The Experiences of Newcomer Populations and Access to Higher Education Opportunities in Ireland: An Exemplar of Enhanced or Impeded Integration Policy?

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Abstract

This thesis was framed within a period of what appeared to be endless economic growth and prosperity, significantly predicated on the requirement to attract and retain migrants into the Irish economy. As a consequence of the seismic economic decline Ireland has experienced since 2008, the thesis examines the impact of the re-adjustment of policies and practices on particular groups of migrants by providing a critical insight into their experiences of access to Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) and third level learning experiences in Ireland. Having participated in the Linehan and Hogan research on the experiences of migrants in higher education and training in 2008, it became apparent through research undertaken in the north west region, that a number of themes and issues were evolving: namely, the identification of a collection of interrelated barriers that migrants appeared to be encountering in higher education, primarily as a result of the underdevelopment or absence of access to HEI policies focusing on the learning needs of some newcomer populations. There are a number of limitations to Linehan & Hogan's (2008) research, including a specific lack of focus on the humanistic perspective of the development of human potential on a holistic level. Each individual is entitled to flourish through education: a basic fundamental human right. Theoretically, this thesis is grounded in a rights-based approach (RBA) incorporating Nussbaum's (2001) 'Capabilities Approach' (CA) along with a Walzerian emphasis on notions of membership and belonging and the denial of these to certain 'out groups' in society, namely certain migrant groups. Cumulatively, by adopting a social justice paradigmic lens and in conjunction with the insights of 41expert interviewees, a comprehensive review of existent literature along with the inclusion of a comparative international dimension to these issues by way of insights gleaned from the Netherlands and Great Britain, a number of key findings and recommendations are advanced. These include the urgent necessity of a major overhaul of policies around access to higher education for particular groups of migrant learners in Irish HEIs. Related to this, the findings uncovered in this thesis suggest that the presence of indirect institutional racism and institutionally racist practices around migrant learners' access issues need to be addressed at both the national (Higher Education Authority) and HEI specific levels.

Declaration

I confirm that the enclosed is all my own work with acknowledged exception.

Signed _____

Date   _____

Marie Mc Gloin

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Dedication

To the fathers and the mothers of the 'Northern Troubles' especially for those whose lives were tragically changed:

> *when he died, she could not cope. Her grief almost destroyed her. She visited his grave every day to pray and talk to him. In her absolute torment, she went one cold, cold night to place a blanket on Michael's grave to keep him warm* [John Kelly, brother of seventeen year old 1972 Bloody Sunday victim speaking of his mother's grief] (Irish News 2010, 7).

To seven year old Maria Colwell who was starved and battered to death by her stepfather in 1973, and to all the little ones who continue to be battered and tortured.

To the 92 million children (under five years old) that died from poverty between 2000 and 2010, and to the children who continue to die. (Irish Aid).

Quote from an Irish Political Representative on the lack of a realistic 'integration' policy:

'We are sitting on a time bomb' (IPR). (2010).

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Introduction to chapter one

This thesis is an exploration into the higher education practices that characterise the experiences of new ethnic minority communities and the wider societal 'integration' process. The following is a brief guide to the layout of this chapter. Section 1.2 provides a background to the study and an overview of the topic. Section 1.3 analyses the purpose and significance of the research, which centres on creating an understanding of the educational needs of migrants, the obstacles they encounter in their quest to access higher education learning opportunities, and the manner in which the State has, thus far, failed to meet these aspirations. Section 1.4 presents a broader overview on the composition of Irish society. Section 1.5 analyses the significance of the research. Section 1.6 presents the rationale and overall aim of the research. Section 1.7 outlines the origins of the research and provides a short account of the author's attempt to identify her locatedness within the wider parameters of a semi-ethnographic methodology. Section 1.8 outlines the structure of the thesis. Section 1.9 provides a discussion of the proposals developed in chapter two and three.

Chapter 2, the literature review, evaluates and critiques the major bodies of theory, policy and practice within the higher education sector regarding the experiences of ethnic minority groups. This chapter also includes an exploration of wider societal issues in Ireland impacting the lives of migrants. The main focus of chapter 3 is the investigation of the experiences of well-established ethnic minority groups in accessing higher education opportunities in Britain and the Netherlands. Secondly, an analysis of migration management policy development, in Britain and the Netherlands may provide an understanding of multicultural policy development and best practice for Irish policy makers and the higher education sector. Section 1.10 briefly describes and justifies the research methodology. Section 1.11 outlines the key assumptions and criteria deployed in the research process and section 1.12 concludes this chapter. The

following section presents the background to the study and an overview of the research topic.

1.2 Background to the study and overview of research topic

Darren Scully (Mayor, Fine Gael Councillor and a member of Naas Town Council) made the following comments, in a radio interview with Clem Ryan aired live on *Kildare's* Kfm on 22nd November 2011:

> *in my time as a councillor over the past seven years my experiences with Black Africans has not been good...I have been met with aggressiveness I have been met with bad manners I have also been played the race card I have been said oh you would help white people but you don't help black people.*

The above quote gained global media attention from as far away as Boston and Sydney, and twelve hours after the interview, Scully resigned as Mayor. He was also sacked from his job as an engineer. His political party, Fine Gael, distanced themselves from his statement, and he lost the party whip (Bohan, 2011). Scully joins a list of politicians who have been heard make such remarks, (such as the one time Deputy leader of Fianna Fáil, who used the term *working like Blacks* to praise her campaign team) (Bohan, 2011). Some of these politicians appear to be baffled by their own racist statements and their impact on social society. Ireland has become more diverse but racism in Ireland is a covert problem, and discrimination is frequently masked with humour (Bohan, 2011). Although there was an official backlash against Scully's statement, there was major controversy from the general public, in the form of radio phone-ins and anonymous online comments supporting the statement (Spain, 2011). People are deeply concerned with the impact of inward migration; this is a very sensitive issue, particularly in light of the recession, high unemployment, scarce resources and budget restraints (Spain, 2011). It is a sensitive issue and all politicians are acutely aware of this. In the record of the exchange between Deputy Pádraig Mac Lochlainn and the Minster for Justice and Equality, Deputy Aodhán Ó Riordáin, in a Dáil debate on the development of a new action plan to tackle racism, on the 2nd of April 2015, Deputy Mac Lochlainn stated that 'every one of us in these Houses knows that to advocate for the rights of migrants, asylum seekers and travellers, is not politically popular. If this is the case, there is a racism issue' (Houses of Oireachtas

Anti-Racist Measures, 2015). There needs to be a renewed focus and a new action plan on racism. Racism and discriminatory practices are all too common. Kingston, McGinnity & O'Connell, (2015) report that migrant groups suffer multiple disadvantages in the Irish labour market. The disadvantages include lower levels of employment, higher levels of unemployment and lower wages than the indigenous Irish. Moreover, there have been consistently high rates of discrimination reported by Black Africans and non-White EU groups, when looking for work, and in the workplace, between 2004 and 2010. These groups are particularly vulnerable in the Irish labour market (Kingston *et al*, 2015).

Racism is frequently under-reported. Research was conducted among 150 victims of racism, and only 13.3% of the total reported the crime (Grene & Bourke, 2014, 12). There have been numerous incidents of workplace discriminatory practices. An undocumented worker who was unaware he was undocumented was forced to work up to 77 hours per week at 55 cent an hour. This worker was awarded €92,000 by the Labour Court, yet he had no legal redress because he was undocumented (Grene & Bourke, 2014). One woman who was trafficked into the country for forced labour, went to the local community welfare office for support; she was told she had 'no right to stay in Ireland and she was not entitled to any support' (MRCI, 2010, 3c). A group of other women were informed by their employer that if any of them had a relationship with an Irish worker, they would be sent back to their own country. One woman became pregnant and was sent home (MRCI, 2010, 2c). The United Arab Emirates Ambassador to Ireland used three domestic workers in his employment as slaves (McGreevy, 2014). The three Filipino women worked fifteen hours each day, seven days per week for two euro an hour (McGreevy, 2014). The State appears to be incapable of addressing racism and discrimination (Grene & Bourke, 2014). These are acts of racism that the public have little awareness of.

Education is another area of controversy. The right to education is restricted for numerous groups of ethnic minorities (Lynch, 2012). Policy that prevents ethnic minorities from accessing higher education opportunities is institutionally racist policy. Young people of migrant parentage who have not obtained citizenship are required to pay the international fee to access higher education opportunities. Other groups of migrants that are seriously affected by the high level fee structure include asylum

seekers and refugees, individuals on work permits, parents of Irish born children and 'aged-out' teenagers. Their rights are being violated and these violations are taking place within the Irish higher education system. This is discriminatory policy, because ethnic minority groups are being denied a basic fundamental human right, a right that has been laid down in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1948). The denial of full participatory rights to higher education opportunities is discriminatory practice. Policies and practices that discriminate against certain groups of ethnic minorities are in fact institutionally racist policies. Institutional racism was first benchmarked in the Steven Laurence Inquiry (MacPherson, 1999). Judge MacPherson found the inquiry into the Laurence murder marred by institutional racism (Lentin, 2004). This perseveres because the organisation fails to recognise and address its existence (MacPherson, 1999). It becomes a corrosive disease. The tiered college fee is an example of institutional racism. Migrants (and their sons and daughters) who are working and residing in this country, are treated unfairly and unequally in the higher education system in terms of access, yet Ireland is their home. Lack of the opportunity of higher education negatively impacts employment opportunities, which in turn create a destructive and damaging environment. Groups of ethnic minorities will be forced to encounter higher levels of poverty, social exclusion and marginalisation.

Policies and practices which result in the creation of barriers that exclude migrants, leaving them living on the edge of society as 'outsiders', cannot be socially justified in modern Western societies. It is a well validated fact that ethnic minority groups have different rights and entitlements conferred on them, which is dependent on their country of origin, and their residency and legal status. This is a major social justice issue because it is a determinant of social inclusion. This research thesis is grounded in a social justice perspective and includes the rights-based perspective and the 'capabilities approach' perspective. The rationale for including these approaches has been critiqued in section 2.9 and 2.16 in chapter 2 and it interweaves between both sections at various points.

This research proposes to focus on an exploration of the higher education needs of migrant workers. In addition to the barriers that the indigenous population encounters, migrant workers encounter specific barriers, such as language barriers and lack of relevant information on education rights and entitlements (Linehan & Hogan, 2008).

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Having to confront additional barriers to higher education creates further difficulties for the future employment of migrant workers, particularly in light of the recent economic downturn. Migrants need access to higher education courses to up-learn or re-skill. This is crucial, if migrants are to adapt to the future skills needs of changing labour market demands in Ireland, and it is crucial for unemployed migrants too. The work complied by Linehan and Hogan (2008) uncovered the experiences of migrants, and the barriers they encountered in Irish education. This research thesis further investigates these barriers and comprehensively examines why these barriers exist. This thesis aims to create an all-inclusive understanding of the experience of migrants in the Irish higher education sector, and the wider societal issues. It also creates an in-depth examination of the impact and experience of the denial of full participatory rights in higher education opportunities for numerous groups of ethnic minorities. The following section provides an overview of the initial research in 2008.

1.3 Migrants and higher education in Ireland

The report *Migrants and Higher Education in Ireland* (2008) compiled by Linehan and Hogan is the result of research conducted as part of the Strategic Innovation Fund: Education in Employment initiative (SIF). The purpose of this research, conducted through a partnership approach between nine higher education institutions, was to examine the barriers that migrants encounter in higher education, the difficulties they experience in seeking information on learning opportunities at HEIs and their wider impressions around their ability to access higher education provision. Linehan and Hogan's (2008) research also reveals that migrants encounter a number of particular barriers to higher education. Labour shortages during the 'Celtic Tiger' era contributed to the significant increase in migrants coming to and remaining in Ireland. Very little is understood about the needs of migrants, particularly those centred on their education requirements and aspirations. According to Linehan and Hogan 'education and employment play an important role in the 'integration' and social inclusion for migrants' (Linehan & Hogan, 2008, 2). This concern was one of the key rationales behind the initiation of the SIF sponsored *Migrants and Higher Education in Ireland* report in 2008. 160 migrants participated in focus group activities and Access Officers and Administration Officers participated in the interview process. The key findings of this research revealed four main barriers to higher education. The first barrier migrants

encounter is the lack of consistent and transparent information on entry requirements and the lack of relevant information on education rights and entitlements. The second barrier is the lack of proficiency in the English language. The third barrier is the lack of qualification recognition and the lack of recognition of prior learning (RPL). The fourth barrier is the excessive fee structure and the inconsistent information regarding these structures, methods of payment and sources of funding. A number of recommendations for actions to address these barriers were presented, including the following: migrants need comprehensive information on their education rights and entitlements and information on the fee structure; they require standardised guidelines to ensure proficiency in the level of English language; policy development is essential on RPL. The final predominant recommendation is qualification recognition, which also necessitates further policy development. This research, while timely and necessary, provided a comprehensive account of the position of ethnic minorities seeking higher education opportunities and their experiences in the wider community. There are limitations in Lineham & Hogan's (2008) research study however. There is a specific lack of focus on the humanistic perspective of the development of human potential on a holistic level. Education is a basic fundamental right (UN Declaration of Human Rights, 1948). Education greatly enhances employment opportunities but is also enhances political, social and civic engagement within society. Finally, it also has the potential to allow the individual to flourish as a fully developed human being (Nussbaum, 2001). Access to education is a social justice issue. On an international level, a rights-based approach to education advocates an 'inalienable right of the individual to education' (UNICEF, 2008, 1). The rights-based approach promotes a strategy of empowerment and education is a goal but it is also a goal in realising all other human rights (Sandkull, 2005). The next section explores a broader overview of contemporary Ireland.

1.4 Broader overview and composition of Irish society

Ireland has traditionally been a country of emigration but due to a number of domino factors as a consequence of the relatively recent economic boom, the country is now one characterised as a net inward migration recipient (Ruhs, 2005). Migrant workers make up the largest group of new people to come and work in Ireland. Most of the current migrants are economic migrants. They have chosen Ireland primarily for the

economic benefits and lifestyles it has to offer, at least when compared to their countries of origin. Ireland has gained major economic benefits as a result of the overall labour market input that migrant workers have contributed to, during the last number of years (Houses of Oireachtas Integration Policy Statement, 13 December 2007). The demographics of Ireland have changed.

The new Irish cosmopolitan landscape has witnessed major changes in culture and ethnicity, with over 199 different nations within its borders. The following provides a brief breakdown of the nationalities residing in contemporary Ireland. The latest census results show Polish numbers increased from over 63, 276 in 2006 to 122,585 in 2011, while the Lithuanian population increased from 12,055 to 36, 683 in 2011. Large increases were also recorded in the same period with Romanian, Indian, Latvian and Hungarian nationals. Other increases were witnessed among Germans, Filipinos, Slovakians, Brazilians, Nigerians and Pakistanis. An additional thirty-four nations have between 1,001 and 10,000 residents in Ireland. These countries include Algeria, Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Congo, Czech Republic, Egypt, Estonia, France, Ghana, Hungary, Iraq, Malaysia, Mauritius, Moldova, Saudi Arabia, Sudan Thailand, Ukraine and Zimbabwe, among others; this gives the reader a flavor of the cosmopolitan nature of Irish society (CSO, 2012d). There were 187 different nationalities at work in Ireland in 2011. There were/are large numbers of migrants in the health services. A total of 35% of Indian workers and 32% of Filipino workers are employed in the health services, while 25% of Lithuanian workers are employed in wholesale and retail. Large numbers of Polish people were/are employed in retail and accommodation services. The latest figures show that migrants are more highly qualified than the indigenous population (Monaghan, 2015, 10); 48% have a third level education.

The number of persons from outside of Ireland who spoke a language other than Irish or English was approximately 364,000 people. 47.7% of them stated they are proficient in English language. Younger people exceeded their parents in the ability to speak English; the percentage was 59% compared to 48% respectively. There are some groups who reported their language was weaker; 29.9% of Lithuanians reported that their English language skills were poor, while 29.5% of Somalian, 28.8% Latvian, 24.5% Polish, 24.3% Brazilian and 23.9% Chinese stated that their English language

skills were very weak (CSO, 2012d). This is a brief picture of the migrant groups within Ireland today.

Overall, migrants have made many positive contributions socially and economically in the past number of years. Migrants have been an invaluable resource to the Irish economy, but they are a diverse group of individuals whose needs are not well known. There are a number of barriers that confront migrant workers in education and employment (Cotter & Dunbar, 2008). There are issues around recognising migrants' previous qualifications and prior learning experiences. In addition, migrants generally have an *ad hoc* knowledge of the Irish higher education system, and there is a difficulty around sourcing relevant and concise information on educational courses, along with an absence of informed insights around employment rights and entitlements. Another area of major concern is the financial cost of education. Furthermore, many migrants have poor English language skills, which negatively impact on their integration into the Irish education and employment systems. Employment patterns have changed, and it is now a common practice that Irish workers upgrade their skills and knowledge by accessing higher education courses, even though they encounter barriers in doing so.

Up until recently, migrants have engaged in jobs in the Irish labour market that may not otherwise have been filled, primarily because of a shortfall of Irish workers. However, due to the current economic downturn, unemployment has increased dramatically since 2008 (CSO, 2012a; CSO, 2012b); it reached an all-time high in 2012 (CSO, 2012f). The current unemployment statistic for 2015 is 10%, which is still significant (CSO, 2015a). Migrants are at high risk of becoming unemployed, as CSO statistics reveal - one in five unemployed people were migrant workers in 2011 (CSO, 2012, 2h). EU Member State migrants, as a singular group, encountered the highest rate of unemployment since the economic recession (CSO, 2011). Therefore there is a genuine need for migrants to get the opportunity to access further education, to upgrade their skills and knowledge. This will enable them to gain employable skills and meet the future labour market demand. The central aim of this research is to establish the learning needs of migrants, and to outline ways in which, drawing on best practice, their needs can be best achieved. This researcher is not attempting to collectivise the experiences of all migrants. This study is a generic overview of the

experiences of migrants; they are a very eclectic group and the research is not a definitive statement of all their experiences.

1.5 Significance of the research

The research is timely and warranted, as it is essential that the education needs of migrants are examined, in order to respond to changing labour market demands. New ethnic minority groups encounter uncertainty and insecurity around employment; migrants need to return to higher education to up-learn and progress in the Irish labour market. This suggests that immediate action is required so that higher education is accessible for all groups of migrants. The education needs of migrant workers are poorly understood, and creating an understanding of these needs provides education stakeholders with the tools to address the gaps that this research uncovers.

1.6 Rationale for research

The overall aim of this research is to create an understanding of the barriers that confront migrants in higher education. The research is an exploration of their education needs in relation to their education, employment and employability needs. Currently, there are extreme difficulties in the Irish labour market and migrants need to be provided with the tools and skills to adjust to these labour market changes by having access to higher education opportunities. At present, there are at least four major concerns in relation to migrant workers. These are: lack of English language skills; lack of relevant information on higher educational issues; barriers in accessing higher education, including finance and poor recognition of previous qualifications and prior experiences. Therefore, there are a number of specific strands of investigation in relation to this research. These include:

- an exploration of the current education needs of migrant workers in this region;
- an investigation into the barriers that confront migrants in accessing higher education opportunities and provision;
- an examination of gaps in the education needs of migrant workers to meet current and future employment demands;
- an investigation into future skills needs in order to adapt to new labour market demands and to modify education courses to meet new skills and knowledge;

- an assessment of the experience migrants encounter, from a social, cultural and political perspective, in Irish society;
- an evaluation of the process of qualification recognition and recognition of prior learning and the acquired knowledge that migrant workers have gained in their countries of origin;
- an assessment of the policies and practices developed and implemented by Access Officers and Admissions Officers across Higher Education Institutes (HEIs), geared toward the needs of migrants accessing higher education.

In addition to the above research concerns, the migration management processes focusing on the training and education needs of migrants will be explored, in Britain and in the Netherlands. The research seeks to inform best practice of migration management and training and education, that may inform and influence the future of migration management policy in Ireland. Britain and the Netherlands were specifically chosen because both countries have a long standing experience of managing ethnic minority migration more holistically. Ireland has a long tradition of observing and applying British policy and practice, while the Netherlands has a long history of tolerance, and has traditionally pursued and promoted multiculturalism (Scheffer, 2011). This research may also help to inform the core structure of higher education policies, practices and strategic plans around the education needs, skills and knowledge that are considered necessary for the future economic growth of the region and to ensure employability. This research may also seek to inform wider society and policy-makers of the impact of the experiences that migrants encounter in Irish society. The following section presents the origins of the research idea.

1.7 Origins of research idea and contextual frames

I have conducted previous research (Masters Research 2007) on the experiences of indigenous adult learners, as I have a passionate commitment to the self-empowerment of individuals through education. One morning recently I was awoken by the soft slap, slap, slap of tiny feet as my seventeen month old granddaughter made the journey from her bedroom to mine with a good morning 'hi ya', then climbed into the bed and settled herself between her grandfather and me. This has occurred each morning since she could walk and even from the moment she began to crawl down the corridor. You are probably wondering why I mention this, but this morning ritual envelops her with a

sense of belonging, or as Piaras Mac Éinri describes, a 'warm inchoate feeling of belonging' (2004, 87). Everyone needs to feel they belong in the community.

During the 'Celtic Tiger' era, migrants from 199 different countries (CSO, 2012d) entered Ireland; this was phenomenal, as major inward migration on a natural basis had never occurred before in the history of Ireland. In fact Ireland has a long tradition of emigration. Generation after generation have emigrated. My grandfather was the second youngest child born into a family of fifteen: thirteen of his brothers and sisters had emigrated to America at the beginning of the twentieth century; only one sibling returned to Ireland. My grandfather never knew any of these siblings because he was never presented with the opportunity to develop a relationship with any of them and he never saw any of these siblings again. This is a defining part of Irish history. Recent major inward migration has occurred. Just as the 'Celtic Tiger' began to unravel in 2008, it was calculated that 12% of the population were migrants (Office of the Minister For Integration, OMI, 2008).

The demographic composition of Irish society has permanently changed. In his frequent interventions, Mac Éinri rightly highlights that policy and practice designed to address issues regarding migrants and their needs still remains underdeveloped and is continually provided on an *ad hoc* basis (2007b). If migrants are not treated inclusively, they and their children and their children's children will feel no sense of belonging. This may result in social unrest, as has happened in France and Britain as each new generation found themselves 'unwelcomed' by their communities. The social unrest that occurred in Britain in the early 2000s was experienced between 'settled and predominantly English speaking communities and not created by recent inward migration (Virk and Singh, 2004, 4). The integration experience of second or third generation migrants in Britain shows that they feel let down by the education system; they have fewer opportunities in a very unequal society. Groups have been ghettoised and socially excluded and consequently rebelled. Social unrest results from years of frustration and anger (Mac Éinrí, 2007a). The Paris riots in 2005 were a direct result of the 'hopelessness' that third and fourth generation young adults constantly encounter (Chrisafis, 2010). These young people encounter major discrimination because they are 'ghettoized in dismal suburbs, marginalized and jobless because of their skin colour or their parents' immigrant origins' (Chrisafis, 2010, 23). Since the

2005 riots, the discrimination has worsened (Chrisafis, 2010). This had been occurring for four generations, where each generation feels they are dispossessed and displaced. These are two prime examples of major social injustice that continues today for the descendents of migrant workers.

One of the primary interests behind my decision to pursue this research topic was my own experience of civil, political, economic and social unrest. This narrative is a very brief perspective of my personal experience of an 'ordinary' child growing up in Northern Ireland during the period euphemistically referred to as the 'Troubles' and experiencing how 'ordinary' people 'coped' living with the 'Troubles'. In the summer of 1969, my parents took my two elder brothers and me into Belfast city centre to purchase school uniforms for the new school term. My father parked his spanking new Austin 1100 in the Unity Flats area, outside a large furniture store fronted completely in plate glass. The Unity Flats is a Catholic area at the bottom of the Shankill Road, a staunchly Protestant area. The school uniforms were fitted and purchased that day. Afterwards, my older brother and I were given permission to briefly visit the nearby pet shop to catch a glimpse of the animals. We returned to the car after this pet shop visit and waited for the others to return. The road was a typical main city thoroughfare. What we did not know at that time was that there had been a football match nearby. The people returning from the match were from both sides of the political divide in Northern Ireland (Protestant and Catholic). This was a recipe for sectarian unrest.

In a very short space of time, there was a very large mass of bodies coming in our direction. All I could see was an advancing wall of people with a purpose in mind. The crowd was angry and the tension in the air was palpable: you could actually feel it. When the crowd passed our car, my brother and I were 'forced' to go with the flow of people. In the hustle of the crowd, my brother managed to make his way back through to the Catholic side and located the others. In the meantime, I dislodged myself from the crowd and made my way back to the car. When I arrived back, I had a panoramic view of what was happening. The road had an incline and allowed me to view the massive body of Catholics packed shoulder to shoulder in front of the car and the massive body of Protestants packed shoulder to shoulder directly behind the car, making two walls of very angry people. Directly in front of the car were lines of policemen in full riot gear, and behind them there was another defensive line of British

troops facing the Catholic crowd. I remember barbed wire wrapped around wooden barricades that I came to learn was typically used in road blocks. Effectively, the car was right in the middle of a riot, with me standing behind it.

Then the first brick was thrown. Subsequently, a number of bricks and fair sized stones began flying through the air. Some of the policemen were hit with the missiles, then a policeman quickly approached me and I informed him that I was waiting for my family to come back to the car, so he quickly guided me into the furniture store opposite the car. I was placed in a large armchair, where I proceeded to watch the events while swinging my legs back and forth, undeterred by what was occurring. After a short period I saw my father - who somehow managed to pass through the police-line - approaching the car from the Catholic side. As soon as I recognised him, five men rushed at him, kicking and punching him and knocking him to the ground where they proceeded to continue to beat and kick him. I jumped from the armchair and raced through the shop door, shouting that was my Daddy, I was over to him in a flash, pulling at the men and shouting repeatedly 'leave my Daddy alone'. The men stopped and pulled him into a standing position but the policemen stayed where they were. He told the five men he was just retrieving his car. When I think back, I am surprised that I was not caught with a misguided punch because I was physically pulling at the men. They apologised to my father and stated that they thought 'he was a Fenian bastard'. The men directed the group standing shoulder to shoulder to part and let the car through. There was something very surreal about observing the thunderous group quietly part. This was my first encounter with the 'Troubles' and my first encounter with social injustice.

There were numerous other incidents, on-going continually to the point that they became the 'norm'. Growing up in the 'Troubles', I quickly became very aware of the 'walking dead'. These were the ordinary decent people who were oppressed and suppressed: you could see this in their gait but it was most prominent in their eyes. Growing up on the 'Peace Line' had its own unique problems. Our modern sitting room was used for displaying the tree at Christmas time. We never used the sitting room other than that because it was considered too dangerous as it was located at the front of the house, and therefore a possible risk that we could be a target for Protestant

extremists. There were many ordinary heroes and heroines in Belfast during the 'Troubles' and many of these were at the front line of the education system.

I applaud the teachers. They were terrific, as they encountered the 'stories' and dealt with the most vulnerable children and teenagers in West Belfast with our best interests at heart. They were not trained to do this. Our school life would often be interrupted by British soldiers, sometimes due to bomb scares and at other times due to searches for illegal guns and ammunition. The school was in the heartland of the 'Troubles', where many of the pupils had had similar experiences to mine and the teachers often had to deal with traumatised children. Whole streets were repeatedly under street arrest and the pupils could not get to school. I lived on the so-called, 'Peace Line' and often had to go to school without my schoolbag and school books because this could draw attention to my religion and that was always dangerous. The principal of St Rose's Secondary School was Sr Mary Edmund and she understood why a percentage of the pupils would get distraught and angry when British soldiers entered the school, therefore placing herself between both groups in a bid to protect her students. Obtaining an education in West Belfast was fraught with difficulties and was often surrounded with a sense of entrapment. I became aware from an early age that I would not be presented with the opportunity to access higher education, as the social unrest heavily interfered with my second level schooling. Therefore, when this opportunity was presented to me as a mature student, like many mature students who are 'given a second chance', I did not hesitate to return to education. I have developed a firm understanding of the opportunities which education has to offer in up-learning and in developing future employment prospects. Also, I am aware that education is a powerful tool in developing an informed sense of self, as Paulo Freire states:

> the more I inform myself on the substantiveness of what I read, the
> more and the better will I read and become able to re-write what is read
> in my way, becoming also able to write what I have not yet written
> (Freire, 2004, 71-72).

