difficult to deal with within the hospital environment. The most commonly cited adverse effect was overcrowding in hospitals and doctors’ waiting rooms. The general feeling seemed to be that as long as migrants get free health services and products, they will keep coming back for more. There is widespread belief many migrants have made a variety of undeserved gains at the expense of Irish nationals. Several people had strong negative comments about ‘tourist immigrants,’ a term used for non-nationals who reside outside Ireland and use cheap airfares to commute to Ireland to collect social welfare benefits that are high by EU standards. There is evidence this practice is indeed occurring.
In 2008, the then social welfare minister, Mary Hanafin stopped direct deposit of unemployment payments into recipient bank accounts. An eligible unemployed person must now collect payments in person at a post office using a swipe card and photo identity. The minimum payment for job seekers is 196 euros per week (approximately $260 USD), and that amount is increased depending on the number of children in the family.

The volcanic ash that spread across Europe from Iceland earlier this year had a surprising affect on social welfare payments in Ireland. The media reported that during the week of April 18, when air travel was shut down because of the ash, the number of people who were expected to collect unemployment payments was down by almost 30%. This is seen as evidence that non-Irish people living outside the country were taking cheap flights to and from Ireland in order to collect unemployment benefits. Budget airlines make it possible to fly round trip between European countries for as little as twenty dollars. Collecting unemployment in Ireland and spending the money in another country is not considered a good thing for the Irish economy. Non-nationals have an additional benefit. Under EU regulations, someone claiming unemployment in Ireland for at least four weeks can transfer payments to another state for a maximum of thirteen weeks to seek employment in another place. In 2009, 4135 people asked for employment payments to be transferred to Poland at a cost of eleven million euros to Irish taxpayers. That number is ten times the number of transfers from the second country on the list, Slovakia, where 410 transfers were recorded. An e-mail titled “The Immigration Fairy”
forwarded by one of the respondents, reflects the widespread feelings within the community.  

Social inclusion is a relative phenomenon that depends on one’s level of prosperity. The perceptions and experiences of different segments of the community reflect the age and stage of members of that group. Integrating immigrants is not a commonly discussed topic in the community although there is a perception that many initiatives aimed at integrating immigrants have been attempted over the past ten years.

Perceptions from a Business Perspective

All business owners canvassed were male Irish nationals. They describe their quality of life as being either good or great, and believe the support of family and business colleagues is more important than economic considerations in determining their

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2 A Pleasant Little Tale.
Ahmed Ranjit Oluwalu lands at Dublin airport on a jumbo jet from foreign lands and talks his way past the immigration officer with a sorry, contrived tale of woe, misery and persecution. He's sitting in the hall wondering how he's going to get by when he feels a light tug at the leg of his pajamas and looks down to see a tiny man with large ears and a pointy hat.  
“Who are you?” says Ahmed.  
The little man replies, “I'm the immigration fairy. As the one thousandth sorry case to make your way into Ireland today, I can grant you three wishes.”  
Ahmed can't believe his luck but ponders on his choices for a moment and says “OK, first of all I'd like to be wealthy beyond anything I could have made back in my homeland.”  
The fairy claps his hands and says “It is done.”  
Ahmed finds he has a state benefits book in his hands. Ahmed goes on to say “Thank you kind fairy. Now I'd like to live for free in a wonderful home grander than anything I could have built out of mud back home.”  
The fairy claps his hands and says “It is done.”  
Ahmed finds he's holding the keys to a five bedroom council house. Ahmed can't believe his luck but thinks his next choice will be the clincher to beat his wildest fantasies. “Fairy,” he says, “I want to fit in and be treated like I've lived here all my life. Make me an Irishman?”  
The fairy claps his hands and says “It is done”  
Ahmed finds he's white skinned, blonde haired, and dressed in a pinstripe suit with an umbrella, but the house keys and his benefit book have disappeared. Dismayed, he asks the fairy, “What happened to my other wonderful gifts?”  
The fairy replies “Well, Sunshine, if you want to live like a white Irishman in Ireland, then you're entitled to F--- All.”
quality of life. EU membership is generally perceived to have had a positive effect on Ireland economically. Structural funding, the availability of grants, and borrowing at a better rate, were all cited as benefits. Ease of travel and a common currency were also considered positive. EU membership was credited with bringing Ireland from an underdeveloped country to a progressive one. On the flip side, there are perceptions the EU imposes too much external influence in domestic affairs, and that Ireland lacks adequate representation in Brussels. Because the UK is not part of the common currency, local businesses are being hurt by the exchange rate as the British pound rebounds. In response to questions regarding whether immigrants are welcome in the community, generally the answer is yes, although the term ‘tolerated’ is considered a better description. There is a live and let live attitude toward immigrants as long as the immigrants are living according to what is perceived as the good life, by which is meant that immigrants are working, paying taxes and not exploiting the welfare system. As a group, businessmen perceive that migrants have achieved social inclusion and integration in the community, and people in this group were the only ones who did not think that being an Irish citizen was any better or any worse than being an immigrant.

As one might expect, the positive aspects of living in the community included easy access to airports and good business community support. Business owners feel that the economic recession had a negative impact on business. One person ironically commented that because of the slowdown in his business, he had more time to spend with his family. In all cases, people in this category thought that construction in the area over the past few years was driven by greed, not need. Suggestions regarding what the government could do to help immigrants integrate included less centralization of
processes and stronger English language support; however, it was also suggested the government was already doing too much regarding social welfare payments, healthcare and education.

Perceptions from Those Categorized as High-Professionals

Generally, respondents in this category were pleased with their quality of life and consider Ireland a good place to live. A sense of community, shared local knowledge, social activities, educational opportunities, sports facilities, and friendly people are all considered positive attributes in the area. A high standard of living and a culture of friendship that is socially driven is perceived to be the Irish model of the good life. From an economic standpoint, limited job opportunities for highly qualified people is considered an issue, making it difficult to make long-term life decisions, and because currently there is less disposable income there are less social outings. More broadly, this group sees negative equity in a home as the most troublesome issue facing the community today. When asked about the construction model and the number of houses built over the past few years, answers ranged from “too many” to “ridiculous.” People in this category all agreed that being classified as an Irish national in Ireland establishes a link with the country and defines one’s identity and background. It is also thought to separate nationals from ‘transgressors.’