Using what you have come to know to further explore, understand and create more knowledge is the real power of knowing, putting knowledge into practice of ownership. Freire worked with peasants who were oppressed in their society and in this

capacity he firmly believed that being informed and developing an understanding of how society can be oppressive provided the peasants with the tools to address this oppression. He believed education has the power to transform the world. Freire said 'I see "education as the practice of freedom" above all as a truly gnosiological situation' (1976, 147), referring to his understanding of the true power of education, as education awakens a person's consciousness and informs and provides that person with the opportunity and tools for radical social change. Freire sees education as a process that informs, develops, and evolves because 'people become aware of their manner of acquiring knowledge and realise the need to knowing even more. In this lies the whole force of education in the gnosiological condition' (1976, 153). Freire provides a similar perspective when he eloquently opines: 'education is not the key to transformation, but transformation is in itself educational' (as cited in Gismondi, 1999, 3). It is a total all-round process of social change. Furthermore, Freire believes that through learning people discover that they can re-make themselves and are 'capable of knowing – of knowing that they know and of knowing that they don't. They are able to know what they know better and to come to know what they do not yet know' (Freire, 2004, 15). Through his experience of working with peasants, Freire noted that the more informed they were, the more they understood the oppressive nature of the society in which they lived. Knowledge gave them the power to understand and redress this oppressiveness. Consequently, the more we learn, the more we want to know, and the greater our understanding of knowledge becomes.

This experience has shaped and influenced my character and my attitude towards people who are continually forced to live on the edge of society all over the world. In the beginning of this brief narrative I spoke about the inclusiveness of what my granddaughter needs to experience for her to understand her place in the world. I do not want any of my grandchildren nor anyone else's grandchildren to feel excluded from Irish society or Irish life. Groups of people are still oppressed and suppressed in Ireland today. Currently, the needs of migrants are not being met effectively; they have no voice and no 'real' place in Irish society. Migrants also need to be presented with the opportunity to be actively involved and to be part of their own solution. Piaras Mac Éinri understands that Ireland's demographics have changed and the State needs to respond to these changes as a matter of urgency as racism and inequality are issues that

will entrench and fester if no meaningful engagement with our migrant communities is forthcoming soon (Mac Éinri, 2007).

The failure of the Irish State to attend to these issues runs the distinct risk of increasing social tensions. Little attempt is being made to explain the reality of multi-ethnicity in Ireland today and the fact that it is here to stay, and adequate responses on the policy level are conspicuously lacking. In the community sector, there is a significant gap between those working with 'new communities' – for the most part mainstream and middle-class Irish – and disadvantaged working-class Irish people. It is perhaps symptomatic that few middle-class Irish people will ever have heard of the range of state-backed initiatives such as the Community Development Programmes (CDPs), designed to combat social exclusion. Indeed, there is a more general divide between the middle and working-classes in Ireland: only Gardaí (police), civil servants, teachers, social workers and a few others cross this divide, and then mainly as gatekeepers. Movement in the other direction is even rarer. Even within those very sectors where a more inclusive attitude might be expected, new communities are underrepresented (Mac Éinri, 2004, 101-102).

The assumption that migrant workers would emigrate from Ireland as a direct result of the economic downturn has been proved wrong (Smyth, 2011a). Over the course of this research, the participants who contributed their valuable perspectives are vastly enthusiastic about this research because of the importance of 'integrating' migrants into the community. I have been aware that my attitude and beliefs from an early stage of this research have been shaped, to a certain extent, by my thinking processes and this may be perceived as a weakness but I also understand the massive impact of social unrest and how it divides and destroys a whole population. Currently there is very little information on migrants and the barriers they encounter in Ireland, and this research is creating new insights and understandings of contemporary Ireland and migrants' place in it. This research is a critical exploration from a sociological and social policy analysis perspective, in conjunction with the concept that underpins the ideology of social justice. The modern concept of social justice means challenging the unequal relations between the powerful and the less powerful, and recognizing that people have individual rights, entitlements, and access to wealth and income. These challenges are about working towards ensuring social justice and democratic rights. The Irish model

of 'integration' has poor regard for equality, social justice or social rights (Considine & Dukelow, 2009).

One of the people that Freire encountered on his educational journey stated: 'before this [access to education], words meant nothing to me; now they speak to me and I can make them speak' (cited by Shaull 1990, 13). In conclusion, my own experience of education has fostered a powerful belief in the power of education to emancipate people and the fact that increasing numbers of people are realizing the real value of education 'since they understand that educational attainment and achievement may be one of the most important assets a person can acquire in a lifetime' (Moxley *et al*, 2001, 73). In conjunction with this concept, education may also be regarded as 'simply the soul of a society as it passes from one generation to another…[but] we cannot give what we have not got, and cannot teach to other people what we do not know ourselves' (Chesterton, 7th May 1924). Each generation needs to empower themselves and as a society we need to be enlightened about the power of education. There are elements of ethnographic methodologies in this thesis most obviously in respect of the migrants and my interest in their lives and their experiences.

As inward migration is a relatively new occurrence, there is little understanding of what the long-term impact on Irish society may be. This is significant, as migrants currently employed and unemployed are planning to reside in Ireland for the foreseeable future. Therefore, the current and future higher education needs of this group are not well understood, which is the primary purpose of this research. As highlighted in the literature review (chapter two), research shows that migrants living in Ireland are more vulnerable to becoming unemployed in the current economic climate than indigenous citizens. As a consequence, they require access to higher education to up-learn and increase their skills, to enhance their employability and meet new labour market demands.

1.8 Thesis structure

The following is an outline of the structure of this thesis. Chapter 1 provides an overview of the rationale, contents and wider structure of the work. Chapter 2 addresses the issues pertaining to migrants accessing the higher education system in Ireland. This is the main focus of the thesis. Chapter 2 also evaluates the wider experiences and effects of the rights and entitlements impacting migrants and their lives. Chapter 3 reviews the higher education system in Britain and the Netherlands and the issues pertaining to ethnic minority groups in both countries accessing higher education opportunities. Chapter 3 also examines the development of migration management policy from the British and Dutch perspectives. Chapter 4 is devoted to methodological considerations and research design. Chapter 5 facilitates the presentation of the data and findings and provides a detailed discussion of the findings. Chapter 6 outlines the conclusion and recommendations. The following section provides an analysis of the research proposals developed in the literature review.

1.9 Research proposals developed in the literature review

Chapter 2, the literature review, evaluates and critiques the major bodies of theory, policy and practice with regard to the experiences of ethnic minority groups and the barriers they encounter in higher education. Chapter 2 also includes an exploration of wider societal issues in Ireland impacting the lives of migrants. The main emphasis is on policy which, in effect, places restrictions on access to higher education opportunities which in turn, impacts employment opportunities. The main focus of chapter 3 is the investigation of the experiences of well-established ethnic minority groups in accessing higher education opportunities in Britain and the Netherlands. Secondly, an analysis of migration management policy development in Britain and the Netherlands may provide an understanding of multicultural policy development and best practice for Irish policy makers and the higher education sector.

The research questions developed out of the literature review concern the barriers that confront migrant workers in accessing higher education provision and wider accessibility opportunities which may have an adverse impact on this group's overall participation in Irish society. Up until recently, the Irish economy has benefitted from the labour contributions that migrant workers have made. Now there is an economic

recession and migrants are in danger of becoming unemployed, or unemployable. For example, at the beginning of the recession in 2008/2009, 71,716 migrants were on the Live Register; this was an increase of 141% for this period. The percentage was double that of the indigenous population during the same period - 77% (Mac Cormaic, 2009). The figures for 2012 found that 20% of unemployed people were migrants (O'Connell, 2012). The current unemployment rate is 10% which is still significant (CSO. 2015). A growing body of research shows that migrants are highly disadvantaged in employment and that they encounter higher levels of unemployment compared to the indigenous population (Kingston, McGinnity & O'Connell, 2015). Some migrants may choose to return to their country of origin but others are choosing to stay in Ireland (Mac Éinrí 2005). Large numbers of migrants are living in rural Ireland and despite the economic downturn (Irish Rural Link, 2009), propose to remain in the State (Pope, 2009). Labour market needs are changing and these needs can be addressed through access to higher education. At present there are many barriers that confront migrants in returning to and remaining in higher education. The literature review analyses and critiques these barriers in general and investigates how the barriers consequently impact on migration management policies and practices in Ireland.

Chapter 2 begins with an exploration of the Irish higher education system. This is followed by a critical review of migration management policy development between 1989 and 2014 and the social policy and practices that have influenced the experiences of migrants in Irish society. The findings of the Employment in Education Working Groups *Education in Employment* (2008) report (complied by Linehan and Hogan, 2008) is analyzed, in conjunction with an extensive national and international study on the experiences of ethnic minorities, the barriers they encounter in accessing higher education opportunities, and their wider societal experiences. These barriers are individual, institutional and structural in nature. Proficiency in language and the lack of finance are the two most dominant barriers encountered. Groups need an understanding of the higher education system and what their rights and entitlements are, in regard to education and employment opportunities. In reality, certain groups are denied basic fundamental rights and entitlements, and these groups may internalise a second, or third class citizenship status. Restrictive policies and practices have been institutionalised, and this is having a negative impact on ethnic minority groups. In addition, racism and discrimination continue to impact ethnic minority groups. Racism

appears to have increased since the onset of the recession (Integration Centre, 2011a; Integration Centre, 2011c). There has been a noticeable change in Irish attitudes towards migrants; this has become more negative since the recession began (Smyth, 2009; Grene & Bourke, 2014). These are serious issues of concern.

The main focus of chapter 3 is an exploration of the experience of well-established ethnic minority groups in accessing higher education opportunities in Britain and the Netherlands. The second strand focuses on the investigation of migration management policy development, namely, multicultural policy development and its merits. The key ingredient of multicultural policy is equality. Ireland has become a very diverse country. 'Diversity is an inescapable condition of modern life and respect for this is essential' (Alibhai-Brown, 2000, 3). Cultural diversity is authentic and warrants acknowledgement and acceptance. Policy that does not evolve, more than likely will not sufficiently address migration management policy. The migration management process has evolved and changed, to a certain degree, in both countries, and Ireland has the potential to learn from the experiences of both.

There are different aspects to multicultural policy in Britain and the Netherlands but the essential ingredient of multicultural policy is equality, without which multiculturalism would be a failure (Modood, 2012b). The most successful approach to multiculturalism is one that is chosen, by the minority group, rather than forced upon that group. The main point is that the choice is left with the migrants (Modood, 2012b). Whatever approach is chosen, society at large must respect difference (Modood, 2012b), because cultural diversity is inescapable and the reality of modern life (Parekh, 2005). Scheffer (2011a) argues that all Western countries are immigrant nations and they need to acknowledge this simple but realistic fact. We have yet to address the issues around modern day 'immigration'. Our world is profoundly globalised, yet some people still believe that the 'immigrant' will leave and return to their country of origin. Frantz Fanon (1967) is an authority on the impact of colonialism and in particular how the 'black man' is positioned in the white world by the white man. When a 'black man' enters the white world he is made aware of his inferior status because of the colour of his skin. The act of colonialism reminds the 'black man' of the colour of his skin. The Empire of Colonialism lives on under the disguise of the cloak of oppression. The following is a brief discussion of the methodology used in the research.

1.10 Methodology

As highlighted, Linehan and Hogan's compilation of research undertaken by the Education in Employment Working Group in 2008 provides a useful and well-grounded platform from which to develop a sound methodological framework capable of further developing and accurately capturing the objectives of this research. This work laid the foundation for further in-depth research which involved a significantly deeper set of explorations and numerous additional intensive interviews with identified national and international experts. The research also included conducting a focus group with third level students, from within and outside the EEA. Initially, the research began with a series of focus groups conducted with migrants from Poland, North Africa (mostly Nigerians) and Iranian Kurds, to explore their experiences and issues around education, finance, language, racism, qualification recognition, 'integration' and access to higher education opportunities.

As the purpose of the research is to examine the higher education needs of migrants, interviewing strategic participants in education, and examining the policies impacting education was a major part of the research. Participants were purposefully chosen because of their background expertise or the positions they held. There were similarities and interrelated themes across the research data from the onset. For example, all interviewees regarded English language proficiency as important. Therefore, the research findings were linked and interrelated. The research data from each group was initially analyzed separately, but as the data from each group was familiar, the final data was presented together. Overall, the research consisted of 41 interviews and 4 intensive focus groups. Participants in this research are derived and classified from the following sectors:

- representatives from regional organisations are classified as Regional State Representatives (RSR);
- representatives from NGOs are classified as Non-Government Organisation Representatives (NGOR);
- EU representatives from the EU Commission, European political parties and Irish MEPs are classified as EU State Representatives (EUR);

- representatives from Irish political parties and Trade Union spokespersons are classified as Irish Political Representatives (IPR);

- representatives from National State Departments/Government ministries are classified as Irish State Representatives (ISR);

- representatives from the third level sector are classified as Academic Representatives (AR);

- representatives from the third level sector student services perspective are classified as Student Services Representatives (SSR);

- representatives from the focus groups are classified as either focus group representatives (FGR) or Student Group Representatives (SGR) in the presentation and analysis chapter.

The majority of the interviews were conducted between November 2009 and October 2010. The following social policy themes were identified as the main action points geared towards opening up participants' insights around the main research question and include:

- the impact of a lack of proficiency in English language;

- barriers to higher education and difficulties in accessing higher education provision;

- financial impact and constraints in education;

- qualification recognition and recognition of prior learning;

- barriers to employment;

- specific policies and supports and lack of supports for migrants in education and employment;

- 'integration' policy and practice;

- policy on racist and discriminatory practice;

- future employment needs and the role of higher education.

Interviews were considered the most efficient approach in exploring the issues that migrants encounter in higher education, as the advantages of using interview-based inquiry outweigh the disadvantages. All the research data has been analyzed and evaluated through a content analysis method. 'Content analysis is a very transparent

research method...[and] it is this transparency that often causes content analysis to be referred to as an objective method of analysis' (Bryman, 2004, 195). This is an important part of the research methodology. The following section presents the key assumptions of the research.

1.11 Key assumptions

In an effort to define more accurately what constitutes a migrant worker, the following criteria were used; a 'migrant' could come from:

1. one of the EU member states;
2. one of the EEA countries;
3. outside the EU and the EEA areas with Irish residency status;
4. outside the EU and the EEA areas with an employment permit; Or, a migrant could be,
5. a programme or convention refugee;
6. a refugee with leave to remain;
7. an asylum seeker;
8. the parent of an Irish born child.

Another key element in the research process was to identify the concept of employability. In contemporary Ireland, lifelong learning delineates learning as a continuous process throughout one's life. Therefore, the onus is on the individual to re-engage in higher education to upgrade their skills and knowledge and gain employable skills. The concept of 'employability' is regarded as 'a set of achievements – skills, understandings and personal attributes – that make graduates more likely to gain employment and be successful in their chosen occupations' (Yorke, 2004, 410). It is also important to note that migration policy successfully identifies labour market needs (OECD, 2009c). Ireland considers itself to be a knowledge-based economy dependent on a workforce with employable skills and knowledge.

1.12 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has introduced the reader to the purpose of this research, the scope and structure of the dissertation thesis and outlines a number of key concepts and parameters within which the research has been conducted.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Minister for Justice Alan Shatter stated that the greatest challenge facing Irish Society is 'integration':

> *Get it wrong and we will struggle for generations to come with a*
> *disenfranchised, excluded minority and all the associated problems*
> *this leads to*
> (as cited in the Integration Centre, 2012, 1f).

2.1 Introduction

The nature and extent of this research thesis has resulted in an extensive literature review. This chapter focuses on a range of barriers specific to migrants in accessing higher education. It is vital, from both a self-work/actualisation and social justice paradigm, that human beings are afforded the possibility to self-develop and to lead well rounded, constructive and meaningful lives that, in turn, contribute to the well-spring of communal existence and broadened notions of participation and membership.

The following is a brief guide to the layout of this chapter. Section 2.2 presents the development of third level education in Ireland, followed by an outline of the key legislative policy developments in the third level education sector. The NESC Development Welfare State Report in 2005 is part of the social policy development process which is followed by the influence of the social partnership process from its inception in 1987 to the economic recession, where it failed to progress any further. Section 2.3 provides an outline of Irish migration management policy development between 1989 and 2014. It also provides a record of the numbers of migrants working in the different sectors and where they originally came from. Section 2.4 presents a discussion of the concept of 'integration'. This is quite a debatable term as there have been stark contradictions between what the State envisages as 'integration' and what the reality is for numerous ethnic minority groups. Section 2.5 critiques the barriers to education that ethnic minority groups encounter in Irish society beginning with an

analysis of the report *Education in Employment* (2008) compiled by Linehan & Hogan. The main themes include migrants' impressions of Ireland, racism and discrimination, integration and differences in culture. This is followed by an analysis of the cost of education, the importance of English language proficiency and the lack of information regarding access to education. The final subsection presents qualification recognition and recognition of prior learning and the right to education. This section of the thesis investigates these barriers and examines why they exist. Section 2.6 introduces the SIF/EIE research interview findings with Access and Admissions officers, followed by section 2.7, which provides a summary of both sections in 2.5 and 2.6. Section 2.8 critiques Linehan and Hogan's report and uncovers gaps in their research such as the holistic potential of human development. Education is a fundamental human right. Education, human development and flourishing are strongly interlinked. Section 2.9 explores the interplay between social justice and human development, critiquing the humanist Marta Nussbaum (2001) 'Capabilities Approach' based on the principle of 'what people are actually able to do and to be' (Nussbaum, 2001, 3). This section of chapter 2 is followed by an analysis of the origins of Irish racism in section 2.10. This leads to section 2.11 on institutional racism, benchmarked by Judge MacPherson's (1999) investigation into the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry*. Institutional racism is a major issue in many organisations including the higher education sector. An Anti-Racist Toolkit has been constructed in response to the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* in Britain; it has been designed to tackle racism and institutional racism in the higher education sector. Section 2.12 examines the ideology of belonging, and explores Walzer's Spheres of Justice and his arguments on membership and equality. The subjects of multiculturalism and multicultural migration policy and equality are important aspects of 'integration' policy and therefore, evaluated in section 2.13. The knowledge economy and EU policy developments and human rights are assessed in sections 2.14 and 2.15 respectively. Section 2.16 summarises the central values of the Capabilities Approach and section 2.17 provides an in-depth conclusion to chapter two. The following section is a brief description of the development of the higher education sector in Ireland.

2.2 Development of third level education

The development of third level education in Ireland began with Trinity College in 1592 (Clancy, 1998). It was a fee-paying, residential institution under the Church of Ireland ethos. No Catholic males or women were permitted access to Trinity until 1793 and 1904 respectively. The demand for third level education grew among middle-class Catholics in the mid nineteenth century and was met with the establishment of non-denominational colleges in Cork, Galway and Belfast. Queen's College was the awarding body for all three. Under the Irish Universities Act 1908, the new National University of Ireland was established in Cork, Dublin and Galway (Clancy, 1999). Queen's College Belfast became Queen's University. University education remained the preserve of an upper-class elite and predominantly male domain. The shift in education coincided with a political awareness of the importance of education (Powell, 1992).

All second level education remained inaccessible to the majority of young people until the 1960s, when the State recognised the need for a universal second level education system and introduced free education (Smyth & Hannan, 2000). *The Investment in Education* Report introduced free second level education (FitzGerald, 2000). *The Report of the Commission on Higher Education* (1967) was designed to develop third level education provision, including the establishment of the technological colleges or Regional Technological Colleges (RTCs). However, inequalities remained very noticeable, particularly class inequalities. *The Investment in Education* Report (1965) was the first movement towards the concept of education as human capital (Fanning, 2011). The report examined the future needs of education and concluded that the 'needs of the developing economy would not be met' by the 1960s education system and that major 'social-class and regional disparities in education participation rates' were still evident (Considine & Dukelow, 2009, 311). Evidence remains today of social class disparities.

2.2.1 Third level education in Ireland

Since the 1990s, the Irish education system has placed a stronger emphasis on the development of human capital to meet the needs of the labour market. There were a

number of key policy and legislative developments during this period, including the following:

- 1992 Green Paper: Education for a Changing Ireland;
- 1995 White Paper: Charting Our Educational Future;
- 1997 Universities Act;
- 1998 Education Act;
- 1999 White Paper: Ready to Learn;
- 2000 Education Act (Welfare);
- 2000 White Paper on Adult Education: Learning for Life;
- 2004 OECD Report: Review of National Policies for Education: Review of Higher Education in Ireland;
- 2006 OCED Report: Review of National Policies for Education, Review of Higher Education in Ireland;
- OECD Report: Review of National Policies for Education, Ireland (2006);
- National Plan for Equity of Access to Higher Education 2008-2013 (2008);
- Intercultural Education Strategy (2010);
- National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030 (2011).

While there have been numerous advancements in Irish education and an emphasis on equality of opportunity, there has not been sufficient funding to put this into practice. The concept of educational disadvantage was defined in the Education Act 1998, section 38 (9), which that implied there were social and economic disadvantages to education that impacted on certain sections of the population, namely the lower socio and economic disadvantaged groups. The White Paper, *Charting Our Education Future* (1995), defined the principles of equality and accountability that should underpin a more inclusive and quality education system. The 1998 Education Act placed a requirement on the Minister for Education to address the support services and the quality of education for all in the education system. The Equal Status Acts (2000) and (2004) provide protection against discrimination in admission and access to courses in educational institutions. The provision of English language courses address the language needs of an increasingly ethnic minority community whose first language was not English. Critics would argue that English language provision has never been

fully funded (O'Mahony & McMahon, 2008) and has lacked a coherent and consistent evaluation system (Charlton, 2007; Egan & Dunbar, 2008).

There have been a number of progressions in the Irish education system. The recession has had a negative impact on education services however, and resources have become increasingly restricted. The advancements seen in education in the last two decades have all but been obliterated within a very short period (IVEA, 2009c). Not only has there been a reduction in the number of academic staff, but the level of resources and funding has been reduced, yet the numbers of third level students have increased (NPEA, 2010; Fearn, 2010; Jennings, 2013). Budget 2010 withdrew the entitlement to the Maintenance Grant for mature students on the Back to Education Scheme. This was one of the recommendations of the McCarthy Report (2009) (AONTAS, 2010). There were deductions in student grants and a reintroduction of student registration fees. Reducing this funding is a threat to the foundation of our knowledge-based economy (Somerville, 2008). The most successful programmes are those that have secured direct core allocated funding (Deane, 2006). Highly skilled jobs now necessitate the need for up-skilling (IVEA, 2009b). Traditionally, part-time courses have had few financial incentives, and were generally much more expensive than full-time ones but as a result of reduced funding in successive budgets, full-time courses are currently equally expensive to finance and attend as part-time ones. The *Programme for Government 2007-2012* (2007) Report had planned to introduce a new system of means-tested free fees for approved part-time courses and provide more flexible and diverse course structures (Government of Ireland 2007, 47b), but the economic recession has had an negative impact on implementing these plans. Since the beginning of the economic downturn, migrants have become more vulnerable to unemployment (Ruhs & Quinn, 2009; CSO, 2012h) with higher rates of consistent poverty (NAP, 2007).

There have been a number of major policy changes in the education sector, another fallout from the recession. For example, the *National Plan for Equality of Access* (2008) encountered challenges in implementing the goals outlined in the *National Action Plan* (NAP, 2008), while the NAP (2008) acknowledged that Ireland needed to have special regard for the needs of inward migrants but did not specifically outline these proposals (NPEA, 2010). The HEA, the Department of Education and the Department of Justice developed plans to clarify the educational entitlements of ethnic minority students and refugees (NPEA, 2010), but no plans have been established to

address the needs of migrants currently under-employed or unemployed under the National Plan of Equity of Access (2008).

In light of the current economic downturn, one of the recent reports on the higher education sector is a projected strategic plan up to 2030, which states that there is a need to re-examine the approach used in our higher education programmes in pedagogy, course delivery, student supports, funding and governance, as new approaches may be necessary to increase the skills and competences of the working population (National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030, NSHE, 2011). Some of the jobs that people will do in the future do not exist yet, so for this reason education needs to be at the forefront to be able to address and empower future workers in Irish society. These cores skills include critical thinking and reasoning, good communication and team-working skills and an appropriate knowledge of information technology. Individuals need to be nurtured in creativity and enthusiasm and in the skills required for continual up-learning (NSHE, 2011). The demand for higher education will increase in the next 15 years (2025), from approximately 43,000 to almost 65,000 enrolments per year in 2025 (NSHE, 2011). Furthermore, there is clearly a growing demand for higher education opportunities in light of the current downturn for those employed and unemployed. People need to upgrade their skills and knowledge and adapt new ways of working (NSHE, 2011).

The HEA statistics for new entrants into higher education institutions shows that 24.3% enrolled on the Social Science Business and Law field of study for the 2010/2011 academic year (HEA, 2012). Further analysis of the HEA report reveals the subject areas of interest for new students that enrolled in that year. Business Administration courses had over 3,400 males and over 3,000 female entrants, male entrants were more interested in Computer Science (over 2,000 males), Electricity and Energy (1,069 male entrants), Architecture and Civil Engineering (1,170), Computer Science (over 2,000 male entrants), and Social Science (1,373 female & 930 male entrants) (HEA, 2012). In the future, students will learn using a variety of learning approaches such as full or part-time study on or off campus, blended or online learning, open or distance learning, and work-based learning (NSHE, 2011).

This report does contain valuable recommendations and insights but it has been criticized because it should have created a 'coherent and accessible vision that will

drive both government and higher education institutions and allow Ireland to be recognised as a centre of academic and scholarly excellence'; it does not outline a definitive, coherent step-by-step plan of action to create a clear strategic vision as a guide for higher education institutions to follow (Von Prondzynski, 2011, 16).

With specific regard to migrants, the *National Development Plan* recognized that different groups of migrants present new challenges in Irish society to achieving social cohesion (NDP, 2007). The strategic framework for developing social inclusion revolves around policy documents and includes a plethora of policy proposals (some sadly defunct now) such as the new partnership agreement, *Towards 2016*, the *National Report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion* (NSSPI*) (2006),* the *National Action Plan for Social Inclusion* and the Social Inclusion Priority chapter of the NDP (2007-2013) (NDP, 2007). Although the NDP Plan (2007) states that it targets all the working age population, migrants are not specifically named in the document. 'Integration' policy must be grounded in the equality framework and will draw on the experience of other countries (NDP, 2007).

Policy objective 3 of the *National Report for Ireland on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2008-2010* (NSSPI) (2008) deals with the 'integration' of migrants. The measures proposed to actualize this 'integration' include reviewing and accessing current and future 'integration' policy. The education policies highlighted in this report are aimed at primary and post primary education, except for the development of English language provision which is provided in the third level sector (NSSPI, 2008). The next section provides a perspective of social policy development from the 1980s to the current day.

2.2.2 Social policy context and environment from 1980s to the present

The 1980s was a decade of relentless economic recession (FitzGerald, 2000) with mass emigration; 70,600 Irish emigrated in one single year (1989) (CSO, 2012d). Unemployment was very high; approximately 30% of the working population was in employment (Whelan, 2013). Poverty was widespread; one in three of the population had considerably low income levels (CPA, 1989). At the same time there was a lack of political stability which compounded the economic difficulties (Considine & Dukelow, 2009). The outward flow of emigration was reversed as a result of the upturn in the

economy in the 1990s which witnessed unemployment stabilising around 4% up to 2007 (Whelan & Layte, 2007). During this period, the aptly named 'Celtic Tiger' arrived, regarded as a 'remarkable' period (Hardiman, 2003). Economic performance developed rapidly during the 1990s and into the early years of the 21st century. This major increase in economic prosperity created a new climate for the development of social policy, particularly for groups socially excluded and at risk from poverty in Irish society. The *National Anti-Poverty Strategy* (1997) (NAPS) set specific policy targets to tackle poverty. The social partnership agreement provided the community and voluntary sector with a participatory voice for social inclusion in Irish society. The main objective of the *Social Partnership Programme* (1989) was to end unemployment.

The National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI), established in 1998, was an independent body that acted as an advocate for new members of Irish society along with groups traditionally marginalised. The main purpose of the NCCRI was to combat racism and promote interculturalism and awareness training. It also acted in an advisory capacity for government and non-government organisations. Simultaneously, the Equality Authority was established in 1999 to protect vulnerable social groups in Irish society and to ensure equal treatment. This was followed by the Equality Acts (1998) and (2004) and the Equality Status Acts (2000) and (2004). The passing of this legislation ensured that discrimination was prohibited in the provision of goods and services, training and collective agreements on nine grounds (gender, religion, marital and family status, sexual orientation, member of the Travelling community, disability, age and race).

2008 saw a swift decline in Ireland's economic growth (O' Connor, 2010). Ireland was once again in a deep recession, with major levels of unemployment, outward migration, budget deficits and government debt. In addition, the State abolished or weakened the standing at the very beginning of the recession of government funded agencies and organisations which were initially established to provide protection and a voice to disadvantaged groups. These agencies and organisations included the NCCRA, Combat Poverty Agency and the Equality Authority (Moran, 2009). Undoubtedly, emigration among the Irish has increased. Four times more Irish emigrated in the twelve month period between April 2012 and March 2013 compared

to the numbers emigrating in the twelve month period between April 2007 and March 2008 (Glynn *et al*, 2013). The total number amounted to 50,900 people (Glynn *et al*, 2013, 14). The economic recession has resulted in a widening gap between the poorer and the wealthier sections of society, evidence of which was outlined in a NESC report titled *Developmental Welfare State Report* in 2005.

2.2.3 Main NESC Developmental Welfare State Report (2005)

The main objectives of the Irish *Developmental Welfare State* (2005) were designed to address deep-rooted social disadvantage, particularly among welfare recipients and to support people at work to improve their participation in the economy (NESC, 2005, xiii). The *Developmental Welfare State Report* regards the:

> development of services as the single most important route to improving social protection. The first public policy challenge is to ensure that every member of Irish society has access to the level and quality she or he needs, with quality and equity being assured (NESC, 2005, xix).

Programme design and delivery needs to adapt to address the current increasingly complex needs of 21st century individuals, families and communities: the challenges lie in 're-conceptualising what the programmes are for and how they should be delivered' (NESC, 2005, xx). The debates ongoing around the time of the NESC report in 2005-2006 had opposing views. On the one hand, there were those who argued that economic development had 'sacrificed compassion, social standards and solidarity'. The alternative argument stated that increased public spending on social protection measures would 'erode the economy cost competitiveness' of the state (NESC, 2005). The NESC (2005) argued that the development of a knowledge-based economy and the development of welfare should continue to sustain the 'dynamism and flexibility of the economy' and should address the issue of social justice (NESC, 2005). Social policy should enable people to 'earn their livelihoods in a decent and humane way' (DWS, 2005, xiv). The aptly named 'Celtic Tiger' came to an abrupt end and with it a number of policy changes that made it impossible for any further progressive social welfare reform. There were four major policy processes in 2009. These were the Bank Bailout, the National Asset Management Agency (NAMA), the Report of the Special Group on Public Service Numbers and Expenditure Programmes (the McCarthy Report) and the

Commission on Taxation and Budget 2010 (Murphy, 2009). All of the above have been 'devoid of any social vision or social policy plan' (Murphy, 2009, 3).

Overall, the recession and consecutive budgets have been counterproductive to any progressions in social policy and there has been no policy initiative or political response to the horrific growth in unemployment (Murphy, 2009, 5). Unemployment remains very high (CSO. 2012g). The anticipated State plan of action has failed to materialize (Kenny, 2012; Burke-Kennedy, 2013). Social inequalities that were evident before the Celtic Tiger era have returned with a vengeance. *The Developmental Welfare State* (2005) report also acknowledged that the strategy document was specifically designed to address the needs of groups who were marginalised in society during the 'Celtic Tiger' period when, economically, the country was in a position to do so but did not respond (Murphy, 2009). *The Developmental Welfare State* (2005) and its objectives have been shelved.

Social resources, although restricted, still need to be maintained (NESC, 2009). Ireland's recovery and future prosperity must include supporting individual capabilities in a social cohesion environment even in the depths of a recession (NESC, 2009). It is now clear that people need access to education opportunities as part of policy in order to re-skill or up-skill (NESC, 2009). Education is at the heart of the Capabilities Approach; an approach designed to support each person's full potential and development (Nussbaum, 2011).

A second report from NESC entitled *Five-Part Crisis, Five Years On: Deepening Reform and Institutional Innovation (2013),* shows that unemployment continues to remain very high (NESC, 2013), and those who were least well off during the 'Celtic Tiger' remain disadvantaged. The long-term unemployed currently account for 58.2% of all the unemployed (NESC, 2013, 24). There still remains quite a number of the population with low levels of education and skills (NESC, 2013). Inequalities remain among the most vulnerable groups because of rising poverty levels (Smyth, 2010b). Simultaneously, two out of three migrants have taken the decision to stay for the foreseeable future (Smyth, 2010a), which means there is a substantial number of migrants remaining in Ireland. These issues need to be central to public policy in the

coming decade. The social partnership process presented a number of social partnership agreements and is another related issue.

2.2.4 Social partnership process

The social partnership programmes operated in Ireland between 1987 (when the State introduced the *National Recovery Programme,* the first social partnership agreement) and 2008 (Von Prondzynski, 2010). The National Economic and Social Forum (NESF) was set up in 1993, to analyse, monitor and evaluate programmes and 'policies in the areas of unemployment and social exclusion that had been identified in the context of social partnership negotiations' (Hardiman, 2005, 4). The four pillars of the Partnership Agreement consisted of the farming sector, the business and employers sector, the trade unions and the community and voluntary sector (Crowley, 1998). The NESF network consulted with the wider community and voluntary sector. Since pay and tax formed the core objective of the social partnership agreements, the community and voluntary sector frequently felt they had little power of persuasion (Hardiman, 2005). There was a large emphasis on the unemployment problem. Different forms of intervention strategies were implemented, such as up-skilling and retraining programmes (McCarthy, 1998) but by 1998 there was very little evidence that the partnership approach had any positive impact on reducing long-term employment (McCarthy, 1998). Many of the objectives of *Partnership 2000,* for example, were dependent on available resources (Crowley, 1998). The lopsided structure of the partnership process gave rise to concerns about wider social problems in Ireland.

Initially, the partnership process was viewed as relatively successful, except for the community and voluntary sector (Kirby, 1998b). It did not survive the economic recession however, (Brennan, 2013) because it became 'tainted' in its association with 'failed institutions' of the 'Celtic Tiger' (Roche, 2011, 25). An up-dated, redesigned partnership agreement that could take into consideration the changes in national circumstances has potential for a new partnership programme approach for the 21st century (Von Prondzynski, 2010) but the benefits remain to be seen (Brennan, 2013). Overall, the main objective of the partnership process was to narrow the gap between rich and poor which it had very little success in doing and there was very little

financial commitment invested in equality issues (Hardiman, 2005). The next section provides an outline of Irish migration management policy development.

2.3. Migration management policy 1989 - 2014

There have been a number of policy developments directed at refugees and asylum seekers and at what are referred to as 'economic migrants'. The Prohibition of Incitement to Hatred Act (1989) was the first Act in recent years initially designed to address intolerance in Irish society, but the Act is fraught with difficulties, as it is difficult to understand what constitutes an aggravating incident. For example, a person from Africa may have his wallet robbed, but this is a robbery and not a racist crime, according to one parliamentary debate in 2003 (Houses of Oireachtas Racism and Intercultural Presentation, 4 March 2003). A racist crime in this instance may not necessarily have taken place. The Act has been placed under review since 2000 (Beire & Jaichand 2006; Fanning *et al,* 2011). The Refugee Act (1996) ratified the UN Convention on the rights of refugees in 1956. However, as the numbers of asylum seekers increased in the late 1990s and early 2000s and was deemed a crisis, large sections of the Act were not implemented (Fanning, 2011). The Aliens Act (1935) was amended in 1997, and placed greater restrictions around the asylum process. Fanning (2011) described the new amendments as 'heavy handed'. In fact the Department of Justice is renowned for its heavy handedness in regard to Asylum Seekers (O'Carroll, 2013, 20). The Refugee Act (1996) propositioned the *Dispersal and Direct Provision Scheme* (2000) which was brought into legislation to regulate issues concerning refugee and asylum seekers. Fanning (2011) described direct provision as a 'policed' approach because of the restrictive nature of the policies. The living conditions of asylum seekers in Direct Provision have been and continue to be appalling; there are very little signs of human compassion or human decency (McKenna, 2013).

A court in Northern Ireland recently upheld the Republic of Ireland's asylum system as inhuman and degrading (Hutton, 2013). Asylum seekers are one of the most disempowered groups in Irish society (Loyal, 2002; Manandhar, Share, Friel, Walsh & Hardy, 2006; Arnold, 2012). The extremely low State handout of €19.10 per week (Middleton & Mitchell, 2006; Fanning, Veale & O'Connor, 2001) has never been increased since its inception in 2001 (Watt, 2001; FLAC, 2009; Arnold, 2012). This

sense of disempowerment generates abject feelings, where people have no sense of control over their lives (NASC, 2008; CERD, 2011; Integration Centre, 2012j). People seeking asylum in Ireland face a tough challenge, as the application process is very time consuming; it often takes three years, although people have been in direct provision up to seven years (Arnold, 2012). The level of privacy is minimal, as the living space is both shared and confined (FLAC, 2009). Even if all the policy failures/barriers that have been identified in this research were adequately addressed, the conditions that asylum seekers are expected to live in (direct provision) are totally unconducive to appropriate study environments. Sharing the facilities with countless others over extended periods is also demanding. In one reception centre, there were three bath rooms with three toilets for 20 rooms that accommodate up to fifty people (FLAC, 2009) Also, food is a major issue in direct provision. People have no control over the menu, the mealtimes or the choice of food (FLAC, 2009). The numbers of refugees have decreased due to the restrictive nature of the policy (Lentin, 2006). In the ten years between 1998 and 2008, there were 74,000 applications for asylum in this country (Ruhs & Quinn, 2009) but the numbers have plummeted to 1,940 in 2010 (Sheehan, 2011). Ireland still has the lowest approval rate for asylum in comparison to other European countries (Sheehan, 2011). The small stipend of €19.10 has been the subject of parliamentary debates, along with the numerous debates on unaccompanied minors (300 in the State in 2007). As one politician stated: 'I cannot think of a situation that would be more desperate or wretched than being a young person stranded in a country…such children are abandoned' (House of Oireachtas Integration policy Statement, 13 December 2007). This experience must be daunting for young people to arrive in a country that they know nothing about. Between 2009 and 2014, 661 unaccompanied minors were referred to the Child and Family Agency (TUSLA) (Quinn *et al*, 2014).

The Immigration Residence and Protection Bill has yet to be enacted (NASC, 2014). There have been a number of versions of the Bill to date. FLAC (2009) argues that the Immigration Bill contains numerous flaws. Section 12 of the Bill (2004) for example, was too vague and unconstitutional (NASC, 2013). Many decisions around justice are made at the discretion of the Minister for Justice (ICI, 2010). The general policy set down in the Bill remains restrictive; there are very few areas of redress (FLAC, 2008; NASC, 2010) and too many decisions remain discretionary. The Bill has been in the

legal system for over a decade and the lack of progress makes one wonder if this government is in support of promoting progressive 'integration' policy (Integration Centre, 2012g). Ethnic minority groups are politically under represented (Forde, 2012b). The main question for politicians and policy-makers to consider is how far is migration management policy, as it stands, going to undermine the migration management process? (Saggar & Somerville, 2012), as the overall process is incredibly slow (Integration Centre, 2012h). There have been a number of policy documents and proposals published by the State on migration policy. At the peak of the 'Celtic Tiger' era in 2006, the National Economic and Social Council published a number of reports. The first was the NESC (2006a), *Managing Migration in Ireland: A Social and Economic Analysis*. The second was NESC *Migration Policy* (2006b), a third report provided an overview of both policy documents NESC (2006c) *Migration Policy: Overview*. According to the reports, migration has been labour market driven. The 'integration' of migrants is one of the overall determining factors of the success or failure of migration; however, policies that are designed to segregate groups of migrants will, in effect, marginalise them:

> Making a success of migration also depends on labour market policies,
> labour standards, social policies, measured to ensure the integration of
> migrants and quality public administration...in many respects,
> migration increases the need to address existing policy challenges more
> than it creates entirely new ones
> (NESC, 2006c).

These reports emphasised that migrants need to be characterised as potential assets, not charitable or temporary aids for an employment driven market (NESC, 2006a; 2006b; 2006c). Another factor identified is that in a successful 'integration' process, migrants should be able to engage in employment commensurable with their qualifications and skills (NESC, 2006c). This is an area of contention, in that many migrants are underemployed and often experience discrimination (Smyth, 2011a; Smyth, 2011b). The policy documents concluded that 'Immigration coupled with successful integration strategies is likely to make Irish society more tolerant and, ultimately more resilient and adaptive' (NESC, 2006a, xxi; 2006b; 2006c). The use of the word 'tolerant' may appear to contradict the idea of inclusion. The *National Action Plan Against Racism* (2005) was a blueprint for promoting a more inclusive society and promoting ant-racism awareness programmes. The *National Action Plan Against Racism* (2005) was

preceded by the report, *Towards 2016, Ten-Year Framework Social Partnership Agreement 2006-2015,* (2006) which promoted a 'strong commitment to social justice' integration and diversity (Social Partnership Agreement, 2006, 5). The *National Development Plan 2007-2013* (2007) was a strategic development plan for the social and economic future of Ireland and the social inclusion programme was one of the main priorities. The *National Action Plan for Social Inclusion 2007-2016* (2007) promoted core social inclusion and anti-poverty strategies. Building an inclusive society remains a key priority for the Government. These were followed by the *National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030* (2011), which has placed a greater emphasis on the learning outcomes of the higher education sector, to enhance and empower future workers in the labour market. The NSHE (2011) does have merit but it has been criticized for the lack of a coherent action plan as a guideline for the higher education sector (Von Prondzynski, 2011). The *National Languages Strategy* (2011) presents an understanding of the influence of English language provision coinciding with the increase in the migrant student population from 2005. It was noted at the time that teachers were given no specific training for the provision of English language teaching (DES, 2005).

The *Intercultural Education Strategy 2010-2015* (2010) (DES & OMI, 2010) was designed to address the education needs of migrant children; it is not a tool but an approach to intercultural education, although there is an emphasis on language as an 'integration' tool (DES & OMI, 2010). The research and development of the *Intercultural Education Strategy* 2010 report coincided with the economy going into recession. Although the economy went into decline, inward migration continued albeit on a smaller scale (CSO, 2012e). The fact remains that a significant percentage of the present and future population will be migrant based and one of the challenges of Irish society is to confront and manage the rapid changes that are occurring and are expected to occur in the coming years. All of the above reports present a variety of strategies designed as blueprints for the future of the higher education sector. Ireland has become a very diverse country with many different nationalities; the following provides an outline of the different countries within each of the EU State categories and provides an idea of the numbers working in the various sectors. The final list provides an idea of where migrants are coming from as it shows the PRSI numbers allocated to migrant groups in 2008 and 2013 respectively.

2.3.1 Nationality groups

The following presents the various categories. The category EU15, excluding Ireland and the UK, consists of Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Finland and Sweden .The category EU15 to EU25 consists of the states that joined the EU on 1 May 2004: the Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia. The category EU25 to EU28 consists of Romania and Bulgaria, who joined the EU on 1 January 2007 and Croatia who joined on 1 July 2013 (CSO, 2015b). The following provides an idea of where migrants from the EU15 are employed.

Numbers of EU15 excluding the UK in 2013 in:

- Manufacturing -   2,363
- Wholesale, retail, motor repairs -   4,666
- Transportation, storage -   2,713
- Accommodation, food -   4,903
- Information, communication -   6,940
- Finance, insurance -   3,553
- Technical activities -   2,543
- Administration -   8,515
- Education -   2,208
- Health -   1,288
  (CSO, 2015b).

The following provides an idea of where migrants from the EU15-EU25 category are employed.

Numbers of EU15-EU25 nationals in 2013:

- Agriculture, forestry and fishing -   4,599
- Manufacturing -   25,693
- Water, sewerage -   1,540
- Construction -   4,779
- Wholesale, retail, motor repairs -   31,024
- Transportation, storage -   7,132
- Accommodation, food -   30,180
- Information, communication -   3,180
- Finance, insurance -   2,564
- Technical activities -   3,639
- Administration -   21,115
- Education -   1,704

- Health -   6,303
- Real estate -   1,243
  (CSO, 2015b).

The following provides an idea of where migrants from the EU25-EU28 category are employed.

Numbers of EU25-EU28 nationals in 2013 in:

- Manufacturing -   1,009
- Construction -   1,265
- Wholesale, retail, motor repairs -   2,042
- Accommodation, food -   5,376
- Administration -   3,108
  (CSO, 2015b).

The following provides an idea of where migrants from the rest of the world are employed.

Rest of the World in 2013 in:

- Manufacturing -   3,354
- Wholesale, retail, motor repairs -   8,564
- Accommodation, food -   15,200
- Information, communication -   4,411
- Finance, insurance -   1,521
- Administration -   3,108
- Technical activities -   2,633
- Administration -   7,287
- Education -   2,419
- Health -   10,033
- Defense, social security -   3,399
  `   (CSO, 2015b)

The PRSI numbers allocated to migrant groups in 2008 and 2013 respectively provide the current picture of migrants in Ireland.

PRSI Allocations by Nationality	2008	2013
Poland	42,454	9,235
Romania	6,727	7,710
Brazil	5,550	6,250
Spain	4,615	5,011
Italy	4,468	3,569
France	7,063	3,176
USA	3,489	3,047

India	4,231	2,614
Lithuania	6,419	2,519
Venezuela	65	2,218
Germany	3,832	2,160
Hungary	4,592	1,882
Portugal	2,147	1,584
Latvia	3,722	1,565
China	1,705	1,113
Slovakia	4,998	1,094
Republic of Korea	1,143	1,043
Canada	1,211	741
Czech Republic	2,764	693
Australia	1,855	637
Nigeria	1,520	544

(CSO, 2015b).

The total number of PRSI allocations in 2008 excluding the UK was 134,332. This number in 2013, excluding the UK, was 72,003. The largest five sectors accounted for 65.4% (209,433) of all foreign national employment activity in 2013. These were in manufacturing, accommodation and food, health, wholesale, retail and motor repairs, and administration (CSO, 2015b). Ireland is a relatively new country of inward migration and migration management policy.is still in the developing stages (Bauer *et al,* 2001). Nonetheless, the concept of 'integration' itself remains debatable as Ireland has yet to engage pro-actively on the fundamental but comprehensive question of 'integration' policy (Mac Éinrí 207), and taking into account progressive policy is crucial for maintaining social cohesion (Mac Cormaic, 2008a).

2.4 Irish concept of 'integration' formation

One of the foundational principles of successful 'integration' policy is a 'shared future vision and sense of belonging' (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008, 11). Secondly, different groups should have similar access to opportunities that other groups have access to. All groups need to be aware of not only their rights and entitlements but also their responsibilities to the wider community. It also includes mutual respect and understanding between the majority and the minority groups (Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007; Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008). Recognition of diversity is important, but equally as important are the commonalities between groups (Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007; Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008). The

government has a major role to play in promoting 'integration' policy and practice. 'Integration' should be implemented into mainstream society within an active consultation process with participant groups (Kallas & Kaldur, 2007). Addressing the needs of ethnic minority groups and the problems they encounter is a major part of mainstreaming migration management policy (Kallas & Kaldur, 2007). This is best policy practice. An additional requirement is developing good anti-racist policy. Kallas and Kaldur, (2007) outline similar ingredients of good migration management practice which suggest that ethnic minorities are provided with social and economic opportunities similar to those of the host population and secondly, the freedom of choice is with the minority group (Kallas & Kaldur, 2007). Another strand of good practice is about 'making social justice visible' (Commission on Integration & Cohesion, 2007). It is not just social justice but a continued 'commitment to tackling inequalities for all groups' (Commission on Integration & Cohesion, 2007). Equal opportunities for all is the cornerstone of successful migration management policies in numerous European countries (Kallas & Kaldure, 2007).

There have been stark contradictions between what the State envisages as the concept of 'integration' and what the reality is for different groups of migrants. The State promotes the notion of cohesion along with the promotion of anti-racist practice while it simultaneously discriminates, marginalises and impoverishes various groups of migrants. Currently, migration policy in Ireland widens the gap in many instances as it imparts different rights and entitlements between groups of migrants and between the indigenous populations. State policy needs to close the gap between the rights, statuses and opportunities presented to both the indigenous and migrant populations (OCED, 2007). The Irish model of 'integration' appears to focus on the concept of interculturalism, with little regard for 'equality, social justice or social rights' (Considine & Dukelow, 2009, 424). The foundations of the concept of 'integration' policy materialised when the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform published *Integration: A Two Way Process* in 1999. The report defined the integration process as:

> the ability to participate to the extent that a person needs and wishes in
> all major components of society, without having to relinquish his or
> her own cultural identity
> (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, 1999, 9).

This policy document applied to persons granted with leave to remain, persons admitted under family reunification programmes, Programme refugees and Convention refugees. Asylum seekers and migrant workers were not a focus of the report. *The National Plan Against Racism* (NPAR) (2005) focused on refugees, migrants workers and travellers. NPAR (2005) projected integration as a two way process where ethnic minorities and the State had obligations to create a more inclusive and intercultural society. The 'intercultural framework' of NPAR (2005) was based on providing protection against racism, economic inclusion and equality of opportunity. It also proposed to accommodate diversity in service provision, and to provide recognition of diversity and full participation in Irish society (NPAR, 2005). *The National Plan Against Racism* (2005) did not take into account the assigned rights and entitlements levelled at different groups of migrants, which resulted in the creation of inequalities and social injustices institutionalised by the system. Thus current policy is institutionally racist (Fanning 2007b).

The Minister of the Office for Integration published *Migration Nation on the Integration Strategy and Diversity Management* (OMI) in 2008. This document contained the principles on integration and the future objectives. In his opening address, the then Minister for Integration, Conor Lenihan, stated the:

> key challenges facing both government and Irish society is the
> imperative to integrate people of much different culture, ethnicity,
> language and religion so that they become the new Irish citizens of the
> 21st century
> (Lenihan, 2008, 8).

One of the main objectives of the Strategy was to prevent creating ghettos or 'parallel societies' (OMI, 2008, 10) and also to prevent what has occurred in other EU Member State countries with reference to social unrest (Mac Éinrí & Coakley, 2006) among second and subsequent migrant generations. There were riots in France in 2005 as a direct result of social tension among second and subsequent generation migrants. Seven years on, the situation had not improved; 70% of the 6,000 residents who live in what has been described as France's most run down estate *La Chêne Pointu* live below the poverty line (Chrisafis, 2012). Unemployment is excessively high at 40% and young people state their skin colour, address and non-French name ensures that their

CV's are binned. The social problems continue to be enormous for second and third generation migrants in France (Chrisafis, 2012; Allen, 2012). Social unrest is an important issue that has frequently been debated in the Houses of the Oireachtas; in fact the caption 'Brixton and riots are nearly synonymous' (Houses of Oireachtas Integration Policy Statement, 13 December 2007). Policy decision makers should be fully aware of the problems that Ireland may currently be developing and which will impact the future. As Forde (2012d) so rightly observes: *'Ireland is sleepwalking itself into a colossal mess over integration'* (Forde, 2012d, 1). The State's failure to address social exclusion risks increases social tensions among the most disadvantaged groups in Irish society who may attempt to confront each other for scarce resources (Mac Éinrí, 2004). Maintaining social cohesion is crucial to successful migration management policy (MacCormaic, 2008a). Migrants are not a homogenous group but numerous separate groups of people and policies differ with regard to their separate and ever changing rights and entitlements (Nlessen & Huddleston, 2009). The migration management policy and legislation framework in Ireland is not transparent, accountable or fair. Migrants' rights are not established or clarified in law (One Foundation, 2014). The current government appears to have dropped the facilitation of 'integration' (Forde, 2012a; Forde, 2012d; Integration Centre, 2012d). Crowley (2010) argues that this presents a 'hidden message' because government departments justify the importance of the role of 'integration' and all the policies and practices attached to this, yet the department that holds the major responsibility for the process of 'integration' and the management of the process denies responsibility for the process (Crowley, 2010). There are numerous other examples where policy does not marry practice, while other policies could not address or implement policies on the ground.

The Immigration and Protection Bill (2008) stipulated that to be eligible for application for long-term residency, the individual must be proficient in English language. The overall concept of mainstreaming integration has merit but the fact that different groups of migrants are inferred different rights and entitlements is contradictory to the concept of inclusive integration. Migrants who remain in low paid employment remain at risk from poverty; segregation is already occurring. The work permit has been one of the most controversial issues for migrants employed in that way (Lynam, 2008). Under the work permit scheme, workers are not entitled to medical services, free education or social welfare entitlements (Mac Éinrí, 2001, Loyal & Allen, 2006). One

work permit employee called it 'a modern form of slavery' (Middleton & Mitchell, 2006, 70). There was an estimated 30,000 undocumented migrants in 2010 (Pobal & MRCI, 2010) but this may be a conservative estimate (Immigrant council of Ireland, 2003). Workers in the work-permit system are frequently the subject of parliamentary debates because of their vulnerability (Employment Law Compliance Bill, 18 February 2009). Family reunification is another issue and a topic of political debate – 'we have invited these people here to work…and then disbarred them from the right to enjoy family life…that the person working and paying taxes here…has no right to be joined by his or her spouse or immediate family is a proposition that flies in the face of civilised norms in western society' (Houses of Oireachtas Immigration, Residence and Protection Bill 2008, 15 May 2008).

Migrant women in the domestic sector are also the subject of parliamentary debates as it is commonly known among politicians that some of the conditions of employment are 'horrific' (Houses of Oireachtas Employment Law Compliance Bill, 18 February 2009). The United Arab Emirates Ambassador to Ireland used three domestic workers in his employment as slaves (McGreevy, 2014). The three Filipino women worked fifteen hours each day, seven days per week for two euro an hour. The Employment Appeals Tribunal awarded each of the women €80,000 (McGreevy, 2014). There have been many reports of workplace discrimination. The domestic and care sector includes migrant women employed as housekeepers, child-minders, au pairs, carers and cleaners which is a hidden sector. Workers are very much in danger of exploitation because of the nature of their work and there is no employment regulation in this sector. The variation in pay is striking. For example, one migrant woman worked 80 hours for €112 per week while another worked 40 hours for €350 per week (O' Donoghue, 2004, 24). Another migrant woman employed in the domestic sector had to pay her employer €500 to get her passport back (O' Donoghue, 2004, 33). Almost all these women were legally resident in this country. The mushroom industry was frequently another source of exploitative employment (MMSG, 2006). Other documented examples included GAMA, a construction company, who employed over 800 people who were overworked and underpaid (O'Farrell, 2005; Higgins, 2005a; Loyal & Allen, 2006; Krings, 2009). GAMA was the subject of vigorous parliamentary debates as numerous deputies cited this case (Houses of Oireachtas Employment Law Compliance Bill, 18 February 2009). Another infamous case was the Polish firm ZRE

Katowice who grossly underpaid their Polish workforce in Moneypoint in County Clare in 2007 (Rodgers, 2007; Brennan 2009). There have been high levels of breaches in the contract cleaning sector (Cremers, 2009; NERA, 2012; MRCI, 2013). Breaches included working excessive hours for low pay (NERA, 2010: MRCI, 2010). The National Employment Rights Authority inspected over 1,000 work places in 2012 and over half were found in breach of workplace practices regarding the minimum wage, while 40% of those in the domestic sector had no employment contract (Liberty, 2012a; Liberty, 2012b; Liberty, 2012c; Liberty, 2012d). The reality of the working and living conditions of numerous ethnic minority groups means they are in fact working in 'conditions of *de facto* apartheid' (Mac Éinrí, 2005, 11). The law has to be changed to protect the most at risk from exploitative practices in the workplace (Ó Ríordáin, 2012). The denial of social rights is an extreme form of being denied social citizenship (Hill, 2006). It is essential that economic and social rights are conferred on everyone inclusively as common basic rights (Mac Éinrí, 2007b).

Fanning (2007a) refers to the debate on what citizenship infers. Frequently the ideology of citizenship infers rights and entitlements on an individual. The fact is that people migrating to this country have access to different rights and entitlements, which are frequently dependent on their legal status, country of origin and visa status. Different groups of migrants have different rights and entitlements; certain groups have restricted legal rights and entitlements, while other groups have almost no rights or entitlements. Groups of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees are categorised by the State as being outside the remit of the Irish legal and social system (Fanning 2007a). Social policy, structurally, excludes them as a direct result of the way policy is structured For instance, the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act (2001) legalised the term 'non-national'. This term was state-generated, replacing the unacceptable term 'Alien' (Lentin, 2007).