The opinions of people in this group are divided regarding membership in the EU. Borderless workforces are perceived to create competition, but today many of the borderless workforce who now reside in Ireland are out of work. The inflow of structural funds helped build an infrastructure that facilitated Ireland’s emergence from the
doldrums of earlier times and raised the country to the level of other EU member states. Membership is also credited with enhancing opportunities for trade and travel, and some applaud the benefits and directives that help reduce carbon emissions, improve water quality, human rights, and labor laws. On the other hand, some describe the EU as “a group of bureaucrats who sit behind desks in Brussels interfering in Ireland’s affairs.” There are perceptions that the EU does not have Ireland’s best interests as a priority, that Ireland has minute voting power and influence, and that eventually Ireland will be governed from the center. Opinions on how well local politicians and the Irish government protect citizens and migrants range from “poorly” to “well enough.” The exception had to do with the economic crisis where the government is perceived to have failed miserably.

The respondents were divided regarding whether or not immigrants are welcome. In response to migrant impact on the healthcare system, one person familiar with the system reported an increase in the use of emergency rooms because of fights and drunkenness. Most migrants are on the public health system and the perception is that migrants access free healthcare more than Irish people. Generally, migrants are considered a drain on the healthcare system and exploiters of the welfare system for financial gain. Perceptions in the group are that migrants have a bad reputation in the community and are considered a threat even though most people realize their plight. People in this category claim more immigrant individuals and more immigrant families as friends than all other categories combined.
Voices of Manual Skilled and Semi-skilled Workers

Responses from the Irish nationals in this category indicate that all are experiencing a good quality of life, and they agree that from a social perspective, Ireland is a good place to live. Yet, some anxiety exists regarding the economy and the future of the country. Almost all respondents in this group have been impacted to some degree by the economic recession and are more aware of managing spending because there is less disposable income. Being identified as an Irish national is very important to this segment of the population. They enjoy a sense of belonging, supportive family and friends, community involvement, and good sports facilities. They agree there are negative aspects in the area including a culture of drinking among the young that leads to bad behavior. The legal age for drinking is eighteen, but many young people start at a much earlier age.

All but two people in this group believe too many houses were built over a short period of time, and all of them agree that the skyrocketing cost of houses forced many people into excessive debt. One respondent who works in a business tightly coupled with the building industries remains positive and confident though there was little support for that viewpoint from others. One respondent, echoing what most people thought, called the construction model “crazy” with deplorable planning that has left many houses unoccupied and many buildings unfinished. The feeling is things are likely to stay that way for the foreseeable future.

People in this group recognize the beneficial impact the EU has had on Ireland economically, but there were mixed reactions when asked about the social and political implications. Some think that the EU exercises control over as much as 70% of the law in Ireland, and most people think that having to adhere to EU laws and directives has a
negative impact on the community. The dominance and perceived persistence of the bigger countries such as France and Germany in trying to sway Irish voters is seen as interference. Loss of individuality and excessive bureaucracy were also cited. Freedom of movement is seen as a benefit for Irish nationals going abroad, but the influx of migrants is considered a negative aspect of EU membership. Some believe there is no adequate vetting system in place, so there is a perception that criminals have easy access to Ireland.

The Irish government and local politicians are generally thought to do an adequate job in most cases. The big exception was their contribution to the economic crisis. One respondent captures what most people felt when he said, “politicians were elected to run the country, and they closed their eyes to the dangers of the construction bubble in spite of warnings.”

People in this group see migrants as a major drain on the economy and on Irish taxpayers. Most of people in this group think there are too many migrants in Ireland, and one respondent suggested limiting the number of immigrants allowed into the country. Generally, people feel migrants get fairly paid for the work they do and most believe that migrants do not drive wages down. Given the current economic climate, most think in this group think that sooner or later Irish people will do the menial jobs now done by migrants. One person reflected that the present working generation would not do the menial jobs, but perhaps the next generation would have a different attitude.

Responding to questions regarding the impact migrants have on the healthcare system, foreign doctors and nurses who work in the system are welcome, but most people believe other migrants put pressure on already stretched resources. Many migrants are perceived as going to emergency rooms looking to treat minor illnesses and alcohol
abuse. Interpreters are necessary in many of these situations, so more money and more people are needed to provide an adequate level of service. Some people in the group view migrants as “spongers” of the state. Among people in this category, migrants are perceived as being very well informed of the benefits available to them and absorb a lot of free healthcare. People in this group subscribe to the theory that many migrants come to Ireland when they are well into a pregnancy so their children can be born there. It is also commonly accepted that migrants seriously impact the education system. Overcrowding in classrooms and the expense associated with specialized language teachers are thought to be the biggest problems. Among the skilled and semi-skilled workers, friendship across nationalities does not extend to home visits. Work colleagues are considered friends. People who work in the healthcare system or in large manufacturing firms claim to have many immigrant friends lending credence to a new definition of friendship in the community.

Perceptions of Manual Skilled or Semi-skilled Migrant Workers

Four immigrants responded; one Lithuanian in the twenty-five to forty-four age group, one Polish person in the sixteen to twenty-four age group, one Romanian in the twenty-five to forty-four group, and one French citizen between the age of forty-five and sixty-four. With the exception of the person who is out of work as a result of changes in the construction and building industries, the rest consider their quality of life to be good. All the migrant responders agree Ireland is a good place to live. Among the positive aspects of living in the community migrants cited friendly people, access to jobs, good wages, and good amenities. Topping the list of negative aspects were the weather,
followed by too much drinking and too few social outlets. Although most immigrants thought the Irish were a friendly people, one immigrant was critical of “Irish people who pretend to be your friend.”

Three out of four immigrants feel there are too many immigrants in Ireland and in the community. One commented that Ireland does not have the capacity to support all the immigrants.