By 2004, the terms 'national' and 'non-national' became commonplace, particularly in debates around immigration issues in various Government departments (Fanning, 2007a). The use of the term 'non' may infer non-existence or a non-being. The Referendum on Citizenship in 2004 automatically removed the birth right to Irish citizenship for Irish born children whose parents were not Irish (Fanning, 2007a). The wording of citizenship legislation suggests that access to 'citizenship can be

undermined by welfare dependency' (Fanning, 2007, 247b). Numerous ethnic minorities have been refused citizenship status because they accessed social welfare which they were legally entitled to. There are several cases where migrants have chosen to remain in extreme poverty rather than apply for social welfare in order that it does not negatively impact their citizenship application (Crosscare *et al*, 2012). One woman was made homeless with a young baby while another had to stay in an abusive relationship because they were refused access to social welfare (Crosscare *et al,* 2012). In fact, this myth is so well believed that front line public servants in social welfare offices have made decisions and refused social welfare payments on the grounds of 'non- disclosure of means' (Crosscare *et al*, 2012). This 'non-disclosure of means' related to an unused, untaxed, uninsured second hand car given by a friend parked in his driveway which he could not afford to use (Crosscare *et al,* 2012). Policies that threaten the position of economic migrants are in danger of creating long-term marginalization and jeopardizing the long term future of 'integration'. Recent research has taken an innovative approach, to combine 'human rights and economic arguments', to draw attention and raise awareness to the positive contributions (talents, skills, entrepreneurship, energy, and commitment) that migrant workers contribute in their new communities (Lynch & Pfohman, 2013). These substantial benefits need to be publicly validated and made widely known among the host population (Lynch & Pfohman, 2013). This awareness would benefit the overall 'integration' process, the host society and the migrant.

The Social Welfare Act (2004) removed entitlements such as children's allowance that previously had been available to migrants from outside the EU (Fanning, 2007a). Policies that treat migrants as economic migrants may in the long term marginalise groups of migrants (Fanning, 2007b) because they ignore political, civic and social rights. 'Integration' policy that does not address inequalities and social injustices is a complete waste. These are State policies that disadvantage different groups of people (MRCI, 2007b) and even individual family members (Coakley, 2012). Another prime example of institutional racism is the Irish education system because it decides whether or not groups can access education (Kitching & Curtin, 2012). The tiered college fee is another example of institutional racism (institutional racism is critiqued in section 2.11 of this chapter).

Fanning uses the term 'paper politics' (Fanning, 2011, 38) to refer to the aims and objectives proposed in different State policies, reports and social policies. He directly infers that policies are on paper only and do not work in practice. In other words, State policy is designed to address an area of the 'integration' process but the finances or resources required to successfully implement the policy are not there. The fact that there are no matching resources makes it imposable to implement policy. This is referred to as 'paper politics'. Again Lentin (2006) calls it 'biopolitics'. A prime example of biopolitics occurred during the 2004 Referendum on Citizenship where, on occasion, migrants were portrayed as exploiting maternity health services and simultaneously a systematic obliteration of the contribution of thousands of migrant nurses and doctors in the entire maternity arena and wider provision of health services occurred (Fanning & Munck, 2007). Without the contributions of migrant health workers, Ireland's health services would struggle to survive. This is a prime example of biopolitics which is contradictory. When Michel Foucault (1976) lectures on 'biopolitics', he states that it is a source of power that has been developed in social theory to examine how different aspects of human life are processed, directed and transformed under the power, guidance, rules and regulations of the State. It is the way in which we are governed. Biopolitics is also associated with knowledge and or theory of this process, its impact and outcomes of this power or State authority. Biopolitics takes on various forms of stronger and weaker arguments of this position or debate. People within the State have to make choices that the State dictates; it is the political aspect of governance that impacts every aspect of daily life. 'Biopolitics deals with the population, with the population as a political problem, as a problem that is at once scientific and political, as a biological problem and as power's problems' (Foucault, 1976, 245). Policies of detention and deportation violate human rights treaties (Lentin & Lentin, 2006). Calls that propose putting a stop to migrants coming into the country in effect foster the idea of incitement to hatred (Lentin & McVeigh, 2002). Initially, media attention and officialdom focused on asylum seekers as a drain on the health and social welfare services and generally robbing the entire population (Guerin, 2002). Therefore, issues around asylum seekers were identified as a major security concern. In order to contain the crisis, prohibitive measures were introduced such as Direct Provision and restrictive social welfare entitlements (Fanning, 2011). These prohibitive measures again are exclusionary and this is the message that is sent to the general public as a whole.

In addition to protecting Irish rights and entitlements, these prohibitive measures also protected Irish identity. Basically the population contains two separate groups of people - national and 'non-national', which in effect imparts a tone or sense of exclusion within the State whereby the 'non-national' group is excluded. This is another example of biopolitics. Social policy in this respect is a security issue. The initial negative attention on asylum seekers has eventually transferred to other groups of migrants who are not deemed eligible for full citizenship rights and entitlements. Migrants classed as economic migrants will leave when the work is finished, so the perspective is that they are temporary migrants (Guest Worker migrants). The cohort of people with temporary residency status was the subject of debates in parliamentary question time because this uncertain status was contrary to the concept of 'integration' (Houses of Oireachtas Integration Policy Statement, 13 December 2007). The term 'economic migrant' is associated with the 'Celtic Tiger' era (Fanning & Munck, 2007). Another important argument is that far too many migrants remain unsure about their status and future in Irish society because of the 'permanent sense of the temporary'. This 'permanent sense of the temporary' arises from the resident and employment status that has been bestowed on different migrant groups which in effect imparts various rights and entitlements on ethnic minority groups. Some groups end up with little or no rights and entitlements (Houses of Oireachtas Integration Policy Statement, 1 December 2007; Employment Law Compliance Bill, 18 February 2009). Migration management is undoubtedly one of the more important social issues that the country will encounter over the coming decades (Houses of Oireachtas Integration Policy Statement, 13 December 2007). That is why issues such as racism, social exclusion, intolerance and social cohesion are so important to the management process. Other policy restrictions have occurred in the Social Welfare Acts (2004) and (2009); Citizenship Act (2004) and Habitual Residence Condition (2004). But policies that marginalise significant numbers of migrants from mainstream society are disturbing (Fanning, 2011).

Racism against asylum seekers and refugees has been largely influenced by key government representatives, but none more so than successive Ministers for Justice, who have been repeatedly responsible for serving to 'construct asylum seekers as being associated with crime, welfare abuse, exploitation, cultural dilution, economic pressure and a threat to Irish citizenship' (Moriarty, 2006, 302). During the referendum

campaign, the Minister for Justice (Mr. Michael McDowell) stated during a radio programme that 'in 2003, 787 Nigerian children were born to Nigerian parents in Ireland in Irish hospitals...I am saying our citizenship law is being abused. There is plenty of evidence of it. Anyone who has two eyes in their head can see it...(as cited in Hennessy 2004, 1). The point Moriarty makes is that the Nigerian children born in this country that Minister McDowell was referring to are, in fact, Irish citizens. McDowell normalises the claim by his common sense appeal of "anyone with eyes in their head", and reinforces the fact that the Irish citizenship system is being abused (Moriarty, 2006, 303). State racism problematises and inferiorities 'the other', but effective official discourse on these issues is shaped and enabled by routinised practices (Moriarty, 2006). These practices are very common and widely used, to the extent that they may have become the norm in Irish society.

By 2008, approximately 19,000 parents of Irish born children were granted residency for two years under stamp four regulations (Chiriseri, 2009). Nevertheless, Ireland is frequently described in the media as being 'swamped with migrants' and this is a common trend in public opinion or perception. Terminology such as the use of the word 'swamped' leads to the public perception that the country is overrun by migrants. The media influence on public discourse on racism is often authoritative and strongly influential. The media particularly newspapers often reports on issues around migrants which is a 'second hand' analysis of information (Mac Éinrí, 2006a). Politicians and journalists understand the importance of language, yet both groups are frequently careless about how they use language (Haughey, 2001). A number of politicians were inundated with calls from the general public when the media reported that grants of €3,000 to €5,000 were given to refugees and asylum seekers to buy cars and this was a strongly held belief which was totally unfounded (Houses of Oireachtas Racism and Intercultural Presentation, 4 March 2003). This generated political debate in both Houses of the Oireachtas.

Labelling is another example of how ethnic minorities come to be less favourably perceived in the public eye. Labelling assigns a set of assumed characteristics to an identifiable group (Farrell & Watt, 2001), but this demonizes people (Guerin, 2002). There is a general belief, for example, that asylum seekers' applications are in fact 'bogus' and that the sole intentions of asylum seekers are to defraud the welfare

system; this is the view disseminated by the print media (Guerin, 2002). Moreover, racism is frequently aired on media by public figures. One typical example of an official figure making public remarks was Councillor Seamus Treanor, who stated that Eastern Europeans were rampantly claiming unemployment benefit and that 80% of the people he meets walking down the street are Eastern Europeans, yet the statistics show that 9.3% of the population of Monaghan are migrants from outside Europe (Integration Centre, 2012i). These comments are fictitious and unwarranted. Similarly, on another occasion, the Integration Centre made a formal complaint to An Garda Siochána after Judge Mary Devins made a highly racist remark about Polish people and social welfare (Integration Centre, 2012d). The Integration Centre withdrew the complaint after the Judge issued an apology.

Racism has increased in Ireland (Integration Centre, 2011a; Integration Centre, 2011c). There has been a noticeable increase in negative attitudes towards migrants in Ireland; this has become worse since the recession began (Smyth, 2009; Grene & Bourke, 2014). In addition, there is evidence of increasing reports of racist remarks directed towards migrant workers by customers in the hospitality sector (Moynihan & Dunbar, 2008). Recent research conducted among TDs in 2011 and 2012 also revealed an increase in racist attitudes; 45% of the TDs in the 2012 study felt that racism was on the increase compared to 28% in 2011 (Integration Centre, 2012b). Over half of the TDs who participated in this research felt that the Government needs to take a stronger leading role in 'integration' strategies (Integration Centre, 2012a) because political leadership has an important role to play in tackling racism in Irish society (Mutwarasibo, 2012). Parliamentary debates have acknowledged that a lack of clarity remains around the term 'integration' because there is no 'effective roadmap for defining future policy' (Houses of Oireachtas Integration Policy Statement, 13 December 2007). Racism also impacts the surrounding community (NASC, 2012). Another point of interest is that racism is seriously under-reported. Research undertaken in Cork shows that 82.8% of participants who had experienced racism did not report it (NASC 2012). Over half the participants believed that nothing would come from reporting the incident. The fact is that racism is becoming more acceptable (Mutwarasibo, 2012).

But, as Mac Éinrí (2007) substantiates, Ireland has yet to engage pro-actively with a purposeful and fundamental question about what we mean by policies of 'integration' in the most comprehensive sense of the term, bearing in mind the depth and intensity of the issues and debates involved in the whole process (Mac Éinrí, 2007). There are so many different strands to 'integration' and the issues are complex, multifaceted and interwoven. This process is vital to ensure successful 'integration' of established migrants and future migrants. A solemn political message that equality was not important was conveyed when the 2008 budget cut the Equality Authority funding by 43% and the Human Rights Commission by 24% (Crowley, 2010). This whole issue generated strenuous debate among politicians in the Oireachtas in late 2008, when minorities faced even more challenges in the recession: 'it does not bode well for democracy and the protection of human rights in this country'. The questions were raised: 'where is the Government's policy on combating racism? Where is our integration policy?' (Houses of Oireachtas Seanad Debate 2008, 5 November 2008 Key aspects of the Migration Nation Strategy will not transpire (McGinnity *et al,* 2011). These are human rights issues.

Fanning (2011) has written extensively on migrants' experience of exploitation in Irish society which is frequently due to policy implementation. He argues that workplace exploitation seriously hinders any commitment by Irish society to fully integrate migrants. Labour market participation is one of the most important aspects of full integration (Kallas & Kaldur, 2007). Social inclusion incorporates economic and social rights as entitlements (Fanning, 2011). It is unquestionable that this is accompanied by equal rights and entitlements for everyone inclusively (Mac Éinrí, 2007b). The EU Common Basic Principles (CBPs) (2004) strikes this balance between the migrant and the host country where many opportunities and interactions between the two groups are present (Mac Éinrí, 2007b). The main principles of successful 'integration' policy approaches comprise a sense of a shared future combined with economic social rights and responsibilities that include mutual respect and understanding between the majority and minority groups. This approach is steeped in a social justice environment of 'integration' (Kallas & Kaldur, 2007). In addition, the EU CBPs state that employment is a major tool in the 'integration' process but it is essential to have a basic knowledge of the language, history and institutions of the host country to harmonize the 'integration' process (COM (2005) 0389 FINAL). Education is the key

to solving a number of our difficulties and in presenting opportunities but there are major gaps in higher education.

2.5 Introduction to the barriers to education that migrants encounter

Having engaged with the Linehan and Hogan's (2008) research at the Northwest level, it became apparent through the focus group findings that a number of important issues and themes were reported to the respondents and these are discussed under the following themes: migrants' impressions of Ireland, racism and discrimination, 'integration' and barriers to access and participation at Irish Higher Education Institutes (HEIs). Other themes surfaced, including the lack of English language proficiency, the cost of education and lack of relevant information on access to education. The final two themes focused on the absence of previous academic qualifications and/or of prior learning recognition and on the right to education. The following is a brief discussion of the findings of the focus groups with migrants, beginning with the first theme.

2.5.1 Impressions of Ireland

With regard to their impressions of Ireland, initially migrants generally had a positive impression and found the indigenous population welcoming and friendly. However, this positive impression began to be marked by a less welcoming environment (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). Many migrants expressed apprehension, which coincided with the 'slowdown in Ireland's economic growth' as migrants were assumed to be 'taking Irish jobs' (Linehan & Hogan, 2008, 37). When there is an economic recession, migrants often become the target even though they are not responsible for the economic slowdown (McGreevy, 2007). In a recession, the economy will retract but the long term projection is that migrants will continue to contribute and to stimulate economic growth (MRCI, 2008; OECD, 2014). Notwithstanding, Ireland was still perceived by many migrants to be a good country, as even lower paid jobs provide enough income for a good standard of living in Ireland compared to similar jobs in other countries (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). Nevertheless, the observation that Irish people get 'preferential treatment in workplace promotions' (Linehan & Hogan, 2008, 37) was pointed out, while some groups of migrants found it harder to become gainfully employed. A number of research studies show this is a common finding that

Black Africans, in particular, encounter greater barriers in accessing employment opportunities (O'Connell & McGinnity, 2008; Kingston, O'Connell & Kelly, 2012).

2.5.2 Racism and discrimination

As research indicates, incidents of racism and discrimination are predominately experienced by African migrants in the workplace and in attempting to access the workplace (Linehan & Hogan, 2008; OECD, 2013). In Ireland, 'racism is hidden, it is deeper…we are ignored' (as cited in Linehan & Hogan, 2008, 38). Irish racism, on an individual level, can be quite subtle. Simultaneously, racism straddles a very broad spectrum of experience and endurance. For instance, unlike Ture (formally known as Stokely Carmichael) and Hamilton's definition of individual racism - which is identified as acts of great brutality and violence perpetrated against humans as a consequence of their ethnic, cultural, nationality or religious signifiers - racism in Ireland has only episodically been externalised in such brutalising and barbaric ways (Ture & Hamilton, 1992).

Not all racism that occurs in Ireland is instigated by indigenous Irish people. For instance, African participants have reported experiencing racism from other EU nationals resident in Ireland. It has been widely acknowledged that black people experience greater levels of racism (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). A myriad of studies correlates this finding (Dunbar, 2008; O'Connell & McGinnity, 2008; Kingston, O'Connell & Kelly, 2012). Despite acts of racism and discrimination, migrants from all different backgrounds indicated that they wished to make Ireland their permanent country of residency (Linehan & Hogan, 2008).

2.5.3 Integration and differences in culture

In relation to 'integration', participants in the Strategy Innovation Fund/Education in Employment (SIF/EiE) study suggested that migrants had mixed experiences and expectations of 'integration' policies in Ireland but the general consensus was that integration is difficult to achieve and that there was not enough emphasis placed on integration strategies (2008, 42). The participants tended to refer to 'integration' as a social integration process. 'Integration' policy that is referred to in this thesis facilitates the 'integration' process that is specifically designed holistically to comprise

education, employment and migration policies. Participants in the SIF/EiE study found skin colour to be another culture barrier in their 'integration' experience, particularly in the work environment. Previous and recent Irish research runs parallel to this, finding that skin colour can have negative impacts on access to employment opportunities. Various migrant groups would love the opportunity to express aspects of their unique cultural contribution, at least in a way that is as cherished as native Irish cultural identity appears to be, instead of keeping their individual cultures continuously hidden (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). Migrants also express a desire to become more knowledgeable about Irish culture, Irish history and institutions (NASC & Cork City Partnership, 2011).

2.5.4 English language proficiency

Participants in the SIF/EiE study believed that English language proficiency is the most dominant factor in terms of access to education and employment in Ireland and the fear of not succeeding is very real (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). A myriad of previous research conducted on numerous groups of migrants correlates these findings, that language skills are basic fundamental key requisites of communicating and engaging with the host country (Healy, 2007; Healy, 2008; Dunbar, 2008; Connolly & Dunbar 2008; OECD, 2008; Focus Ireland & Immigration Council of Ireland, 2008; O'Connell & McGinnity, 2008; NASC & Cork City Partnership 2011; McGinnity, Quinn, Kingston, O'Connell & Donnelly, 2011; McGinnity, Quinn, Kingston & O'Connell, 2012).

Most participants welcomed the chance of improving their English language skills as they understood the importance of obtaining good levels of spoken and written English, especially in relation to employment and in accessing education courses. The most effective way of increasing their communication skills was practising, as one Polish migrant pointed out, 'I couldn't speak that well. I had no self-esteem then in speaking…it was a challenge but I knew until I started speaking, I won't move on' (as cited in Connolly & Dunbar, 2008, 51).

Lack of English language skills creates a perception that one is unintelligent because one's communication is poor. This perception can leave some migrants feeling inferior

and at the same time perceived as inferior by some members of the indigenous population. A common finding from most focus groups was that many migrants with good levels of proficiency in English identified the need for more specialised English language provision to access higher education opportunities (Linehan & Hogan, 2008), as frequently migrant students are weaker in this skill (Limerick Integration Working Group, 2010). There is a major difference between common or standard language skills and academic language ability (Lyons & Little, 2009). Interestingly research conducted in Australia noted that language remained a barrier after the student graduated. The research concluded that the majority of migrant student graduates failed to obtain employment commensurate to their qualification in their chosen field of study, yet almost all the host graduate students were fully employed in their qualified field of employment. Lack of relevant work experience in the employment field of study was also a barrier to gainful employment (Arkoudis, Hawthorne, Baik, Hawthorne, Loughlin, Leach, & Bexley, 2009).

Similarly, Irish employers have shown a reluctance to employ migrant workers because of lack of work experience (Moynihan, & Dunbar, 2008). Other employers have insisted their employees communicate in English, not to improve their English skills but to avoid resentment build-up among the indigenous workforce who were beginning to feel excluded (Moynihan & Dunbar, 2008). English language provision in Ireland is piece-meal (Charlton, 2007; Healy, 2007) and there is no coherent evaluation system in place (Charlton, 2007; Egan & Dunbar, 2008) and no dedicated funding (O'Mahoney & McMahon, 2008). Language barriers are a major concern for migrants; they need to be provided with the opportunity to learn to communicate in the host country language and, as Carson states, learning the language is 'learning to make your own voice heard' (Carson, 2008, 102).

Migrants need specific practical supports such as English language supports, additional tutorials, and induction programmes, as the initial period of college life can be quite daunting (Dunbar, 2008). Also, migrants frequently need practical support in situating an assignment on a par with third level requirements which is one of the 'tricks of the trade' (Fleming & Murphy, 1997, 58). As previously stated, different policies are currently in the developing stages (EIW, 2007) and may become more inclusive in the

long term but policy change itself is a lengthy process. Furthermore, the recession will more than likely delay any progression in policy for the present.

2.5.5 Cost of education

The cost of education is a major barrier for all migrants in accessing education at higher level. EU and Irish citizens who do not qualify for a State grant are required to pay the student fee. The cost of a Degree for 2014/2015 academic year in the Institute of Technology Sligo was as follows.

- Higher Certificate (Level 6) - €2,868;
- Ordinary Degree (Level 7) - €2,954;
- Engineering Honours Degree - €4,450;
- Honours Degree (Level 8) (other than Engineering) - €3,189;
- PhD/ Master by Research - €3,189 per annum
  (Institute of Technology Sligo, 2014).

Course fees vary between institutions and between choices of courses. There is a separate Student Services annual fee of €2,750 that students are required to pay, which covers student services and examinations. Students from outside the EAA are required to pay the international fee, which can range from €8,000 to over €20,000 per year: this sum varies between the choice of institution and choice of course (McGee, 2014). The international fee for non-EEA students in the Institute of Technology Sligo is €9,000 per annum for an under-graduate degree and €10,000 per annum for a post-graduate (Institute of Technology Sligo, 2014). Calculating the above fee means that migrants residing in Ireland who do not have citizenship status would be required to pay a total of €36,000 in order to gain an undergraduate degree. This is a substantial sum for migrants engaged in low-paid employment (Hogan, 2008; Smyth, 2011c; Coakley, 2012). The Irish third level fees system is an inflexible one (Integration Centre, 2012e).

Finance is a major issue impacting higher education opportunities (Inglis & Murphy, 1999; Leonard, 1999; Bunyan 2004; Kelleher, 2005; Denayer & Dunbar, 2008; McGinnity *et al*, 2012; Forde, 2012c). The international fee structure guarantees that most people of African, Asian, American − North and South − and other non-EU nationals residing in Ireland cannot finance third level education (Immigrant Council

of Ireland, 2004; Dunbar, 2008). Furthermore, young migrant adults finishing post-primary education encounter similar fee barriers in accessing higher education. This almost guarantees the end of their education (Integration Centre, 2012c). In 2013, the Department of Education and Skills made a decision to infer similar rights and entitlements on young people who have obtained citizenship status to those of the indigenous student population (Ahlstrom, 2013). Those migrant young people that do not have citizenship status still encounter the higher fee system. Up to 700 students per year were affected by restrictions, according to Ahlstrom (2013). These young people in particular are regarded as the '1.5 generation' because they were born outside of Ireland and joined parents who are residing here (MRCI, 2013). However because they were not born here, they do not have similar rights and entitlements as Irish students or their Irish-born siblings (MRCI, 2013).

Research conducted among TDs exploring migration issues revealed that 82% disagreed with this requirement of paying the international fee (Integration Centre, 2012b). Other groups of migrants that are seriously affected by the high level fee structure include asylum seekers and refugees, individuals on work permits, parents of Irish born children and 'aged-out' teenagers (young people who reach eighteen years of age, and who are then regarded by the State as leave to remain adults in the asylum seeking system). These migrants are required to pay the non-EU fee to access third level courses, which often proves impossible. Nor can they receive financial assistance (State grants) from the State. In addition, all research participants who contributed in the study compiled by Linehan & Hogan (2008) knew of secondary school students who had obtained high points in their Leaving Certificate but because of the excessive cost of third level education could not progress to higher or further education. Furthermore, there have been cases where adult migrants have been forced to drop out of courses due to the policy criteria on social protection payments, making it impossible for them to access higher education courses (Connolly & Dunbar, 2008). This is counterproductive for this category of migrant residing in Ireland. There is a very strong need to equalise the fee and the policy around resourcing higher education accessibility in Ireland.

The HEA is in the process of widening the participation rates of non-traditional students in higher education and ethnic minority groups are mentioned. Current

literature provides a breakdown on the numbers in each grouping but there are no such figures provided for migrant students residing in Ireland. In order to find out the numbers of migrants in higher education courses, this researcher contacted (by email) a representative of the Higher Education Authority to inquire about these statistics. This is the response to the email:

> *You are correct in stating that the HEA does not have higher education access targets with respect to immigrant or ethnic minority groups. Our current policy, which is kept under review, is that these groups are internally diverse and those within them who are under-represented in higher education will be encompassed within other target groups, particularly the socio-economic ones*
> (Representative of the Higher Education Authority, 16 April 2015).

Finance is undoubtedly a major concern for certain migrants and can have a serious impact on the quality of life for individual migrants and migrants as a group. This is a main area of contention for migrants and a direct source of disparity and poverty (Denayer & Dunbar, 2008) as research literature indicates; those on low incomes are far more directly affected by inequalities of wealth (Lynch, 2004). Social inclusion indicators show that non-EEA migrants who are residing in Ireland are, for example, at higher risk from consistent poverty and this has increased since 2010 (McGinnity *et al*, 2012). The consistent rate of poverty among migrants is 10% compared to 5% among the indigenous population (Forde, 2012c). They have a lower disposable household income than the indigenous population (Kelleher, 2005; McGinnity *et al*, 2012). Ireland had the highest rate of part-time under-employment of any EU State in 2011 (Social Justice Ireland, 2012). These combined factors seriously prevent access to higher education opportunities for certain categories of migrants.

Another financial issue which emerged from the SIF/EiE research data is that non-EEA migrant students substantially contribute to the Irish economy through the high cost of fees and day-to-day living expenses. The MRCI, for example, has calculated that migrants contribute an annual €2 billion in personal consumption alone (MRCI, 2008) to the Irish economy. The issue of fees was a problem highlighted in the focus groups but despite the high cost, many of the participants expressed a willingness to continue in low paid employment and conserve money for their education (Linehan & Hogan, 2008).

Financial policy and policy on the State grant system is having a detrimental and profound impact on students due to the changes that have been implemented in recent budgets. One of the common reasons quoted for 'dropping out' of college is financial difficulty. As previous research indicates (Eivers, Flanagan & Morgan, 2002), more than half the students in the study experienced financial difficulties in college, which is quite a common experience. Students who do qualify for the State grant (it is a means-tested grant) regularly find that the grant it totally inadequate so they regularly work to supplement the shortfall in finances (Ryle, 2010), but collectively students remain poor. The grant system itself is problematic and often presents very real hardships for students in terms of pending grants. The City of Dublin VEC received a total of 66,000 third level grant applications in August 2012. Just over 3,000 applications of the 11,000 approved applications had been paid by November 2012 (O'Brien, 2012). Major delays are a common aspect of the Irish grant system, leaving many students financially exhausted.

There are several separate policies concerning higher education fees, with various levels of gravity for different migrant categories. A number of recent practical policy amendments have occurred, due to budget changes which affect access to higher education. These are in regard to financial limitations which have been implemented in the State grant system. Up until recently, adult students could successfully apply for both the State grant and the Back-to-Education scheme. This system has changed. Students are entitled to apply for one of these grants only (Citizens Information, 2012) which is a further financial restriction on the adult student. Moreover, there have been a number of successive annual budget reductions on the student grant.

Another policy change that has impacted finance accorded to students is the non-adjacent grant scheme. Prior to the recession, the policy granted that students residing more than 24 kilometers from the perimeter of the college were entitled to access the non-adjacent grant, which is approximately three times greater than the adjacent grant (€3,025 and €1,215 respectively). The perimeter distance has doubled to a 48 kilometer radius of the college (Citizens Information, 2012). This means that students within this area will have the State grant reduced by 50%. It is clear from current policy that finance remains very much a controversial issue for all migrant adult students

accessing higher education opportunities. There are also practical issues around the provision of student services.

2.5.6 Lack of information regarding access to education

Information regarding access to higher education is by and large difficult to locate according to all groups of migrants and this is a major barrier impacting education and employment (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). Information is inconsistent, unclear, misleading and difficult to source. The ambiguity on rights and entitlements specific to higher education is a dominant feature, as there is no State or national policy that disseminates the various educational needs of migrants (Dunbar, 2008). This ambiguity leads to confusion for both service users and providers (O'Brien, 2006b).

The flow of inward migration into Ireland was a rapid experience compared to inward migration in other countries (Ruhs, 2005). This resulted in an *ad hoc* method of policy development (European Intercultural Workplace (EIW), 2007) as separate parts of policy were developed basically when the need materialised or evolved. This explains why policies are at different stages. Migrants need policies specifically designed to tailor their evolving needs so that overall migrants can merge more easily into education and employment activities. Therefore, designated policy needs to be resourceful and inventive to ensure that the different needs of migrants are met. As previously stated, different policies are currently in the developing stages (EIW, 2007) and may become more inclusive in the long term but policy change itself is a lengthy process. Furthermore, the recession will more than likely delay any progression in policy for the present.

2.5.7 Recognition of qualifications and prior learning

Migrants from all regions in the research compiled by Linehan and Hogan (2008) regarded their experience of getting the qualifications they had obtained in their country of origin recognised as a major difficulty. This is similar to the experience that migrants in other research studies have encountered (Coghlan, Fagan, Munck, O'Brien & Warner, 2005; Connolly & Dunbar 2008). Participants indicated that they believed employers did not value qualifications obtained in overseas countries, leaving migrants anxious that third-level institutions would follow suit and place little value on

qualifications obtained outside Ireland. The general consensus among participants was that their qualifications were regarded with 'suspicion' (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). This is a source of frustration and anger (Coghlan *et al*, 2005).

Migrants have expressed concern over the lack of qualification recognition, leading them to disregard their hard earned previous education qualifications and repeat or start again. Moreover, migrants either are unaware of the process of qualification recognition or lack information on the whole area; the entire process should be made widely available. At the same time, employers need to be updated about the work of the National Qualifications (NQAI) system (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). Connolly and Dunbar's (2008) research draws a similar parallel with these findings, where the migrants felt frustrated and disappointed by the under-valuation process of their academic qualifications. In addition, the process was excessively time consuming. The longer the process takes, the greater the impact reflects on the migrant, who is dependent on the result to gain access to education or employment opportunities. Research conducted in Sweden also found the validation period excessively time consuming; only 25% of participants received their qualification notification within a two year framework (Dingu-Kyrkund, 2005). Migrants frequently encounter excessively long waiting periods in the validation process. The Quality and Qualifications Ireland website which replaced the National Qualifications Authority of Ireland (NQAI) states that qualification recognition takes approximately twelve weeks (QQI, no date). Currently the application process has to be conducted online; this may present a challenge for some people who are not computer literate. The process of recognizing non-Irish academic qualifications in 2008 may have been longer; one man from Zimbabwe stated that the process took eight months (Connolly & Dunbar, 2008). This was not the only problem associated with QR, the fact that the NQAI used to stamp the Certificate to state that the NQAI was not responsible for its authenticity undermined the status of the Certificate (Cork City Partnership, 2008).

There has been a degree of reluctance displayed by Irish employers to recognise qualifications from outside of Ireland, partly because they do not understand the evaluation process and partly because the transparency of this evaluation is unclear (Dunbar, 2008; Moynihan & Dunbar, 2008). This is similar to the response of Swedish employers, who agreed that the evaluation process and outcome was irresolute (Dingu-

Kyrkund, 2005). Transparency is the key ingredient to the recognition of qualifications which ensures that applicants, institutions and employers understand the process and the criteria involved. Quality assurance was an important part of the overall process of qualification recognition (Europe Education & Culture DG, 2012) and a continuous enhancement of the system is vital too.

In association with this, there is an assumption in Ireland that very highly qualified migrants are often employed in jobs well below their level of skills and qualifications (Dingu-Kyrkund, 2005).There is a similar belief in Sweden. Many migrants have a third level qualification which is not recognised and therefore they are under-employed (Monaghan, 2007; Shoesmith, 2007b; Integration Centre, 2011b). Under-employment is a very common occurrence but it is a serious issue, as migrant workers are in danger of losing these skills and the Irish labour market is also at a loss by not utilising these valuable skills. Another more serious criticism is that highly qualified migrants encounter informal discrimination in attempting to access the work environment at a level commensurate with their skills (Dingu-Kyrkund, 2005). Policy in Sweden has attempted to address this but the discriminatory nature of the policy is difficult to redress (Dingu-Kyrkund, 2005).

In addition to lack of QR, lack of RPL in education and employment also negatively impacts on a migrant's chance of accessing employment and education opportunities. This was particularly the experience of African participants who could not enroll on third-level courses (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). This finding is similar to other research findings where Africans encountered greater difficulties in getting their qualifications recognised and therefore were under-employed (Dunbar, 2008). They had also greater difficulties in gaining access to employment opportunities (Coghlan *et al*, 2005; Dunbar, 2008). There is evidence to show that on an individual basis, black Africans encounter the highest levels of unemployment in comparison to other ethnic minorities (O'Connell & McGinnity, 2008; Kingston, O'Connell & Kelly, 2012). Other migrants had problems with qualification recognition because they lacked the required documentation. These insights tend to confirm that the majority of migrants are under-employed. The 2011 Census statistics show that 'relatively more non-Irish were assigned to non-manual, manual skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled' work (48%), compared to Irish nationals (39%) (CSO, 2011). Irish employers have shown less

willingness to employ migrants because of a perceived lack of work experience in Ireland (Coghlan *et al*, 2005; Dunbar, 2008). This fact has also materialised in research conducted in Australia, where migrants were perceived as lacking work experience in the chosen field (Arkoudis *et al*, 2009). Also, numerous migrants were/are in low-paid, low skilled employment (Hogan, 2008; Coakley, 2012) and are not equipped with the relevant skills to be re-employed nor are they equipped to prepare for the upturn in the economy. Barriers remain in the Irish higher education system for migrants (Healy, 2008). It is not uncommon for adults to 'face many barriers in their quest for third level education' (Walters, 1997, 21).

2.5.8 Right to education

The majority of migrants believe that they should have a right to education (Deane, 2006), although research reveals that migrants from outside the EU experienced greater levels of uncertainty about their rights and entitlements in Ireland. Migrants are not a homogenous group and therefore their legal status initiates their legal allocated rights and entitlements. To further complicate matters, a migrant's legal status is not static but highly changeable over time (MRCI, 2007a); this is a major source of confusion and uncertainty for migrants and service providers. The increasing number of migrants entering higher education is an emerging challenge due to the rising number of complex issues around the provision of education opportunities for migrants (National Plan for Equity of Access (NPEA), 2008).

Current policy infers different rights and entitlements, which results in different groups residing in Ireland being treated unequally. This in effect creates the concept of an immigrant underclass and is a potential source of future social unrest (Mac Éinrí, 2004). In addition, education is seen as a means to progress in the workplace. Undoubtedly the lack of finance is a contentious issue (Bunyan, 2004; Kelleher, 2005; Denayer & Dunbar, 2008; McGinnity *et al,* 2012; Forde, 2012c). A huge lack of clarity around a migrant's education rights and entitlements remains (O'Brien, 2006b).

With regard to future plans, migrants had mixed responses. Some groups were apprehensive about the scarcity of jobs, as a result of the economic downturn, while other groups including those outside the EEA expressed an interest in further

education, and creating employment opportunities for a better life in Ireland (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). The following section discusses the findings of the interviews conducted by SIF/EiE researchers with Access Officers and Admissions Officers.

2.6 Introduction of the SIF/EiE research interview findings with Access and Admissions Officers

The topics that emerged from the findings of the interviews are discussed under the following themes. This included information and advice for potential migrant students and the suitability of students' applications in relation to higher education courses. An overview of these themes is then followed by an exploration of more general policies in relation to migrant students, fees and financial considerations, and recognition and assessment of previous qualifications and prior learning. Finally, the section finishes by examining English language proficiency, key gate-keeper staff training and development and the process of targeting and reaching out to prospective migrant students.

2.6.1 Information for potential migrant students

The main information channels were college websites, the admissions office, the access office, the fees office and word-of-mouth information. Although the overall consensus is that most migrants are directed towards the admissions office for pre-entry enquiries, admission policy appears to be *ad hoc* at present (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). One important aspect the Access Officers deemed significant was that each college should have a dedicated point of contact with a person knowledgeable in migrant matters. Although this is a good idea, another Access Officer felt that it would not happen in the near future as currently this whole area is very under-developed. Nonetheless, it has been pointed out that the colleges could network and disseminate information and share policies around these issues nationally (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). All Access and Administration staff reported that there were no specific policies for migrant students at their colleges. Administration staff stated that the main policy deals with two main areas, student status (EU or non-EU status) and policy on fees, which is currently quite complex. This is a source of confusion (O'Brien, 2006b). The information on both these issues remains complicated, particularly around the legal rights and entitlements of different groups of migrants (MRCI, 2007b). There is a risk

that groups of migrants are being socially excluded through the lack of employment opportunities leaving them more susceptible to poverty (Greif, 2009; McGinnity *et al*, 2012). This ambiguity is a prominent feature because of the lack of national policy on the various educational needs of migrants (Dunbar, 2008).

2.6.2 Financial considerations for migrants

All Access and Admissions Officers in the SIF/EiE initiatives agreed with the focus group participants that the various fee structures are complex and confusing. The fee structures are directly connected to the rights and entitlements of the various categories of migrants. Fees are of particular concern for migrants from outside EU countries and regulations are very blurred. In order to qualify for free fees, potential students must be resident in this country for a continuous period of three years (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). They require a 'stamp 4' visa that permits them to live in Ireland which is obtained from the Department of Justice. Access Officers and migrant applicants regularly find the whole system confusing (Linehan & Hogan, 2008).

In agreement with SIF/EiE focus group research findings, Access and Admissions Officers also report that the inordinately complex fee structure was a major barrier to those migrants from outside the EEA area. Finance is a serious contender to succeeding in higher education (Inglis & Murphy, 1999; Leonard, 1999). In addition, Access Officers indicated that they had no control over these decisions and 'cannot apply for a fee waiver' on the migrant's behalf. A scholarship system could be designed for potential students who fall into this category of student (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). Generally, refugees have no finances so it is impossible to pay the €10,000 a year fee requirement. This non-Irish migrant group does not get a 'foot in the front door' (Linehan & Hogan, 2008, 69). Numerous researchers would agree with this statement (Coghlan *et al*, 2005; FLAC, 2009; Arnold, 2012; Integration Centre, 2012b; McGinnity *et al*, 2012). The status quo for the young people whose parents have become undocumented has to be the worst possible scenario; there is absolutely no prospect that they can go to third level education because they do not possess the papers (the stamp requirement). This is a very distressing experience and very difficult for the parents of these young people:

> The single hardest thing about being undocumented is what my own daughter is going through. She feels hopeless about her future and I am her mother and cannot help her. She loved school. She did a brilliant Junior Cert. The bottom line is she cannot move on, she can't go to university – even if we had the money she doesn't have the right papers. She can't get a job easily because she's undocumented. She feels Irish. She has grown up here. She has rooted here – but she has no rights. She is in a deep depression and I feel helpless
> (MRCI, 2014, 6).

Research conducted in Canada found that refugees were not only the least educated group entering Canada but remained the least educated group, even though research revealed that they had substantial benefits to gain from higher education opportunities (Ferede, 2010). The Canadian research reveals that the refugees could not comprehend the advantages of accessing higher education opportunities which would greatly improve their future economic and social opportunities; the refugees considered the financial cost of higher education too great (Ferede, 2010). Loyal (2002) argues that the treatment of asylum seekers in Ireland represents a clear example of institutional racism. Loyal (2002) states that institutional racism is part of the asylum seeking process and raises the question as to whether this is the 'dark side' of contemporary Irish society?

Childcare is another financial issue. Students with childcare responsibilities have additional financial costs. Childcare provision remains expensive, particularly for low-income families. The financial aspect of childcare is borne ultimately by the parent (Mulligan, 2012). The net childcare costs in 2009 were 45% of the average wage in Ireland, compared to 16-17% of the net wage in the EU and OCED countries. Calculating this as a proportion of family income, this amounts to just under 39%, compared to an average of around 12% in the EU and OECD (National Women's Council of Ireland, 2009). Students with children encounter additional childcare expenses in full-time education (McCoy *et al*, 2009), especially in formal crèche and Montessori settings. The average weekly cost of full-time childcare facilities for one child is €191 (National Consumer Agency, 2011). The next section explores qualification and prior learning recognition.

2.6.3 Qualification and prior learning recognition

There are policies and procedures in each educational institution with regard to qualifications recognition, that are clear and transparent and they apply regardless of nationality. The problems encountered are the lack of staff to deal with ever increasing enquiries; ideally this would require a dedicated officer with the expertise to meet these specific needs (Linehan & Hogan 2008). Migrants frequently become frustrated due to the excessively time consuming process (Dingu-Kyrkund, 2005; Connolly & Dunbar, 2008).

The main database that the Irish education system depends on to access overseas qualifications is the UK NARIC (United Kingdom National Recognition Information Centre). This is the official body 'entrusted' by the British Department of Education. This body has expertise in and knowledge of qualifications from over 180 countries (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). The Irish experience of comparing qualifications often reveals that a valid overseas qualification is not on an equal par with the Irish qualification and this can be verified by staff who liaise with the NQAI (National Qualifications Authority of Ireland) on qualifications recognition (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). Migrants frequently express frustration that more emphasis was placed on Irish qualifications and work experience undertaken in Ireland (Coghlan *et al,* 2005). There are a number of qualifications that may appear similar but when measured against the qualifications framework, they are not equal (European Higher Education Area Working Group, (EHEA) 2012). Ireland has some qualifications that cannot be acknowledged by a number of the European Member States because there are no equivalent qualifications. For example, there is a level six qualification, at both the Further (Advanced Certificate) and Higher Education system (Higher Certificate) frameworks (Zamorane, 2011). There have been and will continue to be situations where qualifications are more challenging to evaluate, particularly from education systems that have not developed a national qualifications framework (EHEA, 2012). Each student applicant is evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

Recognition of prior learning is a policy area that is not as well developed, as it is more geared to all students and not to the specific needs of migrant students. The colleges that do participate in RPL provide an imbalanced delivery (Linehan & Hogan, 2008).

There are two categories of RPL. The first deals with recognition of prior learning in education. The second values workplace learning (known as WBL). Recognition of prior learning is an essential factor of educational reform, particularly in light of the economic recession, especially in reforming third level education (Sheridan & Linehan, 2009). The service is under-utilized because of the high costs and time constraints associated with RPL which is a disincentive for both the learner and the higher education institutions (Sheridan & Linehan, 2009, 40). Each HEI would require a dedicated resource to actively promote this service.

RPL is essential as an assessment for an academic award or/and exemptions to an existing award or for access to a programme (FETAC, 2007). One of the most positive features of RPL was its transferability in different higher education settings (Collins, 2009). RPL does have potential for a number of different purposes, such as an alternative route to education, for access, progression, personal development, recognition and accreditation of skills or a way of transferring learning into recognised codes. Higher education has a role to fulfill in RPL and work-based learning (Collins, 2009).

Work Based Learning (WBL) is another emerging approach to learning. The difference is that learning takes place in work. The programme of learning is specifically designed to suit the precise learning needs of the employee on the job. In Ireland, higher education providers have recently become more interested in delivering WBL programmes as an innovative way of up-skilling those already in employment. 'In-employment' training has not been quantified as yet in the formal qualifications recognition process (Doherty & Bennett, 2009). Letterkenny Institute of Technology (LYIT) has developed significant experience of WBL programmes in the region. In 2006, LYIT worked with a Lionra project entitled *Education in the Workplace;* the main objective was to recognise and accredit work-based learning with a third level qualification. Over 300 learners since 2007 have enrolled on WBL programmes. RPL is an extremely important feature of WBL programmes, because many learners completing the programmes have extensive prior experience, knowledge and skills and therefore are entitled to apply for exemptions from different modules. WBL is a flexible, diverse and innovative approach to education (Doherty & Bennett, 2009).

The failure to recognise qualifications, educational attainment and prior learning from outside the EU, which hinders access to employment opportunities, leads to the obstruction of 'integration' and the potential for future social problems and unrest (Coghlan *et al*, 2005). It is crucial that Ireland maintains a highly-skilled, well-educated workforce that will continue to compete successfully in global labour markets, and will address the increasing levels of contemporary unemployment (Sheridan &Linehan, 2009).

2.6.4 English language skills and migrant support services

Migrants identify gaps in their English language skills as a major barrier in accessing third-level education. 'Confidence and competency in the English language was consistently referred to by all interviewees as crucial for academic success for migrant students' (Linehan & Hogan, 2008, 75). All Access and Admissions officers agreed on this issue. In addition, academic English is excessively challenging for students whose first language is not English (Limerick Integration Working Group, 2010). Undertaking further education is almost impossible without proficiency in English language skills (Dunbar, 2008). Previous research conducted by Dunbar confirms this experience that a number of education institutions noted an increasing number of migrants who were experiencing difficulties and struggling academically (Dunbar, 2008). In addition, the technical language in science and engineering programmes, for example, can pose major difficulties for students and this is perceived to be creating further problems for lecturers involved in teaching such courses (Linehan & Hogan, 2008).

In regard to student supports, there were no specific support services for migrant students in place in any of the participating colleges. Prior to the economic downturn, the biggest single gap was the provision of English language courses. To date, the dominant providers for English language provision for migrants were the local Education Training Boards (ETBs). However, English language provision is inconsistent with delivery and is done on a piecemeal basis (O'Mahoney & McMahon, 2008). A further criticism is that English language provision has never been sufficiently funded nor has the programme had any organised or valid system of accreditation or any form of a standardised curriculum. It has also been heavily

criticised because it lacks a coherent consistent evaluation system (Charlton, 2007; Egan & Dunbar, 2008). As a result of the economic downturn, budget constraints have had a greater impact on English language provision; it is much more under-resourced. There have been major cuts in the Budgets between 2008 and 2012 which negatively impact all resources and funding in the education sector. Consistent cuts to English language provision may result in long-term damage (McGinnity *et al,* 2012). This is further compounded by the fact that the cost of private language tuition is expensive (O'Brien, 2006a; Kropiwiec & King-O'Riain, 2008). Time constraints created by unsociable working hours and fatigue (Moynihan & Dunbar, 2008) add to the difficulty of accessing English language tuition. The point was raised in the SIF/EiE research that migrant issues are not to the forefront of issues in relation to college students but they are an emerging area of concern as the migrant student population is on the increase. Therefore, there is a growing need to deal with these new issues and concerns. However, no additional services are likely to be implemented in the immediate future to support migrants through the higher education system (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). Work-based language acquisition skills are also necessary for greater employment opportunities (McHugh & Challinor, 2011).

2.6.5 Staff training and targeting migrant students

Linehan and Hogan's compilation of research offerings indicated that Intercultural training is necessary for staff, but the overall approach must avoid stigmatisation of migrants. Intercultural training, according to the National Youth Council of Ireland (NYCI), no date), involves understanding aspects of our own culture and the culture of minority groups and how they communicate and interact with each other. In addition, there is a strong relationship between the roles of culture and communication (NYCI, no date). The EU defines three key characteristics of successful intercultural communication between different cultures and these include (a) a mutual understanding and living in harmony, (b) reaping the benefits of cultural diversity and (c) intercultural communication fosters active citizenship (Munro & Potter, 2010). Cultural dialogue rises above the concept of tolerance of other cultures' values and beliefs. As migration is a recurring development, intercultural communication is a continual learning process (Munro & Potter, 2010). The term 'intercultural' relates to different cultures but overall 'there is still no clearly accepted definition of

'interculturalism' (nor of 'multiculturalism') and whilst there are some broad parameters around the terms, they have often been confused and conflated' (Cantle, 2014). All Access and Admissions offices have the resources to introduce awareness-raising programmes in a professional manner and, furthermore, to ensure that their policies for migrants are more inclusive (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). Migrants are not specifically targeted as a group, as recruiting practices apply to all students, but it has been acknowledged that migrant students would benefit from specific treatment to address their identifiable needs (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). The Higher Education Authority developed a new national access plan as it is essential that groups most affected by the recession have access to education and up-skilling (HEA, 2014, 5). This plan places a major focus on widening participation to groups that have been traditionally under represented in the higher education sector.

2.7 Conclusion of migrants in education

In summary, the findings of the focus group interviews with migrants coincide with the findings of the interviews with key education stakeholders undertaken by SIF/EiE, in that regulations, governing policies and practices are difficult to ascertain. Migrants and administration staff would both benefit from up-to-date policies, practices and protocols. However, one of the most important aspects emerging, from the perspective of HEIs, is that there is a lack of dedicated personnel to deal with migrant issues. This was revealed to be a major concern in all participating colleges.

The four dominant findings of the focus group research that confront migrant students in accessing third-level education coincide with the findings of participating colleges. These are: English language difficulties; the lack of relevant information regarding higher education; the lack of qualifications and prior learning recognition; and the high fee structure. These coincide with the findings of national and international field literature and research data. There are a number of additional barriers, individual, institutional and structural, that negatively impact on the lives of ethnic minority communities. The next section provides a critique of Linehan and Hogan's research.

2.8 Critique of Linehan and Hogan's research

Linehan and Hogan's research is a comprehensive account of the status and position of migrants seeking access to higher education opportunities in Ireland. However, there are gaps in their research study. There is a specific lack of focus on the humanistic perspective of the development of human potential on a holistic level. The adult is entitled to flourish through education: a basic fundamental human right. Education should provide an individual with knowledge and opportunities to increase their employability status but it is also a very important asset in itself:

> A great many people have a strong interest in higher education since they understand that educational attainment and achievement may be one of the most important assets a person can acquire in a lifetime (Moxley *et al,* 2001, 73).

Freedom of speech as a fundamental right is quite useless if someone is not educated enough to state something worth stating (Marshall, 1950). There is another important aspect to education. When Freire said 'I see "education as the practice of freedom" above all as a truly gnosiological situation' (1976, 147) this shows his understanding of the true power of education; not only does it provide the opportunity for radical social change by providing the tools to better one's social and economic environment, education also equips the individual with knowledge that awakens their consciousness. He further states:

> dialogue awakens an awareness. Within dialogue and problem-posing educator-educatee and educatee-educator go forward together to develop a critical attitude. The result of this is the perception of the interplay of knowledge and all its adjuncts. This knowledge reflects the world; reflects human beings in and with the world explaining the world. Even more important it reflects having to justify their transformation of the world (Freire, 1976, 125).

Freire sees education as a process that informs, develops, and evolves because 'people become aware of their manner of acquiring knowledge and realize the need to knowing even more. In this lies the whole force of education in the gnosiological condition' (Freire, 1976, 153), or as Torres describes it, 'education is not the key to transformation, but transformation is in itself educational' (Torres, 1999). It is a

process of social change. Freire believes that through learning people learn that they can re-make themselves and are 'capable of knowing – of knowing that they know and of knowing that they don't. They are able to know what they know better and to come to know what they do not yet know' (Freire, 2004, 15). Through his experience of working with peasants, Freire noted that the more informed they were, the more they understood the oppressive nature of the society in which they lived. Knowledge gave them the power to understand and readdress this oppressiveness:

> By predisposing men to reevaluate constantly, to analyze "findings," to adopt scientific methods and processes, and to perceive themselves in dialectical relationship with their social reality, that education could help men to assume an increasingly critical attitude toward the world and so to transform it
> (Freire, 1976, 33-34).

It is through this thinking process that, according to Freire, (1976, 47), a person can come to 'discover the value of his person'. This is an important argument in respect of the role of education and the development of people's creativity. It is through the process of exploring knowledge and informing oneself that one increases knowledge. He states 'the more I inform myself on the substantiveness of what I read, the more and the better will I read and become able to re-write what is read in my way, becoming also able to write what I have not yet written' (Freire, 2004, 71-72). Using what you have come to know to further explore, understand and create more knowledge, this is the real power of knowing, putting knowledge into practice of ownership. Or to use the simple words of a peasant who said 'before this, words meant nothing to me; now they speak to me and I can make them speak' (cited by Shaull, 1990, 13).

In addition, education should present an individual with the opportunity to develop their full potential as an intelligent rational human being, because education is a basic fundamental human right laid down in international law. It is one of the 'most affirmed economic, social and cultural rights' (Chapman, 2007, 122). It is a social justice issue. On an international level, currently, there is a rights-based approach to education which advocates an 'inalienable right of the individual to education' (UNICEF, 2008, 1). The human rights approach ensures that rights are realised, protected, facilitated and fulfilled. They are 'indivisible' because they are interdependent on other rights

(UNICEF, 2008). Rights-based approaches promote strategies of empowerment. The 'goal is to give people the power to change their own lives, their communities and their destinies (UNICEF, 2008). The rights-based approach pays special attention to the status of vulnerable groups, particularly around issues of equality and discrimination, including ethnic minority groups. A 'defining feature of a rights-based approach is its explicit linkage to human rights standards' (Sandkull, 2005, 4). Education in itself is a goal but it is also a goal in realising all other human rights (Sandkull, 2005). Human rights, social justice and democracy are strongly interrelated and interlinked.

2.9 Interplay between social justice and human development

The Capabilities Approach is an approach that focuses on issues of human vulnerability and it is increasingly being developed to address human needs in a more positive way than other approaches to date. This approach has been specifically designed to focus on the 'world's neediest' and most impoverished people (Nussbaum, 2001, 2). Nussbaum is a humanist who is emphatic about the idea that every individual is entitled to be treated with dignity. Human capabilities are about 'what people are actually able to do and to be' (Nussbaum, 2001, 3). There is more to the concept of capability than economics; it is to exercise one's full 'human powers' with dignity and to have the freedom and thought to do it. No human being should be in a subordinate position to another human being: 'to treat a person as a mere object for the use of others' is exploitation (Nussbaum, 2001, 3). One's own humanity can die when a person has no dignity or choice (Nussbaum, 2001). The ultimate goal is that each individual is 'worthy of regard' (Nussbaum, 2001, 6). We 'badly need a richer, more humanistic, more values-oriented approach to development and quality of life assessment, if development is really to be a normative concept, meaning that things get better' (Nussbaum, 2001, 6).

The Capabilities Approach is a new theoretical paradigm which is grounded in the commitment of equal dignity for all regardless of class, gender or ethnic group (Nussbaum, 2011b). People's ideas are their own responsibility; they own their ideas, which are part of critical thinking. It is both a 'comparative account of the quality of life and a theory of basic social justice' (Nussbaum, 2011, 23b). The Capabilities Approach is attracting world-wide attention, particularly in developed economics and

in public policy. The core approach is a basic social justice approach which uses critical but respectful argument.

The capability/capabilities attached to each right ensure that the final goal benefits the individual. Some States provide entitlements but do not help to implement them (Nussbaum, 2003). The barriers that prevent actions need to be removed, particularly for marginalised groups. Critical thinking is an essential humanistic ability in the promotion of human development (Nussbaum, 2009). Education for human development begins with the idea of 'equal respect for all human beings and equal entitlement of all to a range of central human opportunities' (Nussbaum, 2009, 8). This is a 'profound egalitarian and critical component' of development education (Nussbaum, 2009, 8).The Capabilities Approach theorises basic social justice and is wholly concerned with ingrained inequality and social injustice. In her theory, Nussbaum (2011a) outlines ten common capabilities or main principles. These are

1. *Life* – to be able to live to the end of human life;
2. *Health* - to have good health, nourishment and shelter;
3. *Bodily Integrity* – to be able to move freely without assault of any kind;
4. *Senses, Imagination and Thought* – to be able to use one's senses and thought processes;
5. *Emotions* – to freely reciprocate love and attention with others;
6. *Practical Reasoning* – to be critically reflective about one's life;
7. *Affiliation* - to have the opportunity to socially engage with others on an equal basis;
8. *Other Species* - to be at one with nature;
9. *Play* - to enjoy recreational play;
10. A - *Control Over One's Environment* – to be politically active including areas such as freedom of speech and freedom of association etc.; B - *Control Over One's Environment* – to have rights to property
(Nussbaum, 1999, 41-42).

Each of these capabilities holds a particular value. A number of these principles are more readily applicable to the western concept of social justice, democracy and social thinking and particularly relevant to this thesis. These principles include: 'to be treated with dignity and equal worth by all', to have the opportunity to engage in the planning

of one's life, to have political freedom of expression and finally to have access to political process (Nussbaum, 2011, 33-34a).

The dominant theory of justice in western societies is social contract theory, which is based on mutual advantages between the State and the individual. On a global scale, this is not applicable because it generates inequalities, according to Nussbaum (2011a). The term 'integration' is associated with numerous theories or approaches to the migration management process but the overall term is usually based on a social contract between the State and those within that State. There are certain rules and regulations that all residents, including the indigenous and migrant populations are subject to. Healy (2007) states that this theory rests on the interests of the 'common good' (Healy, 2007, 11) and that each individual benefits in some way. In theory, the social contract 'by definition must be free from coercion', yet many existing integration theories are 'in fact obligatory' (Healy, 2007, 11). All parties or groups of people within a society must agree to the conditions of the social contract governing that society. In Ireland in particular, the social contract highlights the inequalities among migrant groups who contribute to the Irish tax system, yet simultaneously are denied access to public services such as education and social welfare services. This highlights the principle concept of 'biopolitics' used by Lentin (2006). The 'principle of equality of rights and duties underpins integration and citizenship policies in most immigration countries' (Healy, 2017, 12). Healy (2007) argues that the process of integration is a mutual adjustment between the host country and the migrant (2007, 12). The migrant groups are accepted into society with an increased sense of belonging. Nonetheless, the overall 'integration' process is quite a complex affair.

There is a general expectation under the contact theory that one State should profit by helping another State (Nussbaum, 2003, 4b). Nussbaum (2003b) argues that one State should help another because of 'human fellowship' (2003, 4b). Social contract theory assumes that each country has the same power and resources etc. but this is not the case. There are major inequalities between countries, between different groups within countries (2003b) and between genders (Nussbaum, 1999). The dominant theory of justice is based on 'human fellowship and human respect in a more expansive sense' (Nussbaum, 2004, 12). There are people who have been denied certain opportunities that are freely available to other groups in society. Eventually these people end up denying that they want these 'goods' in the first place (Nussbaum, 2011a). This is

more or less the result of internalising a second class status. Basically, the capabilities approach allows each individual to analyse their own capabilities and this approach is designed to support each person's full potential (Nussbaum, 2011a). Education is at the heart of the capabilities approach and allows for the development of numerous important internal capabilities. The formation of internal capabilities is:

> valuable in itself and a source of lifelong satisfaction. It is also pivotal to the development and exercise of many other human capabilities: a "fertile functioning" of the highest importance in addressing disadvantage and inequality
> (Nussbaum, 2011, 152a).