Regarding the construction model, immigrants agree with everyone else that too many houses were built, and one respondent referred to the situation as “crazy.” From the immigrant standpoint, the best part about Ireland’s membership in the EU is the common currency, and the ability to move and work in member countries. Immigrants did not come to Ireland until after the Irish economy became successful, and therefore, cannot appreciate the changes EU membership brought to Ireland. Immigrants understands Ireland has little or no input to EU decision-making processes, and that Ireland is the recipient of rules and laws made at the EU level. Most felt the Irish government was doing an acceptable job protecting their civil rights, and they agree that the most important issue to be addressed by the EU and the Irish government is jobs creation.

When asked if immigrants are welcome in the community, only one person answered affirmatively. Even so, immigrants said they had about five Irish families and between six and ten Irish individuals they considered friends. One of the immigrants in the study came to Ireland because he met an Irish girl in his home country, got married, and moved to Ireland. All others came to Ireland because a job opportunity arose and wages are good. There was little interest in acquiring Irish citizenship.
Immigrants in the study rarely get involved in political or sporting events, and they attend Irish cultural events only on special occasions. Their main sources of entertainment are television, the Internet, and reading. Most or all of the immigrants’ immediate family resides outside Ireland. Communications between immigrants and family or friends in the home country vary from “several times a week” to “only when necessary.” Internet and phone text are the most popular forms of communication, but postal mail and voice are also used. Although not expressly articulated, one gets a sense that better paying jobs outside Ireland could convince many economic immigrants to leave Ireland.

Voices of Younger and Older Residents

Because Ireland’s economic success is relatively new, economic migrants have not been in the country long enough to reach senior status. In the senior category, all respondents are Irish citizens. They report that their quality of life is good and has not changed significantly in the economic recession. Good healthcare and social welfare benefits including free transportation and subsidized utilities help seniors weather the economic storm. From their point of view, good community spirit and family support, good social activities and events for those who elect to participate make the community an attractive place to live. In the opinion of seniors, drinking, drug abuse and littering among young people top the list of issues that need to change.

When discussing construction in the area, all responders agreed that too many houses, and too many big houses in small spaces created a situation where public utilities could not support the construction bubble. They feel that poor planning has resulted in
many buildings now lying empty. As a group, seniors feel that being a National brings a sense of belonging, and that being proud of one’s heritage is important. Some thought Irish citizens should be more entitled to employment than migrants.

In response to questions regarding the impact of the EU, seniors felt that in general Ireland gained by joining the European community. The inflow of funds resulted in infrastructure improvements. Being part of the EU opened new markets to Irish companies, and the common currency has made travel easier throughout Europe. From a negative perspective, seniors felt politicians encourage people to vote on referenda that they do not fully explain, consequently many people do not understand what they are voting for or against. The perception that Ireland must comply with rules and regulations that are not always in the country’s best interest resonates with this group. The opinions of seniors differed when asked how well the Irish government protected the civil and social rights of all members of the community. Most senior citizens think the government and local politicians do not respond well to the needs of the community. Overall this group feels the government takes better care of migrants than Irish nationals.

Moving on to how seniors perceive the migrant situation in the community, all seniors in the sample population agree there are too many migrants, and too many of the migrants are on welfare. Migrants are perceived to be fairly paid, though there is also agreement that in some cases they may be exploited. Generally it is thought Irish citizens will not do the menial jobs that are now done by migrants; however, it is thought that if the economic recession lingers and entitlements are curtailed that might change. There is also an impression that the majority of Irish people feel migrants are beneath them on the social class scale. When asked about migrants in the area, seniors thought that when the
economy was stronger and there were less of them, the Irish nationals were more tolerant, but now people feel that there are too many. It is also thought the new asylum seekers and refugees are more demanding than their predecessors. There was some reluctance in this group to respond to whether migrants were welcome in the community. The responses ranged from “no,” to “many wish they would go back where they came from,” to “some people welcome them, some do not.” One person said that nobody complained about them in the beginning; that some of the migrants seemed to “fit in.” The situation is quite different now.

There are mixed opinions about how migrants impact the healthcare system. The foreign doctors and the nurses that are needed to sustain the system are welcome; however, overcrowding in hospitals and doctor’s waiting rooms has resulted in cases where native doctors are no longer accepting new patients.

There are mixed opinions about the migrant impact on the education system. Seniors believe migrants put a strain on the education system because migrants require English language classes, specialized teachers, and because many take advantage of other training courses the education budget is stretched too thinly. There is also the perception class sizes have increased and non-English speaking children slow down the education process. Because migrants come from different countries with different languages, the job of educating the entire population is believed to be even more challenging.

When asked about immigrant friends, none of the respondents had migrant families as friends. One person in the group had two immigrant individuals they considered friends. Age and stage may play a role in senior relationships as the majority of migrants are younger and are still in the job market.
Four younger people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four responded to the survey. One migrant in this age group is working full-time, his perceptions are captured in another section. Two of the remaining three are high school students, and one is a full time college student who works part-time. They like the close knit community, good amenities, and wide open spaces in rural areas.

From a social perspective students agree that because people are easy going and friendly, Ireland is still a good place to live, but the absence of summer jobs for students has impacted their social life. They feel that living in Ireland until recently was good, and they hope that soon it will be that way again. The young people in the sample population seem to be well informed about the current economic situation in the country. They agree the economic crisis occurred because nobody in the financial sector or in government was doing the job they were hired or voted to do. They think there are too many houses and not enough people to fill them, leaving abandoned derelict houses closer to town. From the student’s perspective, the common currency and ease of travel throughout Europe is a big benefit of membership in the EU. They had no strong feelings regarding how politicians respond to the needs of the community.

Students feel there are too many migrants in Ireland at the present time. When asked if Irish people would do the jobs migrants do currently, they feel it would depend on how long and how deep the economic recession lasted. There were no strong feelings regarding the impact of migrants on the healthcare system, but in general students thought that because there are so many migrants they probably “clog up” access to health services. Initial responses to the impact of migrants on education indicate that the students do not see any problems. However, after further discussion, it is clear students
tend to select friends that are like themselves in terms of socio-economic status with similar attitudes on a wide range of topics. When asked if migrants participate in school sports, the answer was no. The dynamics of national/migrant interaction can be gauged by examining school friendships. In the sample population, none of the participating students had any immigrant friends. If young immigrants are not integrated in the school system, absence of a sense of belonging may lead to alienation of second and third generation immigrants. A discussion with a college student who is pursuing an advanced degree shed light on yet another aspect of national/migrant relationships. Resentment among young people toward migrants is more intense among young women than young men. Part of the explanation is that young men date young women from other countries particularly Polish girls, but young Irish women generally do not date men that are not Irish. The young women taunt the young men saying that because they cannot get an Irish girl, they have to settle for something less. Most respondents agreed this type of behavior is common.

Responses from Those Classified as Low-Professional and Non-Manual

People in this group were the most vocal, and responses were the most intense of all in the sample population. In general terms, all members of this group considered their quality of life to be good with reservations. Recent economic events have caused levies to be imposed on all earners resulting in less take-home pay making life more challenging than in the recent past. Shared values, a good community, and family support topped the list of positive attributes in the community. The list of negative attributes is long, among them, small town begrudgery, class system prejudice, too much construction, increased
crime, drinking and drug use among young people leading to vandalism. The perception that Irish people have to emigrate because foreign nationals are taking over the job market is widespread among people in this category.

Being known as an Irish national is very important to respondents in this group. Comments indicate that it means belonging to a country with a proud heritage, and not encountering racism or prejudice. One person wrote, “there is a tendency to trust a national and to mistrust a foreigner.”

Almost all people have been impacted to some degree in the economic recession. Most cite salary changes, or longer working hours in the labor market. The parents in this group also complained about government cutbacks that result in higher costs for school buses and school books.

Describing the construction model in the area over the past few years, one response captures the sentiments of all, “Planning and construction went totally out of control with no utilities or infrastructure to support the building spree.”

The people in this group acknowledge the financial benefits that accrue from EU membership, among them; a higher standard of living, improved infrastructure, improved markets, agricultural assistance, a single currency, and fewer travel restrictions. They are critical of some things that come with membership including loss of identity and loss of autonomy. The general perspective is Ireland is a small fish in a big pond, and that the Irish government tries to follow all directives from the EU to the extreme. There is a sense that other countries are not as obsessed with adherence to directives to the same extent as Ireland. Based on responses, open borders, although considered a good thing for Irish people traveling abroad, is not considered a benefit when foreigners arrive to take
advantage of Ireland’s liberal social welfare benefits. Comments indicate a sense that the
country has lost control of its destiny. When discussing the role of Irish politicians, the
majority of people in this group perceived politicians did not respond to the needs of the
community. The general consensus is that politicians respond either “not very well” or
“poorly.” One person cited recent corruption and scandals as proof that politicians
“feather their own nests.” The government is considered a prime contributor to the
current economic crisis being “far too cozy with the developers,” recklessly squandering
tax revenues. Moving on from those comments, everyone agreed construction in the area
was totally out of control, and as a result, too many buildings are lying empty.

The majority in this group felt there are too many migrants in Ireland and in the
community, not just workers, but also dependents, many of whom are on social welfare.
Several people commented that it is disconcerting to see non-nationals get free housing,
social welfare benefits, including free taxi service to take migrant children to
kindergarten, free school books, after-school clubs, and free health service when newly
out of work Irish nationals get little by comparison. Although most respondents are
somewhat sympathetic, there is a feeling that the area has been oversubscribed with
migrants who ignore Irish laws and cause problems for the indigenous community. It is
generally understood migrants get fairly paid in most cases, but there is no doubt that
some migrants are exploited by unscrupulous employers; however, this is not believed to
be unique to Ireland. Some also felt that in efforts to obtain employment migrants are
willing to work longer hours, which undermine Irish workers. The majority in the group
agree that migrants drive wages down. When asked if Irish people will do the menial jobs
now held by migrants, most people agreed they would. There were some dissenting
voices claiming there were incentives for people not to work. Unemployment benefits are generous, and out of work people receive educational benefits for school age children. The additional benefits are not impacted if one parent works on a part time basis. Property owners are not entitled to many of these benefits making this an issue of contention.

It is clear most people in this group do not welcome migrants, and that refugees and asylum seekers are seen as a threat to the community. This is especially true since the economic downturn. One respondent attended meetings to protest the arrival of a large number of Congolese refugees in the area. The decision to accept them was made in 2005 when the economy could support the refugees. Most people in the audience became frustrated when told the decision would not be overturned even though they could not be supported in the current economic environment. There is also an element of racism in the community. As one person said, “fear and paranoia do not a welcoming community make.” Perceptions in this category are that migrants are a big drain on the healthcare system which was not built to meet current demand. Respondents were eager to explain that most migrants have a medical card that entitles them to free health services and products. The belief is that abuse of this facility results in long waiting lines and overcrowding in accident and emergency areas of hospitals. Responding to questions about the impact of migrants in the education system, the principal of one school in the community noted that 25% of the students attending that particular school are non-nationals creating larger class sizes and necessitating specialized language teachers. In addition, from a teacher’s perspective a class that has pupils with different languages is seen as difficult to manage.
There is strong anti-migrant sentiment among the people in this group who feel that non-nationals receive too many benefits at the expense of Irish nationals who have paid taxes all of their working lives. Many are convinced Eastern Europeans are abusing the social welfare system. It was participants in this category who highlighted the drop in unemployment payments when Icelandic volcanic ash disrupted air travel. The e-mail titled “The Immigration Fairy” mentioned earlier also came from this group.