Education greatly enhances employment opportunities, political participation, and social and civic interaction, at a local, national and global level. Education is a basic fundamental right and one that has received considerable attention in a myriad of international treaty commitments such as Article 2 of the European Convention on Human Rights (1950) which states that: 'no person shall be denied the right to education' (European Convention on Human Rights, 1950). Other international treaty commitments include Article 26 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948), Article 14 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights (EU, 2000/C 364/01), Article 5 and Article 26 of the United Nations General Assembly (1948). The right to education is widely regarded as fundamental and is also enshrined in Article 42 of the Constitution of Ireland (1937). The World Conference on Human Rights (1993) recommended that education should develop the full personality and character of the individual (United Nations General Assembly (A/51/506), (1996). There are numerous treaty Articles on the right to education. Other international treaty Articles are further outlined in section 2.15 of this chapter.

People are the greatest societal asset and ultimately human development is important (Nussbaum, 2011a). This approach takes into account people's different social positions in each society and the opportunities individuals are presented with. This approach is a basic social justice approach founded in human dignity. However, the idea of freedom may at times be contradictory; for example, a business that freely pollutes the atmosphere is interfering with other citizens' freedom to enjoy an 'unpolluted environment' (Nussbaum, 2003b, 44). Some freedoms are central freedoms, while other freedoms are not if they negatively impact other people.

> All societies that pursue a reasonably just political conception have to evaluate human freedoms, saying that some are central and some trivial, some good and some actively bad. This evaluation affects the way we will access an abridgement of a freedom (Nussbaum, 2011, 45-46b).

Any society that allows a freedom to insult another person, for example, the freedom of an employer to discriminate on the grounds of race, is allowing a fundamental injustice (Nussbaum, 2003, 46) so the content of each freedom needs to be examined in this respect. Sen (1979) is another theorist whose ideas are steeped in the potential of human freedom. Sen (1999) also suggests that capabilities are substantive human freedoms (Sen, 1999). Freedom is about removing the 'unfreedoms' that prevent people and groups of people living in the way they desire. What use are political freedoms on paper when in practice people are prevented from enjoying the freedom? (Sen, 1979). Inequality is endemic everywhere (Sen 1979). One of the most fundamental aspects contrary to human dignity is racism. The history and development of racism in Ireland is somewhat different from the development of racism in the UK due to a number of unique factors. The next section reviews the origin of Irish racism.

2.10 Origins of Irish racism

The concept or origin of Irish racism is unique to Ireland, according to Robbie McVeigh (1992), who published an article on Irish racism in the journal *Race and Class*. This was twenty-two years ago, when Ireland was considered 'white' based on the notion that there were 'no Black people in Ireland' (McVeigh, 1992, 32). This fact was 'untrue but it is nevertheless crucially important because it is the central means by which Irish people deny their own racism' (McVeigh, 1992, 32). This, McVeigh (1992) states, allows the Irish to 'retain the moral–high-ground' that there is racism in other countries but not in Ireland (McVeigh, 1992, 32-33). We tend to associate racism with Black people but this is highly 'erroneous and dangerous' because it suggests Black people cause racism (McVeigh, 1992, 33). McVeigh (1992) states that there were approximately 20,000 Black people, 3,000 Jewish people and 21,000 Travelling people in Ireland in 1992; this represented 1% of the population (McVeigh, 1992, 33). It is 'clear that these racialised minority populations do experience racism' (McVeigh, 1992, 33). Sometimes it is subtle, other times it is more direct and hostile. A former deputy major of Belfast, for example, called for the 'incineration of Travelling people'.

Racism in actual fact was happening at the time 'not something which may' happen (McVeigh, 1992, 34). Racism 'is always located in particular structures of power and oppression' (McVeigh, 1992, 34). The specificity of Irish racism rests on five interacting processes. These are:

1. the 'diffusion' of racism from Britain;
2. the involvement of Irish people in the process of western imperialism;
3. the Irish Diaspora;
4. the 'graphing on' of racism to internal forces, notably sectarianism and nationalism, and
5. the existence of an endogenous anti-Traveller racism.
   (McVeigh, 1992, 35).

The 'diffusion' of racism from Britain means that the Irish unconsciously or consciously analyse and observe racist British behaviour in a social context and follow suit. British imperialism has influenced Irish racism particularly since Irish Protestants had stronger links with Britain (McVeigh, 1992), while Catholics in Ireland had greater cause to challenge British imperialism in Ireland. In Ireland, the Catholic Church's collections for helpless 'Black Babies' also helped to develop an Anti-Black racism. Furthermore, there were a number of famous/infamous influential Irish people including Thomas Moore who wrote extremely racist poetry and John Mitchel who was an active anti-imperialist yet approved of slavery. Both these individuals were highly racist. Author Griffith (founder of Sinn Féin) supported Mitchel's racist views (McVeigh, 1992). Other influences that characterise Irish racism were Irish nationalism and unionism, both of which 'encouraged and reproduced racism' (McVeigh, 1992, 39). Up until 1965, Anti-Semitism was endorsed by the Catholic Church because prior to 1965, the Jewish people were held responsible for the death of Jesus (McVeigh, 1992).

In addition, racism was thriving between Catholics and Protestants. This was very noticeable in the North but it also was very real in the South of Ireland. This was labelled as sectarianism. Much of the stated racism had 'it's roots elsewhere and has been reworked in the Irish context' (McVeigh, 1992, 40). Anti-Traveller racism originated in Ireland (1992). Travellers were identified as a symbolic 'other' and

opposed to the sedentary Irish culture. This is called 'sedentarism' (McVeigh, 1992, 41). Traditionally there has been a strong sense of community in Ireland, 'at a deep level, Travelling people, Jewish people, and, more recently, Black people have threatened the very nature of the sense of 'community' in Ireland' (McVeigh, 1992, 42). These 'outsiders' 'represent the presumed chaos which lies outside the protection of the community in Ireland' (McVeigh, 1992, 42). This sense of community is a regressive rather than a welcoming sense of community. According to McVeigh (1992), the tensions, and inequalities inside the community are reworked and transferred from the community to the outsiders so the outsiders, are seen as a threat to the community. This process works in the following way, as McVeigh (1992) projects:

> thus, through a convenient sublimation, people inside the community are not sexually active, Black people are; people inside the community do not exploit their fellows, Jewish people do; men inside the community are not violent to their partners, Travelling men are. In pathologising the 'out –group', the 'community' de-pathologises itself. This process is obviously negative for the 'out-group', in that it encourages discrimination and violence against them to ensure that they are an 'out-group'. But it is also inherently problematic for the white and sedentary community, since it does not successfully resolve tensions around sexuality, gender, class and so on. It is a means of controlling and repressing – but not transcending...
> (McVeigh, 1992, 42).

Travelling people may be seen as a deviant group because of the very nature of their lifestyle, from the hegemonic view of the population where work and property are recognised as valuable elements of Irish community life and belonging. Travellers move around and work for themselves. There is a concept of 'refusal' where Travellers refuse to be employed by an employer like the indigenous Irish. These actions go against the norms and values of Irish society because 'capitalist definitions of ownership and control, remain profoundly subversive acts' (McVeigh, 1992, 43) in Ireland. McVeigh (1992) states that 'the 'integration' of the experience of Travellers into the broad anti-racism and anti-imperialism movement is not simply a political project but also a theoretical one' (McVeigh, 1992, 43). Ireland has its own 'endogenous racism', in other words home-grown racism and in this sense provides the white versus black and the clean versus dirty argument that Court (1985) described in her book *Puck of the Droms*. Yet simultaneously the Irish have been identified as black by the American and British nations and the Irish have identified Travellers as

black. As a result of this, the Irish have been both 'outsiders' and insiders' (McVeigh, 1992). All sedentary classes in the West have a deep seated sense of the 'outsiders', whether these are 'nomads or migrants or refugees' (McVeigh, 1992, 44).

Irish racism is thriving and must, according to McVeigh, (1992) be challenged: 'focusing on Irish racism is only useful if it can facilitate the dismantling of that racism...only then can we begin to challenge the reproduction of repression and exploitation at the race/class/gender nexus' (McVeigh, 1992, 44). McVeigh believes that the victims of racism must lead and define the struggle against it (2002). Ethnic minorities need to have ownership and should take control of both minority ethnic organisations and anti-racist organisations (McVeigh, 2002). Accordingly, as far as he is concerned: 'the only meter of success in terms of ending minority ethnic disadvantage is equality of outcome' (2002, 223). As stated, racism and Black tend to be synonymous terms which is why many Irish do not associate racism with Travellers, tending to be influenced by the Black/White ideology of racism.

From a Black perspective, racism means one group of people are generalised to be the disadvantaged group. Furthermore, racism is 'both overt and covert' in nature, according to Kwame Ture (formally known as Stokely Carmichael) and Charles Hamilton, (1992, 4). Ture and Hamilton speak about racism from a Black perspective of American life. Both are very specific on the differences between individual racism and institutional racism:

> When white terrorists bomb a black church and kill five black children, that is an act of individual racism, widely deplored by most segments of the society. But when in the same city - Birmingham Alabama – five hundred black babies die each year because of the lack of proper food, shelter and medical facilities, and thousands more are destroyed and maimed physically, emotionally and intellectually because of conditions of poverty and discrimination in the black community, that is a function of institutional racism
> (Ture & Hamilton, 1992, 4).

Ture and Hamilton (1992) state that institutional racism presents itself in a different form to individual racism, as it 'relies on the active and pervasive operation of anti-black attitudes and practices' (Ture and Hamilton, 1992, 5). The fact is, there is a prevailing sense that whites are "better" than blacks and this attitude 'permeates the

society, on both the individual and institutional level, covertly and overtly' (Ture & Hamilton 1992, 5). This prevailing sense that one group of people is superior to another group is the foundation of racism, argues Memmi (2000). Memmi's background on racism is grounded in the experiences of the colonised and the coloniser. In his introduction to Memmi's book Racism (2000), Martinot summarizes Memmi's underlying concept of theory of racism, as underpinned by four principles. These include:

1. there is an insistence on a difference between the two groups of people, whether real or imagined;
2. the difference is negative in value;
3. the negative value cannot be ignored and applies to the whole group and;
4. the negative value provides legal grounds and justification for hostility and aggression.
   (Martinot, 2000, xvii-xviii).

Memmi (2000) states that 'difference' is the main component of racism in the relationships of different groups of people. The 'difference' that Memmi implies is that one group perceives themselves to be superior - biologically, culturally, economically and politically - to other groups in society. These 'differences' are ones that he analogises to sets of relationships he believes existed among European imperialists going about appropriating large swathes of the globe during the 19th century. This difference of superiority implies that one group is superior to another and forms the basis of racist theory (Memmi, 2000); according to Mac Éinrí (2004), this applies to Ireland, as difference is not tolerated in this country (Mac Éinrí, 2004). Another theory is Said's book on *Orientalism* published in 1977. Although the book is based on East/West 'stories', it also discusses many East/West conflicts and great acts of social injustices which destroy the core of humanity (man's inhumanity to man). Said (1977) focuses on the negative impact that the powerful have on the powerless. One of the underlying themes is that policy is developed by policy-makers and those in power. This in turn, has a negative impact on the powerless or less powerful. This type of policy is wholly destructive in nature. Said (1977) argues that there is a major lack of humanity or 'humanism' as he (1977) describes it. He states that 'humanism is the only, and, I would go as far as saying, the final, resistance we have against the inhuman practices and injustices that disfigure human history' (Said, preface, 2003, xxiii). The next section focuses on the concept of institutional racism.

2.11 Institutional racism in Ireland

Institutional racism came to light in Britain, in the MacPherson report on the inquiry into the death of black teenager, Stephen Lawrence in 1993 (Lentin, 2004). Judge MacPherson ruled that institutional racism does exist. MacPherson found that the investigation into the Lawrence murder was marred by institutional racism (Lentin, 2004). According to Lentin, racism is a political system that is embedded and controls Government bodies and State agencies, (Lentin, 2006). One prime area that the media tends to ignore is the impact of institutional racism on policies and practices. This subject is generally not a public issue.

As a result of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (1999), Judge McPherson defined institutional racism as follows:

> The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination, through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people
> (McPherson, 1999).

Institutional racism, according to Sir Paul Wilson (1999), may have more to do with how the organisation systematically treats people, and is not dependent on sole individual intentions. At the Inquiry, Wilson defined institutional racism as follows:

> The term institutional racism should be understood to refer to the way the institution or the organisation may systematically or repeatedly treat, or tend to treat, people differentially because of their race. So, in effect, we are not talking about the individuals within the service who may be unconscious as to the nature of what they are doing, but it is the net effect of what they do
> (Wilson, 1999).

McPherson describes institutional racism as a corrosive disease and argues that institutional racism perseveres because the organisation fails 'openly and adequately to recognise and address its existence and causes by policy, example and leadership.

Without recognition and action to eliminate such racism, it can prevail as part of the ethos or culture of the organisation' (McPherson, 1999).

According to Beire and Jaichand (2006), institutional racism is also an equality issue and it is the most difficult form of racism to tackle because of its covert nature and the unwillingness of the State to investigate the existence of hidden or unhidden barriers to equality (Beire & Jaichand, 2006, 21). Beire and Jaichand (2006) conducted research on institutional racism at the level of the State. The four government departments included in this were the Department of Justice, the Department of Health and Children, the Department of Education, and the Department of Employment. Beire and Jaichand examined each department for racist practices and policies. The structure, policies and practices of organisations can provide protections against racist practice but they also have the potential to reinforce or condition racist attitudes or behaviour. The attitudinal concept of racism offers sustenance to the structural barriers, which sustain institutional racism (Beire & Jaichand, 2006, 15).

The influence of 'ingrained cultural attitudes' on the State's policies and legislation, cannot be underestimated (Beire & Jaichand, 2006, 15). Equality that is seen as treating everyone equally, for example providing the same health services, is one form of institutional racism, if the needs of ethnic minorities are not met by this service. However, 'it is only by trying to understand how racism has come to be embedded in the "culture, structure and workings" of an institution that it may be really tackled' (Beire & Jaichand, 2006, 16). People from minority ethnic groups may be unintentionally discriminated against because they do not meet the conventional and narrowed criteria that institutions were designed to deal with (Beire and Jaichand, 2006, 16). The key to measuring institutional racism is finding that a particular policy or practice has a negative impact on ethnic minorities (Beire & Jaichand, 2006, 16-17).

An Anti-Racist Toolkit funded by the Higher Education Funding Council of England has been constructed in response to the *Stephen Laurence Inquiry* (1999), which used the University of Leeds as a case study. Every organisation, including higher education institutions in Britain, have been advised to examine their in-house practices to address racism and institutional racism. Key questions to be considered are:

1. Are we doing enough to promote and serve the diverse needs and requirements of Britain's increasingly diverse student and working population?

2. Are we identifying the diverse needs and requirements of Britain's increasingly diverse student and working population:

3. In what ways should a HEI be looking at what it says it does, and what actually happens in practice?

(Turney, Law & Phillips, 2002, 8).

The toolkit examines the resources to 'access, review and reconstruct educational policy and practice' (Turney *et al,* 2002, 8). People generally see racism or discrimination as happening 'external to their own environment and not embedded in the normality of social relations and social practice' (Turney *et al,* 2002, 45). Training needs to address this unperceived level of discrimination embedded in everyday life, in order to change mindsets and to help people become more insightful to everyday inequalities. The toolkit aims to empower staff and students from all ethnic backgrounds in a positive educational and learning environment. It provides, among other procedures, practical guides, action materials, an action plan, a mission statement, and indicators of good practice. Examples of good practice are policies and action plans that are documented, clearly understood and disseminated, and staff and students both have the opportunity to contribute to the development and review of anti-racist policy and practice. There is a clear code for recording, monitoring and addressing racial harassment (Turney *et al*, 2002). These are some examples of best practice. This toolkit provides indicators of bad practice. Large numbers of Black and ethnic minorities (BME), both staff and students making complaints about college services or, for example, career progression in the case of a staff member, are examples of bad practice. Poor representation from BME staff or students is also bad practice, as is the lack of transparency on such issues (Turney *et al*, 2002). This Anti-Racist Toolkit provides an excellent tool for the HEA and HE institutions in Ireland as examples of best practice.

To conclude this section, Memmi's (2000) concept of racism is steeped in a sense that one group of people is superior in every sense to another group. The foundation of this theory is based on the relationship between the colonised and the coloniser. Ture and Hamilton's (1992) theory is based on the Black/White concept of racism that instigates

somehow the idea that whites are better than Blacks and this attitude runs through the very soul of society at individual level and at the level of the State. The foundation of Irish racism is unique to Ireland and only when a definitive understanding of this concept is widely and publically debated and acknowledged can we as nation challenge racism in Irish society. McVeigh's (1992) theory has identified the 'outsider' and the presumed chaos that is associated with the 'outsider'. It is not that long ago that the Irish were identified as the black Irish; between Ireland's history of colonization, imperialism and being Britain's poor cousin, the Irish were both insider and outsider groups.

2.12 Ideology of belonging

This section briefly explores Spheres of Justice (1983), particularly the concept of membership. The topic of justice is important to Walzer (1983). 'His goal is to show that the simple equality where every person has the same amount of goods, may not be the best paradigm for equality' because this process becomes a constant redistributing of wealth (Townsley, 2004, 1). Equality 'is an ideal ripe for betrayal' (Walzer, 1983, xi). It is betrayed from the very moment the first meeting is organised when power and positions are distributed. Someone is elected chairperson and whoever can articulate more eloquently frequently takes over; in this sense equality does not exist (Walzer, 1983). Human beings do recognise that people are different because of the various talents, skills, wisdoms and grace that distinguish each person from another. Nevertheless, in its most basic form, equality inherently means that everyone is the same. In reality, what generally occurs is that one group of people will dominate another group: 'it's what the population with power do to those without it' (Walzer, 1983, xiii). Social goods such as birth, blood, wealth, state power or education are always a source of domination (Walzer, 1983) and therefore need to be controlled in order not to control other human beings. No social good should be used as a tool to dominate (Walzer, 1983) but arguably it is:

> The primary good that we distribute to one another is membership in some human community. And what we do with regard to membership structures all our other distributive choices: it determines with whom we make those choices, from whom we require obedience and collect taxes, to whom we allocate goods and services...men and women

> without membership anywhere are stateless persons...non-members are
> vulnerable and unprotected
> (Walzer, 1983, 31).

Individuals who are classified as non-members do not qualify for welfare and security provision, and public services such as health care for example, are not necessarily available to non-members. The reality, according to Walzer is that 'statelessness is a condition of infinite danger' (Walzer, 1983, 32). A person does not necessarily have to be stateless to be a non-member of society; this can occur in a poor or very rich country where it is densely crowded or extremely sparse and it can also occur as a 'subject of an authoritarian regime or the citizen of a democracy' (Walzer, 1983, 32). Human beings, by their very nature, tend to migrate to better environments. We may choose the country that we wish to migrate to, but at the same time, the country more often than not may not choose us. Walzer's (1983) theory shows us that the stranger (not our enemies) may 'be entitled to our hospitality, assistance, and good will' (Walzer, 1983, 33) because the act of showing hospitality to the stranger does not require continuous or further care. This approach is the Good Samaritan approach (Townsley, 2004). It is not uncommon for people to resent the stranger, so our very neighbourhoods can become little states which in turn keep non-members out.

> Neighbourhoods might maintain some cohesive culture for a generation or two on a voluntary basis, but people would move in, people would move out; soon the cohesive would be gone...the distinctiveness of cultures and groups depends upon closure and, without it, cannot be conceived as a stable feature of human life
> (Walzer, 1983, 39).

In other words, if a culture is to remain distinct, it must remain closed to outsiders. Therefore there has to be some level of political or State organisation to develop an admissions policy to regulate inward migration. The 'restraint of entry serves to defend the liberty and welfare, the politics and culture of a group of people committed to one another and to their common life' (Walzer, 1983, 39). No-one on the outside of a club has a right to be a member of that club. The 'club' is a symbolic figure but it provides a sense of belonging. Only members of the club can choose who will be a member. Walzer (1983) speaks about the 'kinship principle', where by association of relationship, we allow distant relatives into the family circle. This principle also

includes another principle of association, that of belonging to one culture. An example of this principle occurred during the Second World War, when children normally residing in London were taken into homes in the English countryside. Neither the adult nor the child was related but the concept of community connections was there. Men and women have family commitments which should not be ignored. As stated, countries can be 'clubs' or 'families', but countries are also territorial states. The actual territory is real and its symbolic meaning is also real between the bond of the land and its people. It is not uncommon that many residents of a 'particular country won't be allowed full membership (citizenship) because of their nationality' (Walzer, 1983, 43). In other words, the citizens of the host country do not welcome the newcomers as citizens.

There is a very strong link between the land and the people belonging to that land; this 'is a crucial feature of national identity' (Walzer, 1983, 44). A country is a space or a territory within a border whose political leaders understand the importance of education and welfare provision and how it can be distributed within that space. This is the reason why borders can be bitterly disputed. The 'process of "liberation"...the theory of justice must allow for the territorial state, specifying the rights of its inhabitants and recognising the collective right of admission and refusal' (Walzer, 1983, 44). The 'territory is a social good in a double sense' because 'it is living space, earth and water, mineral resources and potential wealth...it is a protected living space, with borders and police' (Walzer, 1983, 44-45). Refugees are the only group of people looking for membership because their individual politics or religion is not tolerated in their country of origin or they are victims of persecution (Walzer 1983). However, as long as the numbers of refugees remain small, refugees are accepted, but once the numbers begin to increase, the criteria become restricted; the host country will seek similar characteristics of the host nation:

> The members of a political community have a collective right to shape
> the resident population-a right subject always to the double control that
> I have described: the meaning of membership to the current members
> and the principle of mutual aid
> (Walzer, 1983, 52).

Territorial admission is a serious matter because when a person resides in the country, the right of access to citizenship arises yet at the same time migrants are regarded as ultimately necessary because they 'free the citizens from hard and unpleasant work' (Walzer, 1983, 52). It is common in western economies for migrants to fulfil jobs that are dirty, dangerous and degrading. Symbolically, the State is 'like a family with live-in servants' (Walzer, 1983, 52). In this sense, the servants are 'assimilated' into the State as guest workers. These workers are usually sourced from poorer countries whose citizens find the jobs less undesirable. Western governments recruit these workers under strict regulations. Among other regulations, they need a visa to work in the country and when the job ends, the guest worker leaves. A guest worker is a temporary worker, not an immigrant seeking a new home and citizenship. They are discouraged from bringing family members with them. They have no political rights. This process of denial is sometimes official and sometimes done by the underlying threat of deportation.

When workers are required on a long term basis, the regulations may become more relaxed, family reunification may be permitted and they may have access to State services but their position always remains precarious. Residency is strongly tied to employment, and the migrant must support themselves and their family at all times; otherwise they can be deported. Guest workers traditionally work in poorly paid employment, send their wages back home and remain in this temporary status. This is beneficial to the host country, the guest worker and the 'membership members'. Economically, the work is done while politically the 'family' or the 'club' remains intact. Politically, the guest worker is tightly constrained, exploited and oppressed; basically they are disenfranchised. The State is seen as all powerful. Goldberg (2002) suggests that it is this very power that gives people permission to stay in the State or not (Goldberg, 2001). Walzer (1983) classifies guest workers as 'outcasts in a society that has no caste norms' (Walzer, 1983, 59). These outcasts look like ordinary members of the State but are deemed outcasts as they are barred from citizenship. This is the only way to get dirty, dangerous and degrading (3D) jobs done. Undeniably, the 'rule of citizens over non-citizens, of members over strangers, is probably the most common form of tyranny in human history' (Walzer, 1983, 62). It is also the first form of abuse and it leads to a number of other abuses, such as the lack of political rights. Only those qualified as members have membership rights. Full membership of a State

allows the individual access to the social goods and security services of that state, so full membership means that a person is an insider not an outsider.

In summary, Walzer's (1983) concept of equality means everyone is equal, but in practice, it is almost impossible to create the conditions of equality. Migrants are needed to do the 3D jobs and once this work is completed, the migrant will leave. Residency is strongly tied to employment; the migrant must be economically viable, otherwise s/he is deported. Guest worker status is temporary and guest workers are deemed outcasts as they are barred from citizenship. The citizens of the host country do not welcome the new citizens; they are regarded as non-members and therefore stateless which is: 'a condition of infinite danger' (Walzer, 1983, 32). These are the living conditions and experiences of many ethnic minority groups in Ireland. Numerous groups are employed in low-paid low-skilled employment (3D jobs). Their residency status is temporary and is very dependent on employment. There are too many migrants who live in fear of deportation, with no sense of belonging on a daily basis. Every aspect of their lives is controlled. Yet as one politician pointed out, we invite them here, they contribute to the tax system but we restrict them from the companionship of their spouse or family: this 'is a proposition that flies in the face of civilised norms in Western society' (Houses of Oireachtas Immigration, Residence and Protection Bill 2008, 15 May 2008).

2.13 Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is based on 'ideas about the legal and political accommodation of ethnic diversity' which have 'emerged in the West as a vehicle for replacing older forms of ethnic and radical hierarchy with new relations of democratic citizenship', but 'despite substantial evidence that these policies are making progress toward the goal, a chorus of political leaders has declared them a failure and herald the death of multiculturalism' (Kymlicka, 2012, 1). This critique has become very popular but it is problematic because multiculturalism was not designed to present the outcomes that politicians have come to expect (Kymlicka, 2010). Furthermore, the idea that multicultural policies and approaches have been abandoned has been greatly exaggerated.

There are a number of influential factors that promote the successful implementation of multicultural policies. One such factor is that multicultural policy should be regarded as a social issue, not a security issue. Secondly, there needs to be a shared commitment to human rights. A third factor is border control; large numbers migrating from a singular country tend to lead the host country to 'feeling swamped'. There is also an economic factor; the perception that migrants are economically contributing to society ensures a better success rate in the process of multiculturalism (Kymlicka, 2012). However, if migrants are regarded as illegal, or a state burden, then multicultural policy is much more of a challenge to implement in any country. Another deep-seated argument is the current backlash against multiculturalism because of anxieties about Muslims, in particular, and their 'perceived unwillingness to embrace liberal-democratic norms' (Kymlicka, 2012, 2). Torres (2013) suggests it is a combination of features which includes a growing increase in migration, and a 'fear of Islam and a historical tolerance that have been annihilated by a withering and unrelenting economic crisis' (Torres, 2013, 1). Torres critiques multiculturalism as the 'struggle to incorporate diversity' and argues that multiculturalism is not dead, but that as a society:

> we must focus our efforts on building a social-justice-oriented multicultural education system in order to overcome the contradictory implementation of current policies and practices or the creation of a 'straw man' theory that is easily pulled apart
> (Torres, 2013, 3).

In addition to this, the politics of anti-multiculturalism are 'anger and hate' (Torres, 2013, 3). In an analysis of the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel's, statement that the attempts to build a multicultural society in Germany have completely failed, Evans (2010) summarises Merkel's subsequent statement which does acknowledge that Germany needs immigrants but immigrants need to do something 'specific' to fit into German society (Evans, 2010). This implies that there is a greater onus on the part of migrants to 'integrate' into society. Another side of this argument has proposed that multicultural policies have further marginalised ethnic minority groups. One compelling argument for the backlash of multicultural policy is that the 'accommodation of diversity' may have 'gone too far' and is now seen as threatening the country's way of life (Kymlicka, 2012). The whole concept of multiculturalism

embraces and supports diversity, yet far too frequently it provides no sense of belonging, which in itself creates segregation (Virk & Singh, 2004). Yet another viewpoint is that 'the maintenance of distinctive cultures is both a cause and a consequence of geographical concentration' (Hatton & Wheatley, 1999) and the fact that they live in certain areas of the country. From the Dutch point of view, policies were exceptionally comprehensive and promoted, yet were still considered a failure (Healy, 2007).

Social-democratic discourse has a stronger focus on civic integration, which differs from the radical-right position that emphasises the need to develop an all-inclusive national identity which addresses racism and discrimination; this is an additional view of multiculturalism (Kymlicka, 2012). The new term *post-multiculturalism* is frequently associated with this new approach. Post-multiculturalism, according to Falzon (2011), means to develop a national identity inclusive of cultural differences whereas multiculturalism is 'goal oriented' where the goal focuses on equality-in-diversity (Falzon, 2011). This entails adapting policy to include these ideas. Another aspect of multiculturalism is celebrating diversity through food, music and clothing. Kymlicka (2012) argues that the last point trivialises the real social problems that ethnic minority groups encounter (Kymlicka, 2012). Bissoondath (1998) likens this process to the folklore of Disney (Bissoondath, 1998), in other words suggesting that the multicultural process is mythical or imaginary, like a fairy tale and therefore not a real experience.