Among people in this group the perception that many foreigners do not want to integrate is common. Immigrants are perceived to socialize in ethnic cliques and watch home country televised programs. Comments indicate migrants do not join Irish sporting organizations, do not contribute to community efforts, and do not support local Irish businesses. Most people in this category believe migrants do not shop in Irish owned stores, and drink at home before going to local nightclubs where they do not buy drinks. Comments indicate migrants do not abide by the law that prohibits driving under the influence of alcohol and drugs, and as a result they are perceived to be the cause of a higher percentage of road accidents than nationals. There is also a perception that fighting among ethnicities arises from racism. One respondent commented on the number of foreign nationals in the court system accused of public disorder, robbery and even opening brothels; however, there is no data to support the perception that immigrants are opening brothels. The prison service reports a significant increase in committals to prison during 2009, and EU nationals other than Irish account for 13% of the prison population.
Rising to the Immigrant Integration Challenge

Globalization continues to bring challenges and opportunities to policy-makers at all levels in the governance hierarchy. Ireland is not the only place facing immigrant integration issues. Most developed countries are examining how best to integrate immigrants in local societies while at the same time discrimination is becoming more common as the global economy continues to falter. Europe is awash with cultural diversity. Inhabitants hail from different nationalities with different languages and today many of them who immigrated to Ireland face strong anti-immigrant sentiments in local communities. Based on responses to the attached questionnaire, one can see that social equality and integration are major defects in the community, and efforts to remedy the situation will require determined action on the part of politicians, Irish nationals, and immigrants. The psychological impact of global and national processes on members of the community are reflected in angry responses to many aspects of globalization, not the least of which is international migration. Immigrant integration is a complex concept that is tied to the debate concerning the role of immigrants in host societies. Effective integration transforms a community; however, a community with a deeply rooted sense of values and a strong sense of nationalism will not accept linguistic and cultural diversity overnight. It is broadly accepted that barriers to integration may not be overcome for first generation immigrants, but that second and third generation offspring will benefit from sharing the same education as Irish nationals; however, the OECD reports second and third generation offspring of immigrants still experience barriers to the labor market. At first glance, it may not appear obvious that integration should rise from local communities. Integration policies are after all dealt with at the regional and
national levels, but migrants ultimately settle in local communities, so it makes sense to address integration at the local level. Policy-makers are caught between needs and funding. The agencies responsible for integration are constrained by limited financial resources and competing community needs, and as everyone knows, integration is a policy area most politicians would like to avoid in political debates. However, lessons from history tell us that successful and sustainable development requires social stability where all members of a society must contribute to creating an equitable environment. Central to effectively addressing the challenges of social inclusion and equality is the task of understanding the multidimensional aspects of social change in the community. In order to develop a road map that leads to immigrant integration, we must first understand the current situation.

What We Know

Whether one lives in the suburbs of New Jersey or in an Irish community, we know globalization’s star has lost some of its radiance. Local residents question the value of many aspects of globalization, primarily the global economy and international migration. In many cases, nationalism and protectionism are on the rise as evidenced by Tea Party rallies in the United States, and angry responses from Irish communities. At the same time, from a logical standpoint, we know immigrants are needed, and immigrant integration is necessary to build a successful, sustainable society. We also know that immigrant integration is a bi-directional process, involving both immigrants and Irish nationals in the host community, and that key components of success center on education, housing and employment. We know that limited English language leads to linguistic
segregation in the community and makes bi-directional communication challenging. In this Irish community most legal immigrants come from other EU member states and most work in low-paying jobs. Asylum seekers and refugees come mainly from African countries. We know from CSO databases that between April 2009 and April 2010 the number of immigrants in Ireland fell from 57,000 to 30,800. Emigration among Irish nationals rose from 18,400 to 27,700, and emigration of non-nationals fell from 46,800 to 37,000. In addition, for the first time ever the number of persons aged sixty-five and older now exceeds half a million. What this means is there are less working age people in Ireland, and therefore, less income tax revenue, and there are more senior citizens collecting generous social welfare benefits that require more funding from tax revenues. The bottom line is that in order to manage income generation and social welfare outlays economic migrants are needed.

What We Don’t Know

A key unknown is how long and how deep the current economic recession will be. Another unknown is the impact the expected budget cuts will have on members of the community. There is still an expectation that immigrants will continue to arrive in the area and it is difficult to determine what Irish society will look like over time. We do not know whether Irish nationals will absorb different cultures and accept immigrants as equals. We do not know if immigrants are willing to integrate in the community, or whether they are primarily concerned with jobs and wages, and are in fact ‘transnational migrants.’
What the Responses Revealed

Responses confirmed that social class is deeply embedded within the community. It is also apparent that strong anti-immigrant sentiment and racism does exist. Immigrants are separated from Irish nationals based on employment, earnings and neighborhood, and there are few friendships that cross nationalities. There is little or no discussion of integration in the community. Generally, the indigenous population feel immigrants should adopt Irish customs and culture. There are broadly held convictions that the vast majority of immigrants are a drain on the economy. Economic migrants, asylum seekers and refugees are all perceived to abuse the social welfare system and to contribute disproportionately to the crime rate in the community. Responses from immigrants indicate that, at the present time, they enjoy freedom of movement and the opportunity to work anywhere in the EU where wages and benefits are best.

Most respondents believe ethnic discrimination is widespread in the community and has gotten worse over the recent past. The most contentious issue across all segments of the sample population is the extent to which migrants are perceived to abuse entitlements paid for by Irish taxpayers, and there is evidence to suggest that abuses do occur. An EU integration index shows Ireland is one of nine EU27 countries where over 60% of the population supports the concept of equal social rights. It is also one of eight countries where over 25% want all immigrants deported. Based on what was known and what was learned, we can create a springboard from which to launch some suggestions for going forward. The timing may be right.
Local Solutions for Global Change

Today, immigrant integration is of critical importance on both sides of the Atlantic and is a key issue for political actors running for office. In communities across the globe there is widespread disenchantment with national governments and with politics in general. People are unhappy with the bailouts of large transnational corporations, and expected social welfare cuts are making Irish nationals anxious. In addition, perceived abuse of entitlements by immigrants, whether they are documented or not, has heightened frustration with current political actors who are blamed for most problems in society. Ireland is no exception and cash-strapped citizens are angry. When the economy was robust, civil society was passive and disengaged. Irish society has always been characterized by “a high propensity by non-elites to defer to policy prescriptions” (Jacobsen, 1994, p. 20). Even in current economic times, one cannot help but recognize the deferential attitude of the indigenous people to those in powerful positions. So far protests have been muted, partly because many citizens feel powerless and cannot see a solution to the problems, but based on the responses to the survey, it appears many in the community are becoming more critical and more vocal. Today there is mounting pressure on Brian Cowen, the Taoiseach to dissolve the government and a general election is expected early in 2011. A recent poll by the Irish Times newspaper shows that 61% of Irish voters want Mr. Cowen to relinquish power before the next scheduled national election in 2012. In spite of the current economic situation which eclipses all other considerations, those seeking political office must address issues of immigrant integration. The focus must be to make native communities more receptive to immigrants, and to encourage immigrants to become participatory members in their new
communities. Mutual responsibility is fundamental to successful integration. Immigrants have a responsibility to become productive civic-minded members of the community, and Irish nationals have a responsibility to provide the resources and opportunities immigrants need to become successful.

To address integration issues political actors must articulate a clear approach to curtailing social welfare spending, and to closing the loopholes that contribute to the current level of frustration. At the same time, they must articulate in concrete terms the country’s need for productive immigrants. There is of course a risk for those who promote immigration today. Well organized groups in Europe and in the United States passionately oppose international immigration and advocate restrictive laws to control entry based on merit and skills. To counter anti-immigration arguments proponents need better data regarding the benefits that immigrants bring, and they need an effective communication strategy to engage Irish nationals and immigrants in areas where they have concerns. In a post-recession economy, immigrants will be necessary in the work force and immigrant integration will continue to be challenging as state and local actors struggle to promote social well-being for all members of a community. There is a need for knowledge on how to successfully integrate immigrants in local communities.

Selecting a community similar to the one where this survey took place could provide a unique backdrop for discussions on integration and social inclusion. Acknowledging the challenges of adapting the integration debate to an audience with prejudicial ideas of the value and worth of the immigrants in their midst may help identify areas where some pilot projects aimed at integration could be initiated.
Pathway to Immigrant Integration

Immigrant integration remains controversial, making open and honest dialogue difficult. This project highlights the major challenges political actors face in attempting to make immigrant integration and social inclusion a reality. Analysis of the responses emphasizes that social exclusion manifests itself more starkly at the local level, therefore addressing the issues must start at the local level. As the country seeks to re-establish itself on the world stage targeting a discrete community as a test case to develop and implement process improvements might be a good starting point. Gathering ideas and suggestions from members of the community who have a vested interest in creating a successful and sustainable environment may be the first step on the long road to social inclusion and immigrant integration.

It will take a broad range of actors and efforts to improve the current situation. Pulling together the appropriate actors, migrants, employers, training organizations, and members of the indigenous population in a collaborative effort may be an effective way to initiate some pilot projects aimed at integration. There are many obvious opportunities for improvement, but responses indicate that the primary issues center around entitlements and education. Addressing the entitlements issue will clear up invalid perceptions among Irish nationals, while improving immigrant education will position the newcomers to be successful in their new space. Entitlements has been identified as the most contentious issue, so although it may be the biggest nut to crack, it will get community attention and participation. EU cooperation may be needed to address issues of entitlements. The EU has a currency union without a social welfare union, so in order to reduce ‘tourist migration,’ there is a need to coordinate and equalize social welfare
payments across all member states. However, that does not mean taking a one size fits all approach. The cost of living is different in member states. A mechanism is needed to identify and correct loop-holes that allow migrants to collect social welfare payments in a country where social welfare payouts are high and allow them to reside in a country where the cost of living is low.

When addressing issues in the education system, it seems clear local actions should be based on valid data regarding the effectiveness of the current education system, skills shortages, and employment opportunities in the labor market. Even though education directives emanate from the EU and the national government, education and labor-market training must be tailored to the needs of the local population. To arrive at a good starting point for closing gaps in education and the labor market, school dropout rates and the success rates of ‘Educate Together’ schools need to be examined. In a discrete community, there may be opportunities to test initiatives that foster job skills. A public/private partnership might be tailored to align the needs of local companies with an educational curriculum designed to close skills gaps. It may be feasible to encourage Irish nationals to volunteer as English language mentors and to enlist the help of business owners in providing adult education as an incentive toward upward mobility. Activities in this sphere would also provide opportunities for jobs networking, employment services, and business support, so career paths for immigrants can be developed.

There are many organizations that can be accessed to acquire funding and to facilitate information sharing. At the regional level there is, The European Fund for the Integration of Third Country Nationals (EIF), Employment for People from Immigrant Communities (EPIC), and the European Social Fund (ESF). At the national level there is
The Immigrant Network Office of the Minister of State for Integration, the steering
committee of the national institution The McGill Summer School, integration advocates
from academia and from the world of NGOs. There is a European web site on integration
(www.integration.eu.is) that is an online data collection facility designed to act as an EU-
wide platform for networking on integration. While this information is beneficial there
are still critical questions requiring answers before a local program aimed at addressing
immigrant integration could be initiated.

- How does the uncertain economic environment impact integration efforts?
- How would such an effort be funded?
- To what authority would the effort be accountable?
- How would success of the effort be evaluated?

Much has been written about immigrant integration, most from a top-down
perspective. Achieving immigrant integration is a huge undertaking that will take a long
time; however, a bottom-up approach with support from the top may be an effective way
to approach the problem. Successful integration is elusive. There will be obstacles and
set-backs, but let us remember that as Lily Tomlin once said, “the road to success is
always under construction.”
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Economic and Social Research Institute is a source of economic and social research. Published and working papers dealing with different aspects of the immigrant experience in Ireland including living standards, skill levels and housing can be accessed at www.esri.ie

National Economic and Social council (NESC) and the National Economic and Social Forum (NESF) carry information on social partnerships some of which can be downloaded free of charge. Information can be accessed at www.NESC.ie and www.NESF.ie


The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) carries data for all member countries and can be accessed at www.oecd.org

Data on the immigrant and native populations, business environment, changes in housing/accommodations at the local level can be accessed at www.carrickmacross.ie

Immigrant Council of Ireland (Effects of immigrants on labor and housing) can be accessed at www.immigrantcouncil.ie

Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences can be accessed at www.irchss.ie

Transnational research program in migration (Migration in Europe—social, economic and policy dynamics) can be accessed at www.irchss.ie

National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) (Independent “Think Tank” aimed at promoting an intercultural society) can be accessed at www.nccri.ie

Services, Industrial, Professional and Technical Trade Union (Role of the biggest trade union in Ireland in protecting immigrant rights) can be accessed at www.siptyu.iw
Media organization web sites that provide information and the latest news on issues and topics relating to globalization in Ireland.