Practices such as forced marriages that form part of the traditional culture of certain groups may be legally tolerated but are not publically celebrated. This multicultural model of legal tolerance could end up as a vehicle that reinforces power inequalities or cultural restrictions or even create competition between different cultures (Kymlicka, 2012). Kymlicka (2012) refers to another concept of multiculturalism based on what Yasmin Alibhai-Brown (2000) calls the *'3S' model of multilateralism in Britain – saris, samosas, and steel drums* (Kymlicka, 2012, 4), which infers the idea that multiculturalism is steeped in the celebratory festivals of different cultures and their respective identities (Kymlicka, 2012). There are many different views of what multiculturalism is and this is why the notion is such a challenge to interpret and understand. Nevertheless, we need to come to terms with the idea of a multicultural

society, as almost all societies are multicultural (Parekh, 2006). Parekh (2006) states that multiculturalism means basically obtaining a common sense of belonging, in a political sense. In other words, the multicultural process entails finding ways of reconciling unity and diversity from a legal perspective, that is creating a common sense of belonging while at the same time respecting legitimate cultural difference without weakening a sense of shared citizenship. It is 'being inclusive without being assimilationist' (Parekh, 2006, 343).

The reason politicians argue that multiculturalism is dead is all too frequently associated with the idea that multiculturalism has never been defined in its entirety and no one really understands its full meaning. State public figures and the media have constructed a mythical version of multiculturalism (Hasan, 2011) or a 'card-board cut-out' as described by the British Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg in 2011 (Hasan, 2011, 2). Multiculturalism is frequently and quickly scapegoated for creating 'segregation, separateness, extremism [and] terrorism' (Hasan, 2011, 2) but it is about managing difference, which should be shared equally between the minority and the majority of the population (Hasan, 2011).

> There is no contradiction between the two; nor does the need to accommodate and recognise difference outweigh the need for, or the importance of, a national identity
> (Hasan, 2011, 2).

Modood (2012a) states that both David Cameron and Angela Merkel frequently claim that multiculturalism has failed, yet 'their policies acknowledge and sometimes reinforce the social behaviour and structures of group difference, sustaining multiculturalism in practice' (Modood, 2012, 11a). Others argue the complete opposite, that state multiculturalism practice is working, that many communities live peacefully side by side and 'mix freely' (Modood, 2012a).

Modood (2012b) points out that Merkel and Cameron argue that some groups clearly remain 'visible as distinct groups', as a direct result of the policy of 'separatism' 'encouraged by allegedly multicultural policies' (Modood, 2012, 39b). It is ironic that accusations that some groups are not integrating may actually reinforce their group

identity (Modood, 2012, 39b). Migrant groups who are regarded as unassimilated, particularly Muslims, are regarded as a possible source of social threat (Modood, 2012b). Political theorists and the public at large for example, widely believe that the fifteen million Muslims in Western Europe posed a threat to Western Europe (Parekh, 2009). There are anxieties about Muslims and these anxieties have some basis, but anxieties are also exaggerated in some respects (Parekh, 2009). Since the 1960s there have been a total of four Muslim related-riots compared to double the number of race-related riots by Afro-Caribbean's in Britain (Parekh, 2009).

We 'find ourselves at a point where models of analysis and policy have failed but there is uncertainty and disagreement' about how they should be replaced. In the Netherlands, the dominant framework had been multiculturalism, 'with its separate 'pillars' for Catholics, Protestants and social-democratic groups' and in the UK the approach is much more heavily reliant on the 'integrationist British version' of multiculturalism (Modood, 2012, 20b). The Netherlands has promoted multiculturalism far more than any other Western country but the Netherlands also retreated with a much greater force. Even though social unrest occurred in Britain in 2001 and in France in 2005, this still does not infer that multiculturalism in its entirety is dead (Modood, 2012, 20-21b).

Multiculturalism 'takes different forms in different contexts'; for example, there are differences in multiculturalism policy and practice between Britain and the Netherlands but the common and essential ingredient is equality (Modood, 2012, 28b). Any approach to multicultural practice is valid if it is chosen rather than imposed on groups (Modood, 2012, 14b). Furthermore, 'no one approach fits all, and no one [approach] should be dismissed' (Modood, 2012 11b), as all the approaches have potential elements to offer society and the individual. The ultimate goal of migration management policy is to achieve a sense of belonging to the community and a major emphasis of this is that the majority fully accepts the minority group. A 'sense of belonging is dependent on how others perceive and treat you, not just as an individual but also as a member of a racial group or ethno-religious community' (Modood, 2012, 24b).

Different multicultural models work for different groups as 'some ethnic minorities may wish to assimilate, some may wish to have equal rights as the rest of the population, other groups might wish to retain their cultural identity and culture, while some are happy to choose the cosmopolitan identity of a more diverse society' the point is the choice should remain with the migrant themselves (Modood, 2012, 55b). Whatever approach is chosen, society at large must respect 'difference' as a concept in itself, and in addition, society must tackle discrimination and socio-economic disadvantage (Modood, 2012b). The fact is 'cultural diversity is an inescapable fact of modern life' (Parekh, 2005, 3). When migrants seek a new start in a new country, it is frequently a personal choice to belong to the new country of migration and not to preserve personal or/and historical identity, but this should remain a personal choice.

2.14 Concept of the knowledge economy

Access to education is 'increasingly a necessity, not a privilege in a knowledge-driven society' (Lynch, 2004, 19). Ireland identifies itself as a knowledge-based economy, a term which implies that the whole of society will be required to have up-to-date skills and knowledge because higher skilled jobs are replacing lower skilled jobs (OECD, 1996; NPEA, 2008; IVEA, 2009b). Education is the key resource in increasing and empowering knowledge, yet major inequalities in income are obvious sources of inequality in education, particularly in a knowledge-based society (NAP, 2007; NPEA, 2010).

A knowledge-based economy is 'dependent on a society of people whose skills and flexibility are maintained throughout life' (Ottersten & Jennett, 2004, 141). This is the underlying concept of Lifelong Learning. People need to be employable and therefore need to increase their knowledge and skills (Yorke, 2004; Schuller & Watson, 2009). They need to adjust, over a working life, in line with contemporary employment patterns (Expert Group on Future Skills Needs, 2008). The Irish economy has come to be reliant on knowledge-based capital and therefore needs to develop this (Lynch, 1997) as, 'no job is for life' (Cahill, 2004, 57). Migrant workers are the newest cohort of workers in contemporary Ireland. A major part of the construction industry relied heavily on migrant workers during the 'Celtic Tiger' era (Bobek, Krings, Moriarty, Wickham & Salamonske, 2008), while the hospitality and domestic sector remains highly dependent on migrants (Wickham, Moriarty, Bobek & Salamonska, 2008;

MRCI, 2008). The health service continues to rely heavily on migrant doctors and nurses (Quinn, 2006; MRCI, 2008). The (2011) Census shows 35% of workers employed in the health services are Indian and 32% are Filipino (CSO, 2012d). Economically and socially, Ireland could not function without the contribution of migrant labour in recent years, and we will continue to rely on migrant workers in the future (Mac Éinrí, 2008; Employers Diversity Network, 2009).

The economic recession resulted in the levels of unemployment reaching an all-time high, as the recession began to deepen around 2009 in Ireland (Cunningham, 2009). Unemployment has had an impact on all groups of workers, particularly migrant workers (Fleming & Lyons, 2009). The unemployment rate for central and eastern Europeans, for example, rose as much as 18% (CSO, 2011). Over 74,300 migrants were registered on the Live Register (CSO, 2012c). These unemployed groups need to be presented with the opportunity to increase their skills and knowledge.

The smart economy has also been promoted by the State. Developing the stock of knowledge in the economy is crucial for future economic development and a key feature of this strategy is 'building the innovation or 'ideas' component of the economy through the utilisation of human capital – the knowledge, skills and creativity of people' (Building the Smart Economy, 2008, 7).

> The smart economy is all about driving productivity and increasing the
> value of our assets. The biggest asset we have in Ireland right now is
> our people and the best way to drive productivity is through increasing
> educational attainment
> (Adult Education Motion, 2 June 2010).

Learning is a fundamental fact of modern life, and those who do not participate are left behind (van der Kamp, 2004), which results in low levels of knowledge and skills (Schuller & Watson, 2009). The concept itself of the knowledge economy conveys a lot of political weight (Trench, 2009); nevertheless the main focus of a knowledge-based economy should be the potential for employment (Lindley, 1999).

People have access to different levels of resources and therefore do not have equal living conditions. There is a complex relationship between social class, wealth and poverty. Socially disadvantaged students tend not to have the same access to social and

cultural characteristics that wealthier students have, and therefore educational inequalities remain between different groups of students depending on their background (Maxwell & Dorrity, 2009). 'Inequalities within education systems have proved remarkably persistent, particularly in relation to social class divisions' (Giddens, 2009, 864). Education is a basic fundamental right, a 'Public Good' and a 'Personal Good' and a 'right that needs to be protected' for every group (Lynch, 2014).

2.15 EU policy development and human rights

The principles of democracy, liberty and respect for human rights lay the foundation of European Union policy and practice for Member States (COM (1999) 564 final, 1999). The Common Basic Principles were adopted in 2004 after a rise in social unrest in a number of Member States (Mac Éinrí & Coakley, 2006). The right to education is a fundamental human right and one that has received much articulation in a myriad of international treaty commitments. For instance, Article 2 of the European Convention on Human Rights (1950) states that: 'no person shall be denied the right to education' (European Convention on Human Rights 1950).

> Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that: '... technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality...' (Universal Declaration on Human Rights, 1948).

Article 14 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union states: 'everyone has the right to education and to have access to vocational and continuing training' (2000/C 364/01). The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Migrants incorporates a number of articles dedicated to the protection of migrants in employment and in education. Article 43 states that migrant workers have equal rights similar to the host population of the State in employment (UN Convention on the Rights of Migrants, 1990). The Universal Declaration on Human Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 1948 has been widely accepted and quoted in many official documents, particularly in regard to intercultural education. Article 26 of the United Nations General Assembly and Article 5 of the United Nations Convention against Discrimination in Education is also regularly quoted in official documents (United Nations General Assembly, 1948). Migrant workers and minorities

are two of the groups often mentioned in the documents as in need of special protective measures (Batelaan & Coomans, 1999).

Article 13 of the United Nations International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights states that: 'higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education'. Article 4 of the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities proposes that each State should '…encourage knowledge of the history, traditions, language and culture…' of migrant groups while migrants should gain knowledge of the host society (Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, 1992). The World Conference on Human Rights (1993), in the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, recommended that education should develop the full personality and character of the individual (United Nations General Assembly (A/51/506), (1996). The Bologna Declaration recognises the importance of education in the development and strengthening of stable, peaceful and democratic societies (the Bologna Declaration of 19 June 1999). Lifelong learning according to the European Council is defined as follows:

> Lifelong learning means all general education, vocational education and training, non-formal education and informal learning undertaken throughout life, resulting in an improvement in knowledge, skills and competences within a personal, civic, social and/or employment-related perspective. It includes the provision of counselling and guidance services
> (Decision No 1720/2006/EU, 24 November 2006, 50).

Lifelong Learning Programmes are intended to promote the development of quality lifelong learning practices and improve accessible learning opportunities. Lifelong learning is also expected to reinforce social cohesion and foster employability; more fundamentally, its adherents believe that lifelong learning creates respect for human rights and democracy and encourages best practice (Decision No 1720/2006/EU, 24 November 2006). These objectives are in line with the current objectives set out in the Lisbon Strategy. It is crucial to challenge growing inequality and poverty; the Commission's *Social Reality* report in 2007 showed that many countries have high levels of people at risk from poverty (Greif, 2009). The current economic crisis, which

has resulted in rising unemployment, has deepened inequalities (Greif, 2009). It is important to establish effective training to create jobs, particularly for those who lack qualifications (Greif, 2009) to remove discriminatory practice to accessing the labour market.

The renewed core values of the Lisbon Treaty focus on growth and jobs and the key role of the knowledge triangle which consists of education, research and innovation. The European Council states that these three components must function and interact fully with each other, particularly in the economic downturn. The higher education sector needs to modernise its agenda through continuous reflection and updating of the three components of the triangle. It needs to bridge the cultural gap between education in teaching, learning and the transmission of social-cultural values in amalgamation with research and innovation in the commercial economic environment (European Council, 2009/C 302/03, 2009). It needs to develop a more innovative culture and develop stronger links with the business sector. In addition:

> The knowledge triangle must be taken into account when developing lifelong learning strategies at national, regional and institutional level so that universities become more involved in the upgrading of skills relevant for the knowledge economy and admission rules sufficiently recognise the value of prior learning and working experiences (European Council, 2009/C 302/03, 2009, 4).

All countries recognise the concept of Lifelong Learning but the critical challenges encountered in the further development of lifelong learning strategies are compounded as a result of the economic recession, scarce resources and emerging new skills (COM (2009)640 final, 2009). The relevance of education means that it requires specific policy actions (COM (2009)640 final, 2009). The *Education and Training 2020* (ET 2020) strategic framework recommends a number of ways to address these challenges. Recommendations in the EU2020 strategic plan suggest that Member States continue to provide migrants with English language classes to improve their language skills and that Member States should network with each other on best practices on the development of education for migrant learners (2009/C 119/10). The *ET 2020 Strategy* and the *New Skills for New Jobs* Strategy will both make an important contribution to the realisation of increasing knowledge and skills (COM (2009)640 final, 2009).

The report uses the term, 'get in', 'stay in' and 'get on' (NSNJ, 2010,10). It is essential to make use of modern information, communication and technology to encourage greater commitment to increasing skills (NSNJ, 2010). It is also vital to analyse labour market needs and address these needs (NSNJ, 2010). There is a need to develop labour market tools that will measure skill shortages, skill gaps, and areas where education is under-developed (NSNJ, 2010). The following are eight 'integration' policy tools for education design and delivery which have been developed for Member States to use in developing migrant education policy at local and national level (OECD Review of Migrant Education 2010a). Although the tools in this report are aimed at school based 'integration', they could form the basis for third level education 'integration' policy. These are:

1. setting explicit policy goals for immigrant students within broader education policy goals;
2. setting regulations and legislation;
3. designing effective funding strategies;
4. establishing standards, qualifications and qualifications framework;
5. establishing curricula, guidelines and pedagogy;
6. building capacity (especially training and teacher support);
7. raising awareness, communication and dissemination and;
8. monitoring, research, evaluation and feedback
   (OECD, 2010, 8a).

In addition, there are six specific policy tools. These are language support, teaching and learning environments, parental and community involvement, managing variations and concentration, funding strategy, and monitoring and evaluation. The framework is based on the 'Council of Europe's Common Framework of Reference for Languages' (OECD, 2010c). Irish primary teachers are provided with language assessment kits to measure levels of language in their pupils but according to the European Commission's Education and Training Report (2013), teacher training in language support is underdeveloped and language support policy is developed as the need arises (European Commission, 2013). The OECD conducted a review of migrant education in Ireland (2009) but this research only extended to primary and post-primary students (Taguma, Kim, Wurzburg & Kelly, 2009). The OCED conducted an evaluation to access to higher education programmes in Ireland and concluded that the initiatives to widen access to ethnic and cultural minorities were at a very early stage of development (OECD, 2009). Polices are being developed but the resources were inadequate to meet

growing demands and best international practices. A 'key issue in the current economic crisis is the lack of adequate mechanism to deploy constrained resources strategically' (2010/C 117/5, 2010). The most successful programmes are those with direct core funding (Deane, 2006). The main aim or central value of the capabilities approach ensures that migrant learners flourish.

2.16 Central value of Capabilities Approach

> *A central part of our own good, each and every one of us, is to*
> *produce, and live in, a world that is morally decent, a world in which*
> *all human beings have what they need to live a life with human dignity*
> (Nussbaum, 2004, 12).

The central position of the capabilities approach is that it ensures migrant learners flourish personally, individually and in the public sphere of Irish society. There is a strong relationship between the concept of social justice, full human functioning, and positive State intervention that should ensure each citizen has access to the basic level of capabilities. To support the highest level of human functioning is to ensure each person is on an equal playing field as their neighbour living in the same region and that they have similar support and resources. The onus is on the State to ensure a certain basic level of capability (Nussbaum, 1999, 34) otherwise this is considered a great injustice (Nussbaum, 1999, 35). Although they are interrelated in many complex ways, each capability is distinct in quality and equality. Being fully immersed in humanness involves highly critical reasoning. Education is at the heart of the capabilities approach and allows for the development of numerous important internal capabilities. The formation of internal capabilities is a valuable element of human growth and development and it addresses disadvantage and inequality (Nussbaum, 2011a). It also guides the individual into 'being'.

Education is a basic fundamental right. Marshall's theory of citizenship suggests that education and occupation are closely linked. The student expects to gain a 'qualification for employment at an appropriate level' (Marshall, 1950, 64). He states that education should not be a 'hereditary privilege' (Marshall, 1950, 65) and that education has a certain status attached to it. The 'status acquired by education is carried out into a world bearing the stamp of legitimacy, because it has been conferred by an institution designed to give the citizen his just rights' (Marshall, 1950, 67). The

concept of 'just rights' means his journey through his school days was evaluated (tests and examinations) by experts (teachers and examiners) periodically. Consequently, the 'poor boy' can be as intelligent as the rich boy and therefore is entitled to be gainfully employed in an area that will match his knowledge and skills. Marshall (1950) states that education is a 'service of a unique kind' (Marshall, 1950, 25) and the:

> right to education is a genuine social right of citizenship because the aim of education during childhood is to shape the future adult. Fundamentally it should be regarded, not as the right of the child to go to school, but as the right of the adult citizen to have been educated (Marshall, 1950, 25).

Moreover, 'education is a necessary prerequisite of civil freedom' (Marshall, 1950, 26). Citizenship is a basic human equality, Marshall calls this 'social heritage' (1950, 8). People need education in a political sense but increasingly need education for advancements in employment:

> The duty to improve and civilise oneself is therefore a social duty, and not merely a personal one, because the social health of a society depends upon the civilisation of its members And a community that enforces this duty has begun to realise that its culture is an organic unity and its civilisation a national heritage It follows that the growth of public elementary education during the nineteenth century was the first decisive step on the road to ale re-establishment of the social rights of citizenship in the twentieth [century] (Marshall, 1950, 26).

People are the greatest societal asset and ultimately human development is of the utmost importance (Nussbaum, 2011a). This approach, which takes into account the different positions people are in in each society and the opportunities with which each individual is presented, is a basic social justice approach founded in human dignity. Everyone has an active voice and becoming critically reflective and mindful can 'promote a culture of accountability' (Nussbaum, 2009, 11) particularly in a modern democratic society. Understanding the world from a global perspective entails a focus on the differences between power and opportunities in terms of equality 'learning to see another human being as a full person' is a challenge (Nussbaum, 2009, 13). The capabilities approach is an 'outcome-oriented approach' (Nussbaum, 2004, 12) and a society is a just society, if it ensures that each individual can get the opportunities and resources they need to flourish as human beings. Human entitlement is the goal of the

capabilities approach. 'Humanity is under a collective obligation to find ways of living and co-operating together so that all human beings have decent lives' (Nussbaum, 2004, 13); people who are socially disadvantaged need additional help, which is a human rights issue. People need to be given the choice to develop themselves and be all they can be. The capabilities approach is about human development and social co-operation on a global scale. Economic growth, which is frequently used as a social measure for quality of life issues, 'is a bad indicator of life quality because it fails to tell us how deprived people are doing' (Nussbaum, 2003, 33c).

Critical thinking is a crucial humanistic ability in the promotion of human development (Nussbaum, 2009). Education for human development begins with the idea of 'equal respect for all human beings and equal entitlement of all to a range of central human opportunities' (Nussbaum, 2009, 8). This is a 'profound egalitarian and critical component' of development education (Nussbaum, 2009, 8). The Capabilities Approach theorises basic social justice and is concerned with ingrained inequality and social injustice. Basically, the capabilities approach allows each individual to analyse their own capabilities and develop their full potential (Nussbaum, 2011a).

The capabilities approach is grounded in specific political goals which can be embedded in the constitution of any State. The social goal is getting each individual above the threshold level of each capability. The capabilities approach examines the experiences, resources and social settings of individuals and their environment, to access the central importance of obtaining all that the individual needs to develop and flourish as a full human being. In addition, to ensure quality of life issues, ones individual's capabilities should be measured against those of a similar person. The measurement or evaluation is always in connection with the overall measurement of a similar environment, that is, the least well-off against the better well-off. Basically, is a human life so devoid of power or knowledge that it is unhuman? Human beings develop their full potential when their senses, education and knowledge are accessed at relevant periods of their lives, as events have to occur at set intervals for success. The capabilities are held to have value in themselves because of the structure, design and outcome of each principle or capability in making the life 'fully human'. In addition, each capability is central to each individual's 'plans' for full developmental human potential. Overall, the capability approach specialises in a number of important areas in

relation to this research, namely the potential of human development and the flourishing and development of the self. This can be achieved by understanding how humanly and fully what he or she is 'actually able to do and to be' (Nussbaum, 2001, 3).

2.17 Conclusion

This chapter's central focus concentrated on the barriers to higher education, particularly those that ethnic minority groups encounter in accessing higher education opportunities. It is vital, from both a self-worth/actualisation and social justice paradigm, that human beings are afforded the possibility to self-develop and to lead well rounded, constructive and meaningful lives which, in turn, contribute to the well-spring of communal existence and broadened notions of participation and membership. *'Ireland is sleepwalking itself into a colossal mess over integration'* (Forde, 2012d, 1). There have been stark contradictions between what the State envisages as the concept of 'integration' and what the reality is for different groups of migrants. The State promotes the notion of cohesion, along with the promotion of anti-racist practice, while it simultaneously discriminates, marginalises and impoverishes various groups of migrants. Currently, migration policy in Ireland widens the gap in many instances, as it imparts different rights and entitlements between groups of migrants and between the indigenous populations. Migrants are not a homogenous group but numerous separate groups of people and policies differ with regard to their separate and ever changing rights and entitlements (Nlessen & Huddleston, 2009). The migration management policy and legislation framework in Ireland is not transparent, accountable or fair. Migrants' rights are not established or clarified in law (One Foundation, 2014). The current government appears to have dropped the facilitation of 'integration' (Forde, 2012a; Forde, 2012d; Integration Centre, 2012d). Crowley (2010) argues that this presents a 'hidden message', because government departments justify the importance of the role of 'integration' and all the policies and practices attached to this, yet the department that holds the major responsibility for the process of 'integration' and the management of the process, denies responsibility for the process (Crowley, 2010). There are numerous other examples where policy does not marry practice, while other policies could not address or implement policies on the ground. These are State

policies that disadvantage different groups of people (MRCI, 2007b) and even individual family members (Coakley, 2012).

Fanning (2011) refers to this process as 'paper politics', where the policies are on paper only and not in practice (Fanning, 2011). Lentin (2006) calls it 'biopolitics', that is, stating one thing but meaning another (Lentin, 2006). Foucault (1976) states that it is a source of power that examines how different aspects of human life are processed and transformed by the rules, regulations and power of the State. It is the way in which we are governed. Migrant groups who are classed as economic migrants or guest worker migrants are assumed to leave once the work is completed; therefore, they are considered temporary migrant groups. Key government representatives and successful Ministers for Justice who have been repeatedly responsible for serving to 'construct asylum seekers as being associated with crime, welfare abuse, exploitation, cultural dilution, economic pressure and a threat to Irish citizenship' (Moriarty, 2006, 302). State racism problematises and inferiorities 'the other' but effective official discourse on these issues is shaped and enabled by routinised practices (Moriarty, 2006). These practices are very common and widely used, to the extent that they may have become the norm in Irish society. The initial negative attention on asylum seekers has eventually transferred to other groups of migrants who are not deemed eligible for full citizenship rights and entitlements. The cohort of people with temporary residency status was the subject of debates in parliamentary question time, because this uncertain status was contrary to the concept of 'integration' (Houses of the Oireachtas Integration Policy Statement, 13 December 2007). Policies that marginalise significant numbers of migrants from mainstream society are disturbing (Fanning, 2011).

It is commonly known among politicians that some of the conditions of employment are horrific (Houses of Oireachtas Employment Law Compliance Bill, 18 February 2009). The work permit has been one of the most controversial issues for migrants employed in that way (Lynam, 2008). It is 'a modern form of slavery' (Middleton & Mitchell, 2006, 70). One migrant woman for example, paid her employer €500 to get her passport back (O' Donoghue, 2004, 33). The law has to be changed to protect the most at risk from exploitative practices in the workplace (Ó Ríordáin, 2012). The reality of the working and living conditions of numerous ethnic minority groups means they are in fact working in 'conditions of *de facto* apartheid' (Mac Éinrí, 2005, 11).

Migrants who remain in low paid employment remain at risk from poverty; segregation is already occurring. The denial of social rights is an extreme form of being denied social citizenship (Hill, 2006). It is essential that economic and social rights are conferred on everyone inclusively as common basic rights (Mac Éinrí, 2007b). Fanning (2011) argues that workplace exploitation seriously hinders any commitment by Irish society to fully integrate migrants. Social inclusion incorporates economic and social rights as entitlements (Fanning, 2011). Fanning (2007a) refers to the debate on what citizenship infers. Frequently, the ideology of citizenship infers rights and entitlements on an individual. The fact is that people migrating to this country have access to different rights and entitlements, which is habitually dependent on their legal status, country of origin and visa status. Different groups of migrants have various rights and entitlements; certain groups have restricted legal rights and entitlements, while other groups have almost no rights or entitlements. Groups of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees are categorised by the State as being outside the remit of the Irish legal and social system (Fanning 2007a). Social policy, structurally, excludes them, as a direct result of the way policy is structured; for instance, the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act (2001) legalised the term 'non-national'.

The overall concept of mainstreaming integration has merit but the fact that different groups of migrants are inferred various rights and entitlements is contradictory to the concept of inclusive 'integration'. Mac Éinrí (2007) states that Ireland has yet to engage pro-actively with a purposeful and fundamental question about what we mean by policies of 'integration' in the most comprehensive sense of the term, bearing in mind the depth and intensity of the issues and debates involved in the whole process (Mac Éinrí, 2007). There are so many different strands to 'integration' and the issues are complex, multifaceted and interwoven. There has been a noticeable increase in negative attitudes towards migrants in Ireland since the recession began (Smyth, 2009; Grene & Bourke, 2014).

A solemn political message that equality was not important was conveyed when the 2008 budget cut the Equality Authority funding by 43% and the Human Rights Commission by 24% (Crowley, 2010). As one Irish politician stated, 'it does not bode well for democracy and the protection of human rights in this country'. The questions were raised: 'where is the Government's policy on combating racism?' 'Where is our

integration policy?' (Houses of Oireachtas Seanad Debate 2008, 5 November 2008). These are issues of fundamental human rights. In addition, education should present an individual with the opportunity to develop their full potential as an intelligent rational human being, because education is a basic fundamental human right laid down in international law. It is one of the 'most affirmed economic, social and cultural rights' (Chapman, 2007, 122). It is a strong social justice issue. Currently, the rights-based approach to education advocates an 'inalienable right of the individual to education' on an international level (UNICEF, 2008, 1). Education in itself is a goal but it is also a goal in realising all other human rights (Sandkull, 2005). The true power of education not only provides the tools to better one's social and economic environment but also provides the opportunity for radical social change (Freire, 1976). Education also equips the individual with knowledge that awakens their consciousness (Freire, 1976). Knowledge gives people with little or no power, the power to understand and readdress the oppressive nature of their environment (Freire, 1976). People who have been denied certain opportunities that are freely available to other groups in society eventually end up denying that they want these goods in the first place (Nussbaum, 2011a). This is more or less the result of internalising a second class status. Education is at the heart of the capabilities approach and allows for the development of numerous important internal capabilities.

The Capabilities Approach is an approach that focuses on issues of human vulnerability and it is increasingly being developed to address human needs in a more positive way than other approaches to date. Human capabilities are about *'what people are actually able to do and to be'* (Nussbaum, 2001, 3). There is more to the concept of capability than economics; it is to exercise one's full 'human powers' with dignity and to have the freedom and thought to do it. No human being should be in a subordinate position to another human being: 'to treat a person as a mere object for the use of others' is exploitation (Nussbaum, 2001, 3). The ultimate goal is that each individual is 'worthy of regard' (Nussbaum, 2001, 6). Critical thinking is an essential humanistic ability in the promotion of human development (Nussbaum, 2009). The Capabilities Approach theorises basic social justice and is wholly concerned with ingrained inequality and social injustice. The principles ensure that each human being is treated with dignity and equal worth. Each and every individual must have the opportunity to engage in the planning of their life (Nussbaum, 2011a).