Irish Independent: www.unison.ie
Irish Times Newspaper: www.ireland.com
Ireland’s National Broadcasting channel: www.rte.ie
Policy Institute, Trinity College houses emerging trends and patterns in immigration and employment regarding justice, equality and law: www.tcd.ie
Polity Press web site contains information on all aspects of globalization: www.polity.co.uk/global

Translocations. The Irish migration, race and social transformations review. An Irish inter-university, open access e-journal: www.translocations.ie

Wall Street Journal Financial information on European countries: www.wsj.com
APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

You are invited to participate in a research study that is being conducted by Frances Bridget Biroc who is a Ph.D. student in the Global Affairs Department at Rutgers University. The purpose of this research is to determine how you feel about living in Ireland and in your community.

Approximately 45 people between the ages of 17 and 75 years-old will participate in the study, and each individual’s participation will last about 15 minutes.

The study procedures require that you respond to a set of questions regarding how you feel about living in the community at the present time. The results will be tabulated in an Excel spreadsheet.

The research is anonymous. In this context, anonymous means that I will record no information about you that could identify you. This means that I will not record your name, address, phone number, date of birth, etc.

If you agree to take part in the study, you will be assigned a random code. Your name will appear only on a list of participants and will not be linked to the code number assigned to you. There will be no way to link your responses back to you. Therefore, data collection is anonymous.

There are no foreseeable risks of participation in this study.
Participation in the study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate, and you may withdraw at any time during the study procedures. In addition you may choose not to answer any questions with which you are not comfortable.

If you have any questions about the study or the study procedures, you may contact me at 7 Moro Terrace, Wayne, NJ 07470, or by e-mail at franbiroc@aol.com, or in Ireland (from July 13 to July 21) by cell phone 0873128348. You can also contact my faculty advisor Dr. Richard Langhorne at the Division of Global Affairs, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 123 Washington Street, Suite 510, Newark, NJ 07102, by e-mail at langhorn@andromeda.rutgers.edu, or by phone at (973) 353-5585.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the IRB administrator at Rutgers University at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects, Office of Research and Sponsored Programs, 3 Rutgers Plaza, New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559, Tel: (732) 932-0150 ext. 2104, or E-mail: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu.

You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records.
APPENDIX B

PARTICIPANT INTRODUCTION TO THE SURVEY/QUESTIONNAIRE

International immigration is in Ireland to stay. Not all migrants will stay, but many will. How migrants are accepted in the community and how they in turn interact with indigenous people is intimately tied to effective integration. Social interaction, the process through which people reciprocally influence each other's feelings does not occur in a vacuum. The attributes that impact social inclusion and integration most fall into three categories: the education system, housing accommodations and the workplace.

The purposes of this project are firstly to broaden our understanding of the issues faced by members of an Irish community as global processes alter life styles and attitudes of natives and immigrants. To achieve this objective, opinions and suggestions from a sample population representing the community will be captured and analyzed.

Participants were selected based on information maintained at the Central Statistics Office (CSO) in Dublin that specify a profession or work category for all adult residents in the area. This information was used to develop percentages in each work type category and from that pool of data, a list of potential candidates was established. The primary objective is to find out how people from different walks of life feel about the quality of life in the community, and to ascertain the extent to which integration and social inclusion exist in the community. Quality of life is defined as a many-sided view of life, including dimensions contributing to human well-being. These dimensions are,
access to resources such as money, knowledge, education, health care, living conditions and social relationships. The questionnaire is attached, and your input is greatly appreciated.
APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE

General Objective

The primary thing I want to know is how you feel about living in the community.

What are the three most positive aspects of living in this community?

1) 
2) 
3) 

What are the three most negative aspects of living in this community?

1) 
2) 
3) 

How would you describe your quality of life at the present time?

Have recent economic events impacted your quality of life?

QUESTIONNAIRE

Section 1  Tell me about yourself

1) Were you born in Ireland       Yes  No
2) Are you an Irish citizen?      Yes  No

3) Are you a permanent resident in Ireland    Yes  No

4) To which age group do you belong?
   □ 16 to 24
   □ 25 to 44
   □ 45 to 64
   □ 65 or older

5) What is the highest educational level you have achieved?
   □ High School/Secondary School
   □ Undergraduate degree
   □ Advanced Degree
   □ None of the above

6) What is your marital status?
   □ Single
   □ Married
   □ Divorced/Separated
   □ Widowed

7) Do you have school age children     Yes  No
   If yes, how would you rate the education system in the community?

8) Do you own your own home?     Yes  No

9) In which area of town do you live?
   □ In town
□ Suburbs (within 2 miles of town)
□ Rural

10) Is being classified as a ‘national’ in Ireland a good thing?  Yes  No

If yes, why?

11) Do you think there are too many immigrants in Ireland?

How about in your community?

12) Do you think migrants get paid fairly for the work they do?  Yes  No

13) Do you think migrants are paid less than Irish citizens?  Yes  No

14) Do you believe migrants drive wages down?  Yes  No

15) Generally speaking, do you think Irish citizens will do the jobs that are now held by migrants (e.g. meatpackers, manual labor, or cleaning)?  Yes  No

16) Do migrants impact the health system?  Yes  No

Please explain.

17) Do migrants impact the education system?  Yes  No

Please explain

18) Do people in the community welcome refugees?  Yes  No

Please explain
If you are not currently employed, go directly to question 34.

If you are retired or a student, go directly to question 64.

Section 2  Tell me about your employment status

19) What is your occupation?

20) Do you have more than one job? Yes No

21) If married, does your spouse work outside the home? Yes No

22) How many miles do you travel to your primary job?

23) How do you travel to your place of work?
   □ Walk
   □ Drive
   □ Public transportation
   □ Car pool
   □ Other

24) How long have you been in this job?
   □ Less than 6 months
   □ Between 7 and 12 months
   □ Between 1 and 2 years
   □ More than 2 years

25) How many people work in your place of employment?
   □ Less than 20
26) Of all those employed in your place of work what proportion are immigrants?
   □ Between 75% - 100%
   □ Between 50% - 75%
   □ Between 20% - 50%
   □ Between 10% - 20%
   □ Don’t know

27) If less than 10% of those employed in your place of business are immigrants can you explain why that is so?

28) What is the main activity of the business where you work?

29) Do you belong to a Labor Union?      Yes      No

30) Do you think that Labor Unions do a good job helping migrants with worker issues?
   □ Very Good
   □ Good
   □ OK
   □ Not good
   □ Poor
31) How secure do you feel about your job?
   □ Very secure
   □ Secure
   □ Somewhat secure
   □ Insecure
   □ Very insecure

32) Do you think that everyone where you work has
   The same pay and conditions for the same job   Yes  No
   The same opportunities for advancement   Yes  No
   Never thought about it / don’t know   Yes  No

33) Has the recent economic crisis impacted your employment?   Yes  No
   If yes, how?

If you are employed and you are an Irish national go to question 64.

If you are employed and you are an immigrant go to question 39

34) Please indicate which of the following best describes your situation
   □ Looking for work
   □ Retired
   □ Homemaker
   □ Unable to work due to sickness/disability
   □ Other

35) If you are looking for work, how long have you been looking?
   □ Less than 1 month
36) Does the current transportation system limit your opportunities
   for Jobs?  Yes  No
   for Education?  Yes  No

37) Have you ever taken advantage of any educational or vocational training
   programs?  Yes  No
   If yes, in which training programs did you participate?

38) Did you find the training program beneficial?
   Please explain

Section 3  Life outside of work — For Immigrants only

39) What is your country of birth/nationality?

40) How long have you been living in Ireland?
   □ Less than 1 year
   □ 1 to 2 years
   □ 2 to 3 years
   □ over 3 years

41) Why did you choose to come to Ireland?
42) Have you thought about becoming an Irish citizen?  Yes  No
If NO, please explain

43) If YES, are there obstacles that prevent you from becoming a citizen?

44) Do you belong to any cultural organizations or clubs whose members are mostly from your homeland?  Yes  No
If YES, how often do you go there?
   □ Once a week
   □ 1 to 3 times a month
   □ Special occasions
   □ Other? Please explain.

45) Are you still politically active in your home country?  Yes  No
If Yes, please explain.

46) Do you ever go to Irish sporting clubs (e.g. Bridge, Golf, Football)?  Yes  No
If yes, how often do you go?
   □ Once a week
   □ 1 to 3 times a month
   □ Occasionally
47) If there was a football game between Ireland and a country other than your home country would you root for Ireland? Yes No

48) Do you ever attend local political meetings? Yes No

If yes, how often do you attend?

□ Once a month or more
□ Rarely
□ If there is an issue that pertains to you.

49) Do you ever attend Irish cultural events (e.g. concerts or plays)? Yes No

If Yes how often do you attend?

□ Once a month
□ Rarely
□ Special occasion

50) How many Irish native families do you consider as friends?

□ None
□ Less than 5
□ Between 6 and 10
□ More than 10

51) How many Irish native individuals do you consider as friends?

□ None
□ Less than 5
□ Between 6 and 10
□ More than 10

52) In general, what do you do for entertainment?
53) What is the primary language spoken in your home?

54) Is language a barrier to forms of entertainment you would enjoy?  Yes  No

55) Which religion do you practice or consider yourself to be a member of?

56) Does the language used at religious services influence your attendance?  Yes  No

57) Do you volunteer in the community in any way?  Yes  No

If yes, please explain

58) How often do you visit your home country?

☐ Once a month

☐ 4 times a year

☐ Twice a year

☐ Once a year

☐ Other

59) How many relatives do you have in this community?

60) How many friends from your home country live in this community?

61) How many of your immediate family remain in your home country?

☐ Over 75%
□ 50% - 75%
□ 20% - 50%
□ 10% - 20%
□ Less than 10%

62) How often do you communicate with your friends and family in your home country?
□ Daily
□ Several times a week
□ At least 4 times a month
□ At least once a month
□ Only when it is necessary

63) How do you communicate?
□ Mail
□ Phone (Voice or Text)
□ Internet
□ Other

Section 4  This section is for all participants

64) Generally speaking, do you think the police in the community do a good job protecting you and your family?       Yes     No

Do you have any suggestions that would help the police in their efforts to provide better security?
65) How well do you think the local politicians respond to the needs of people in the community?

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Irish Natives</th>
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<tr>
<td>□ Very well</td>
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<td>□ Poorly</td>
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66) What do you feel about the number of houses built in the area over the past ten years?

67) Is Ireland a good place to live?

Economically

Yes    No

Why?

Socially

Yes    No

Why?

68) Since the economic downturn how has your quality of life changed?

69) Who do you think is to blame for the current economic situation?

□ Government

□ Banks

□ Borrowers
☐ Migrants

☐ Others

Why do you think that?

70) Has being a member of the EU had a positive impact on Ireland?

Economically

Yes  No

Socially

Yes  No

Politically

Yes  No

Can you explain?

71) How do EU treaties and directives impact life in Ireland?

72) What do you consider the best thing about being an EU member state?

73) What do you consider the worst thing about being an EU member state?

74) What one important thing could the EU do to help communities like this one?

75) Does the Irish government do a good job protecting the civil and social rights of citizens? Yes  No

of migrants? Yes  No

76) What one important thing could the Irish government do to help immigrants integrate into Irish society?
77) Do Irish natives in the community welcome immigrants? Yes No

78) If you are an Irish national, how many migrant families do you count as friends?

How many migrant individuals do you count as friends?

79) How do you feel about the recent arrival of refugees in the area?

80) Do you have any additional suggestions or comments that you would like to share?
Name: Frances B. Biroc

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