One of the most fundamental attitudes contrary to human dignity is racism. Racism 'is always located in particular structures of power and oppression' (McVeigh, 1992, 34). Traditionally there has been a strong sense of community in Ireland; 'at a deep level, Travelling people, Jewish people, and, more recently, Black people have threatened the very nature of the sense of 'community' in Ireland' (McVeigh, 1992, 42). These groups are regarded as 'outsiders' who 'represent the presumed chaos which lies outside the protection of the community in Ireland' (McVeigh, 1992, 42). This presumed chaos is transferred to the outsiders. Therefore, they are seen as a threat to the community. People on the right side of the community divide see those on the outside as bad and those on the inside as good. It is a transference process that allows those on the inside to be good and those on the outside to be bad *per se*. All sedentary classes in Western countries have a deep seated sense of the 'outsiders', whether these are 'nomads or migrants or refugees' (McVeigh, 1992, 44). The Irish tend to associate racism with Black people, which is highly dangerous as it suggests Black people cause racism (McVeigh, 1992).

From a Black perspective, racism is associated with power, where one group of people is generalised to be the disadvantaged group. Racist theory is underpinned by four main principles (Memmi, 2000). These include a real or imagined difference between the two groups; the difference is negative and it applies to the whole group and finally justifies legal ground for hostility (Martinot, 2000). Memmi (2000) states that 'difference' is the main component of racism between the relationships of different groups of people and this difference is wholly negative (bad). Furthermore, racism is 'both overt and covert' in nature (Ture & Hamilton 1992). There is another dominant element to racism which is institutional racism.

Institutional racism according to Lentin (2004) had primarily come to attention in Britain in light of the MacPherson report on the inquiry into the death of black teenager, Stephen Lawrence in 1993 (Lentin, 2004). Judge MacPherson overturned the conclusion drawn by Lord Scarman into the 1981 Brixton riots that institutional racism does not exist. MacPherson found that the investigation into the Lawrence murder was marred by institutional racism (Lentin, 2004). According to Lentin, racism is a political system that is embedded and controls Government bodies and State agencies, (Lentin, 2006). One prime area that the media tends to ignore is the impact of institutional racism on policies and practices. This subject is generally never a public issue.

As a result of The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry [1999], Judge McPherson found institutional racism imbedded within the policies, procedures, attitudes, and behaviours of an organisation and the members within that institution which effectively amounts to discrimination against ethnic minority groups (McPherson, 1999). Institutional racism perseveres because the organisation fails to recognise and address its existence. Institutional racism becomes part of the norm or ethos of the organisation (McPherson, 1999). Basically, institutional racism is a corrosive disease.

According to Beire and Jaichand (2006), institutional racism is also an equality issue and it is the most difficult form of racism to tackle because of its covert nature and the unwillingness of the State to investigate the existence of hidden or unhidden barriers to equality (Beire & Jaichand, 2006). The structure, policies and practices of organisations can provide protections against racist practice but they also have the potential to reinforce racist attitudes or behaviour. There is a structural attitude embedded that sustains institutional racism (Beire & Jaichand 2006). The influence of 'ingrained cultural attitudes' cannot be underestimated, as they can have powerful influences on the State's policies and legislation, (Beire & Jaichand, 2006, 15). The key to measuring institutional racism is finding that a particular policy or practice has a negative impact on ethnic minorities (Beire & Jaichand, 2006, 16-17). One prime example of institutional racism is the Irish education system, because it decides which groups can access education (Kitching & Curtin, 2012). The tiered college fee is another example of institutional racism, which creates inequalities between groups in society and marginalises different groups.

Equality in its most basic form inherently means that everyone is the same. In reality what generally occurs is that one group of people will dominate another group of people, 'it's what the population with power do to those without it' (Walzer, 1983, xiii). Migrants are regarded as newcomers and are not welcomed by the host country as citizens. They are regarded as guest workers who free the citizens from unpleasant work (Walzer, 1983). Therefore, they are a necessary requirement like servants, with no political rights, sourced from poorer countries. There is a strong thought process of denial of the right to citizenship and there is a strong underlying threat of deportation. Individuals who are classified as non-members do not qualify for any of society's social goods. Politically, the guest worker is tightly constrained, exploited and

oppressed; basically they are disenfranchised. The State is seen as all powerful. Undeniably, the 'rule of citizens over non-citizens, of members over strangers, is probably the most common form of tyranny in human history' (Walzer, 1983, 62). Residency is strongly tied to employment; the migrant must be economically viable, otherwise s/he is deported. Guest worker status is temporary and guest workers are deemed outcasts as they are barred from citizenship.

Non-members are stateless people who continuously encounter 'a condition of infinite danger' (Walzer, 1983, 32). These are the living conditions and experiences of many ethnic minority groups in Ireland. Numerous groups are employed in low-paid low-skilled employment (3D jobs). Their residency status is temporary and is very dependent on employment. There are too many migrants who live in fear of deportation with no sense of belonging on a daily basis. Every aspect of their lives is tightly controlled. Yet as one politician pointed out, we invite them here, they contribute to the tax system but we restrict them from the companionship of their family: this 'is a proposition that flies in the face of civilised norms in Western society' (Immigration, Residence and Protection Bill 2008, 15 May 2008).

Regardless of the arguments that multicultural policy is dead, a multicultural policy approach is essential for Irish policy-makers. Torres (2013) critiques multiculturalism as the 'struggle to incorporate diversity' and argues that multiculturalism is not dead. The current 'straw man' theory of multiculturalism is too easily pulled apart, and policies and practices based on the 'straw man' theory also easily fall apart because they are misinterpreted or misrepresented (Torres, 2013). In addition, multicultural policy and practice contradict one another (Torres, 2013). Therefore, it is essential to focus on 'building a social-justice-oriented multicultural education system' (Torres, 2013, 3). Incorporating diversity is a major struggle. This will be an ongoing challenge that Ireland will encounter in a similar manner to Britain and the Netherlands. Ireland will benefit from proactive promotion, development and implementation of multicultural policy (see section 3.6 for further discussion on multicultural policy). Chapter three focuses on Britain and the Netherlands. It critically reviews the higher education system and the experiences of well-established ethnic minority groups in both countries. Both countries also have a long-established history in migration management policy which is discussed in chapter three.

<center>**Ch**apter **Three**</center>

**A focus on migration management policy and higher education in Britain and the
Netherlands**

<center>Education forms the biggest part of integration policies in all
European countries
(Kallas & Kaldur, 2007, 34).</center>

3.1 Introduction

This chapter places a major focus on migrant management policy and the higher
education systems in Britain and the Netherlands. Both countries have an established
history in migration management policy and practice and have been major contributors
to ideas around multiculturalism. This chapter evaluates policy and practice
influencing migration management policy in each country, beginning with the basics of
migration policy in the aftermath of the Second World War and moving on to a greater
focus on recent and current policy development. The chapter also explores and
investigates the experiences of well-established ethnic minority groups in accessing
and attempting to access higher education opportunities in both Britain and the
Netherlands.

The following is a brief guide to the lay-out of the chapter. Section 3.2 provides a brief
justification of the countries of choice. Section 3.3 presents a focus on policy
processes, legislation, and public discourse activity that has shaped migration
management policy in Britain from latter half of the 20th century to the present day.
Britain has a strong colonial past, ethnic minority groups from the Commonwealth and
from the Asian continent; mainly India, Bangladesh and Pakistan, are long-established
communities in Britain. Section 3.4 focuses on the policy processes, legislation, and
public discourse activity that have shaped migration management policy in the
Netherlands. The four main ethnic groups are long-established communities in the
Netherlands and include the Surinamese, Antilleans, Turks and Moroccans. Section 3.5
presents an analysis of the higher education system in Britain and the Netherlands.
Ethnic minorities encounter individual, institutional and structural barriers to higher

education opportunities which are complex and multidimensional. Both governments have encountered challenges in developing and implementing migration management policies that they consider to be in the best interests of the majority and minority populations, but nevertheless, racism is very much the reality in both countries. Section 3.6 finalises this chapter by providing a 'Lesson Learning' concept that concludes what Ireland might learn from migration management and higher education in Britain and the Netherlands. Section 3.2 justifies the decision to critically review policy and practice in Britain and the Netherlands.

3.2 Justification of critical review of policy in the UK and the Netherlands

The focus on Britain is justified because Ireland and Britain have a common travel area; Ireland has similar laws, policies and practices that are politically, economically, socially, and historically in line with the policies and practices in Britain. Britain has an established history of 'integration' policy as does the Netherlands. The researcher became interested in the Netherlands because the 'integration' policy process appeared effortless, until two high profile political murders sent shock waves through the Netherlands and the rest of the world. The Dutch saw the murder of Theo van Gogh in 2004 as an attack on the 'highly valued principle of freedom of speech' (Michalowski, 2005, 2). Two years earlier on the 10th May 2002, the funeral of murder victim Pim Fortuyn, a right wing Politician, brought Rotterdam to a standstill (Greaves, 2002). As a result, the Netherlands has been chosen because there is a widespread view that multicultural 'integration' policy is in jeopardy there. In addition, both countries are EU State members. The following section presents a focus on policy processes, legislation, and public discourse activity that has shaped migration management policy in Britain from latter half of the 20th century to the present day.

3.3 Britain

Britain is a country that has a strong colonial history - at one point, it ruled one third of the entire world and its population (de Haas, 1997). Yet the British nation identifies itself an emigrant country (as opposed to an immigrant country) because the number of outward migrants generally exceeds the number of inward migrants (de Haas, 1997). Ethnic minority groups from the Commonwealth are well-established communities in the UK and these groups are the focus of this chapter because British race relations

policy was developed as a direct result of Commonwealth migrants. Britain has a history of race relations policies that captures the more recent history of migration into Britain from the period after the Second World War. Migration policy focuses on Commonwealth migrants already residing in Britain (Hampshire, 2010) and primarily pays little attention to migrants from outside the Commonwealth. British policy associates itself with colonial groups of migrants but at the same time attempts to restrict the numbers of extra Commonwealth migrants entering Britain (Hampshire, 2010). Britain has always felt more in control of small numbers of Commonwealth migrants, as large scale migration would be unmanageable; it would jeopardise the overall integration process (Geddes, 2003). That said, the current UKIP Party policy mandate seeks to reduce and control inward migration. Nigel Farage, (UKIP Leader) states they are the 'only party being honest about immigration' (Farage, 2014, 2).

The Second World War marked a defining moment in the history of immigration into Britain (Hampshire, 2010, 1), a time when the UK faced substantial labour market shortages. Post-war governments - Labour and Conservative - continuously debated how best to restrict colonial immigrants either by administrative or legislative controls. Some MPs were very vocal about letting immigrants into Britain. The tone of the debates at the time was overwhelmingly one of control, particularly control of black and Asian colonial immigrants (Hampshire, 2010, 1). Thus, 'politics, rather than economics, drove the UK to restrict post-war immigration' (Hampshire, 2010, 1). In spite of the restrictive policies, inward migration to Britain rose from 50,000 in 1951 to 4 million in 2001 (Hampshire, 2010, 2). On a daily basis though, more than 1,500 migrants arrive every day in the UK (Spencer, 2011b). The UK population is 64.1 million (Office for National Statistics, 2014).

The British Nationality Act (1981) identified three types of British citizen. These included full British citizenship for those with close ties to Britain; British Dependent Territories Citizenship for people residing in dependent countries such as Gibraltar and the Falklands; and British Overseas Citizenship which has few citizenship rights attached (Geddes, 2003). The British Nationality Act (1981) signalled the downgrading of relations with former British subjects and the abandonment of 'Jus soli' (Anderson, 2011, 3). The majority of people across the world acquire citizenship status 'by birth' (*jus soli*) or 'by blood' (*jus sanguinis*). Generally people born in a country are citizens

by birth (*jus soli*) (Grieco, 2002, 1-2). Currently anyone born in the US whose parents or grandparents were Irish, are also classed as Irish 'by blood' (*jus sanguinis*).

Three waves of political movement have marked the period since the Second World War. The first one was the period of decolonization between 1948 and 1965, the second wave was the fight against racial segregation by the African-American civil-rights movement from 1955 to 1965 and the third was the fight for multiculturalism and minority rights in the 1960s (Kymlicka, 2012). Each of these movements has been grounded in human rights and contributes to the democratic citizenship process. Current policy continues with the democratic theme as it is grounded in anti-discrimination policy. The British Race Relations Acts have been the foundation of policy in the UK since the early 1960s (Castles & Miller, 2009). This policy had primarily been designed to assimilate commonwealth migrants and this mode of thinking still remains dominant (Spencer, 2011b).

The strength of British policy is based on its legislation. British policy had followed American policy since the 1960s and the three Race Relations Acts (1965, 1968 and 1976) provided the opportunity to reflect good race relations based on American ideology (Geddes, 2003). The first *Race Relations Act* (1965) made it illegal to discriminate on the grounds of race, ethnicity, colour and national origin but this was only applicable in public places such as restaurants and cinemas and did not apply to areas where discrimination was endemic, such as education, employment and housing (Geddes, 2003). The *Race Relations Act* (1968) included legislation to cover these. The *Race Relations Act* (1976) addressed the concept of indirect discrimination. Widespread and deep-seated discrimination is still a feature for British ethnic minorities, while public opinion remains unsupportive of either immigration or immigrants (Geddes, 2003; Spencer, 2011b). The gap in terms of disadvantage for certain ethnic groups has widened, creating a 'underclass' (de Haas, 1997) or what is termed a 'third class citizen'.

Apart from the *Race Relations Acts,* there has been no consistent ethnic minority policy (de Haas, 1997). The policy is a mixture of 'scattered measures and regulations'. Both the Conservative and Labour parties have been reluctant to develop specific ethnic minority policy, partly out of pressure from white voters (de Haas,

1997). One consequence of the MacPherson Report (1999) was the new race relations legislation in 2001 that sought to stamp out institutional racism within Britain's police force (Geddes, 2003). Overall though, migration management policy remains very restrictive. It was during the race riots in London and Nottingham in the late 1950s that immigration issues were brought onto the national stage. This era coincided with a rise in popularity of the Conservative Party who appealed to middle class voters (Geddes, 2003). In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks in America and the urban unrest in a number of British inner cities, Britain responded by placing further restrictions around migration policy. Nevertheless, these events resulted in an ongoing debate on the meaning of British nationality (Geddes, 2003). Prior to this, during the 1960s, Enoch Powell, a Conservative Party politician, launched a powerful speech entitled *'Rivers of Blood',* which argued that immigrants would have the upper hand over the 'white people' of Britain (Geddes, 2003). This was a highly racist public statement which created pro and anti-arguments in its aftermath. Powell was sacked and politically never recovered. Following this, in 1978, the then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, stated that she understood the public's fear of being 'swamped' by what she termed as 'alien cultures' (Geddes, 2003). Immigration declined as a political issue after 1979. However, the issue of race relations surfaced again in the 1980s and again in 2001 as a result of race riots occurring in major British cities (Geddes, 2003).

Following the social unrest in Bradford in 2001, developments led to a new 'emphasis on the link between social cohesion and citizenship' (Anderson, 2011, 3). The Cantle Report (2001) stated that 'politicians, community leaders and the media should promote a meaningful concept of citizenship' (as cited in the *Guardian*, 2001, 4). The Cantle Report (2001) detailed a profound polarisation of British towns and inner cities to the point that:

> The extent to which these physical divisions were compounded by so many other aspects of our daily lives, was very evident. Separate educational arrangements, community and voluntary bodies, employment, places of worship, language, social and cultural networks, means that many communities operate on the basis of a series of parallel lives. These lives often do not seem to touch at any point, let alone overlap and promote any meaningful interchanges (Cantle, 2001, 9).

This high level of ignorance of other communities provided conditions ripe for fear and provided an easy target for exploitation by groups of extremists determined to undermine community harmony in Britain (Cantle, 2001). The report found almost no evidence of open dialogue and debate between the different communities. Furthermore, it was evident that there was reluctance by most institutions, political parties and voluntary organisations to either confront any of these issues or implement any kind of solution (Cantle, 2001). Some of the communities felt particularly disadvantaged, frustrated and lacking in hope (Cantle, 2001) because:

> Borne out of the poverty and deprivation all around them, meant that disaffection would grow. Yet they were not always well targeted, nor even identified. For example, some black and ethnic minorities felt that they were always identified without sufficient differentiation and 'problematised' as a result. Similarly, some poorer white communities felt left out completely
> (Cantle, 2001, 10).

The Cantle Report also recommended that an oath of national allegiance could be one solution which might help future race relations (Cantle, 2001). Britain continued with the policy of restricting access to Commonwealth migrants under the *Immigration Act* (1971) (Consterdine, 2014). This reasoning remained to underpin British immigration policy (Geddes, 2003).

The British government developed a policy specifically to recruit new sources of labour and to source migrants who would meet these needs (Geddes, 2003). A Highly Skilled Migrant Programme was introduced in 2002 (Geddes, 2003), along with an extended work permit scheme (Hampshire, 2010). However, in comparison to Ireland, the numbers on these schemes remained modest; for example, the numbers on the work permit scheme rose from almost 63,000 in 1997 to approximately 137,000 in 2005 (Hampshire, 2010). However, taking into consideration the population of Britain (over 60 million) compared to the population of Ireland (4.4 million) these numbers remain modest. Simultaneously, Britain continued to operate exclusionary controls to keep certain groups out (Geddes, 2003).

As the main objective of the British race relations policy was to assimilate commonwealth migrants, there has been a major void in the analysis of the barriers

that migrants encountered in the process of attempting to access full social and economic participation in Britain. Furthermore, there has been no strategy developed to address the barriers to 'integration' such as the availability of full-time employment opportunities, and migrants continue to encounter barriers that prevent them from full participation in British society. Moreover, 'integration' was regarded as a policy area attracting very little civil society support (Spencer, 2011b). The Refugee Integration Strategy was designed to address issues around refugees only and does not address issues of concern around economic migrants and their families (Spencer, 2011b).

Immigration control had been the dominant policy used in the latter half of the twentieth century, then this philosophy shifted to migration management policy. That said, policy frequently reverts back to controlling migrants in the run-up to elections in Britain, as this subject becomes highly topical. The Conservative party has recently focused on reducing net migration and exploring ways of reducing welfare benefits to EU migrants. Months before a by-election in May 2012, the British Immigration Minister, Damian Green, (Conservative Party), made it clear that the government would be placing a restriction on the numbers of migrants who could legally come into the country because 'too many new jobs were going to immigrants rather than indigenous workers' (as cited in Sims, 2014, 14). The increasingly restrictive UK immigration regulations are having a negative impact on citizens of countries outside the EU. There are higher administrative hurdles to overcome, resulting in longer waiting periods, and there are increased border controls, all of which are aimed at lowering inward flows of migrants (Gefàller, 2013). Furthermore, when different groups of people are categorised and assigned various rules and regulations, this can often justify the arbitrary treatment and discrimination that is handed out (Gefàller, 2013). Along with restricting certain groups of migrants, asylum seekers are also controlled and restrained to a certain extent (Geddes, 2003).

Some ethnic groups (refugees, Black Africans, Bangladeshi and Pakistani) have higher unemployment rates than others (de, Haas, 1997). The unemployment rate in Britain was 5.6% in December 2014; it was 13.5% for people of black ethnic backgrounds (Dar & Mirza-Davies, 2015, 1). Long-term unemployment in Britain has doubled since 2008 (Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion, 2012, 3), which can be made worse by the barriers to employment. The dominant barrier for ethnic minority groups is the

lack of proficiency in language. Other barriers that ethnic minority groups often encounter are the lack of qualifications, discrimination and the concentration of ethnic minorities in unemployment black-spots (de Haas, 1997). Furthermore, there has been no strategy developed to address the barriers to 'integration' such as the availability of employment opportunities and migrants continue to encounter barriers that prevent them from full participation in British society. Moreover, 'integration' was regarded as a policy area attracting very little civil society support (Spencer, 2011b). The Refugee Integration Strategy was designed to address issues around refugees only and does not address issues of concern around economic migrants and their families (Spencer, 2011b). A citizenship test was implemented in 2005 (Anderson, 2011). Granting citizenship has generally been based on the length of time a migrant stays legally in the country (Anderson, 2011). Since 2007, proficiency in language has been a requirement for certain groups applying to enter the UK for the first time; this requirement applied to people seeking 'settlement' as well (Anderson, 2011).

There have been a number of policy changes which have had a negative impact on numerous groups of migrants. Legislative policy changes that have allowed the 'erosion of the freedoms of all the poor, regardless of nationality' are further regressive migration policy actions (Williams, 2013, 7). Current policy stipulates that a migrant must earn £18,600 per annum before they can be joined by a spouse. This sum is considered quite high because as it stands, over 60% of women earn less than that in Britain today. Williams (2013) states that money talks; the wealthier in Britain have a right to a family, while the poor don't because they can't afford it. More recently, the Immigration Bill has activated a swathe of 'surveillance mechanisms'; currently, doctors, landlords and the banks have the authority to check people's status (Williams, 2013). Policies that result in people with money effectively having more rights endorses a further sense of belonging (Williams, 2013). 'The real aim of recent policies is to segregate belonging according to income. The more you earn, the more rights you have' (Williams, 2013, 7).

Further legislation on citizenship was passed in 2009 which proposed a number of changes. The temporary period of legal residency had been extended to a period of up to five years. The second proposal introduced a new period of between one and five years as the length of time for the new 'probationary citizen' status. The introduction

of tougher language and knowledge tests have been introduced for permanent residency status (Anderson, 2011). This is a new model of probationary citizenship which further extends the length of the process of citizenship itself and it has no definite citizenship rights attached to it (Anderson, 2011). Kymlicka (2012) has suggested a new model of citizenship that has greater emphasis on political participation, economic opportunities, and human rights, which should take preference over such characteristics as individual cultural identities; this might be progressive towards a more inclusive society (Kymlicka, 2012). The current British debate on citizenship is based on cohesion, but the restrictive nature of policy regulations and the test itself have in practice become obstacles to achieving legal status and therefore counterproductive to integration (Anderson, 2011). Increasingly, the percentage of migrants who have 'temporary status' will result in a growing number of inward migrants arriving into the UK with very limited future rights (Anderson, 2011). Any children born to parents on working visas do not automatically become British citizens.

There have been a number of recent policy changes that have had a negative impact on migration management. The Ethnic Minority Employment Taskforce, which was a cross-government ministerial team dedicated to inequality in the workforce, was abolished in May 2010. The Citizenship survey that was designed to evaluate good relations on an annual basis and was a watchdog for discrimination has also been abolished. Currently, there is no specific government department with a special focus on race inequality. Abolishing these vital services in the interests of cost saving measures sends the signal that race equality is not taken seriously by the government. The most significant change in legislation was the change in the Equality Act (2010) when the government did not incorporate some of the original provisions. One of the more important recommendations, the recognition of discrimination based on dual characteristics, has not been legalised (Sims, 2014). These are regressive policy actions that have an overall negative impact on migrant management policy.

Migrants who are or who become undocumented are highly vulnerable to exploitation (Hill, 2006). The guest worker has very few social rights either; this 'is an extreme form of the denial of social citizenship' (Hill, 2006, 233). T. H. Marshall's (1950) concept of social citizenship suggested that social rights were associated with citizenship. Citizenship was based on the principle of equality and included access to

education and welfare (Marshall, 1950). Granting citizenship is generally based on the length of time a migrant stays legally in a country. The citizenship test was introduced to promote a sense of belonging but it might make citizenship harder to achieve, particularly for certain groups who have very few rights (Anderson, 2011). The debate between formal citizenship and Britishness, between belonging to the State and belonging to 'the community', will continue to generate public debate in the future, as the topic is very much a live issue (Anderson, 2011). Mainstream policies still focus on ethnic minorities rather than on migrants in general (Spencer, 2011a) and there is a lack of information on relevant advice and services. Some groups continue to be more marginalised than others. Factors include low pay, long and unsocial hours, lack of proficiency in English language, exploitation and vulnerability in employment (Block & Zettter, 2009). Moreover, negative public attitudes have proven to be a barrier to social and economic 'integration' for migrants in Britain. It is very difficult to understand the impact of restrictive policy on the rights and entitlements of different groups of migrants. There are anti-discrimination policies but there is no national policy framework that addresses migration management. In addition, the lack of leadership and political will to address current racial inequalities exacerbates this state of affairs (Sims, 2014), as a major focus remains on the financial and economic utilisation of migrants (Consterdine, 2014).

During this period, Britain had been identified as a country of 'zero immigration' with policy strongly focused on the interests of good 'race relations' and restricting inward migration, including asylum seekers (Consterdine, 2014). By 2010, the British public made it clear that no more migrants were welcome in Britain, even though global trade continues to demand this (Consterdine, 2014). In Britain, labour market discrimination is frequently 'framed in a way that casts British workers as the victim of job displacement in favour of migrant workers' (Sims, 2014, 14). Furthermore, it has been widely accepted that local workers are given first preference to jobs, followed by workers from the EU (Ruhs & Anderson, 2010). Workers from outside the EU are employed because of a shortfall in particular workers with specific skills (Ruhs & Anderson, 2010). The process of attracting the brightest migrants into the country has replaced the historical debate of 'race relations' (Consterdine, 2014). Highly skilled jobs are a current policy issue (Ruhs & Anderson, 2010). This is a challenging aspect for the British labour market, as the market is constantly changing, requiring new

technology and highly skilled workers. The following section follows the policy processes, consequent legislation, and public discourse activities that have been addressing migrant management policy in the Netherlands.

3.4 The Netherlands

There are four ethnic minority groups (Surinamese, Antilleans, Turks and Moroccans) who are well-established communities in the Netherlands. The Netherlands is a country that has an extended colonial history and a huge desire to avoid conflict. This fact could project the idea that it is a very easy going country. This is not the case however, as it is a 'relatively conformist country' (Scheffer, 2011, 110); the 'Dutch are far less accommodating than they think they are. In daily life, foreigners experience considerable pressure to assimilate' (Scheffer, 2011, 112). The Netherlands has frequently been described as a very tolerant country but this image of tolerance has been called into question in recent times (Scheffer, 2011). The Dutch population has a long history of incorporating 'the Polder Model' paradigm of consultation which traditionally helped to resolve differences. This Model was established in the Middle Ages as a means whereby various groups joined each other to build dykes. The polder model 'has been a mainstay of conflict resolution ever since, used today most frequently to resolve labo[u]r disputes, and for the Dutch it is synonymous with compromise' (Hurewitz, 2005, 3).

The Netherlands has a long colonial history of 300 years and a longer history of slavery and bonded slavery which dates back to the 1600s (Oostindie, 2008). It colonised the largest Muslim country (Indonesia) in the world, which gained its independence after the Second World War. Dutch memory has been somewhat fragmented about their colonial history however (Oostindie, 2008). The Dutch have been present in Indonesia for almost 350 years. This 'evasiveness' has to a certain degree affected the relations between the Indonesian natives who did not feel welcome in the Netherlands. They had the same civic rights and duties as the indigenous Dutch but only felt comfortable within their own group. This resulted in social unrest in the Netherlands during the 1970s as a result of growing frustration. In the 1950s, 'integration' policy focused on assimilation, whereas later policy focused on a combination of integration and identity (Scheffer, 2011). During the 1960s and 1970s,

guest workers arrived from the Mediterranean as well as migrants from Suriname. Some 350,000 Surinamers had migrated to the Netherlands in 1975. There was a major difference between these groups of migrants. The guest workers were expected to return to their country of origin, so no effort was made to promote their integration. On the contrary, they were encouraged to retain their cultural identity in order to help reintegrate them on their return (Entzinger, 2006). Government legislation during the early 1980s strongly supported ethnic minority groups keeping their cultural identities (Geddes, 2003).

The dominant migrant groups are Surinamese, Antilleans, Turks and Moroccans. There appears to be a hierarchy, with some groups being more readily welcomed into mainstream society (van de Vijver *et al*, 2006). The Surinamese and Antillean are higher up the hierarchy than the Turks and Moroccans. The Surinamese and Antilleans have reported that they are more at home in the Netherlands and that there is greater involvement and interaction between these two groups (van de Vijver *et al*, 2006). They also report lower levels of discrimination. Simultaneously, younger Moroccans have reported a detachment from their ancestral identity and also feel unaccepted by mainstream society, so their sense of identity and self-acceptance is very poor (van de Vijver *et al,* 2006). On the subject of guest workers, Dutch politicians found it a challenge to recognise them as permanent workers (de Haas, 1997).

Several prominent ethnic groups have been officially acknowledged by the Dutch government as *minderheds groepen* (minority groups). The Minister of the Interior at the *Directie Coödinatie Minderhedenbeleid* (Minorities Policies Department) has the prime responsibility for ethnic minority policies (de Haas, 1997). Comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation was introduced in 1994, with an approach of consensus and tolerance, whereby ethnic groups were incorporated in all relevant policy areas. In the 1990s, the Dutch presented the 'integration' model or '*gidsland*' as a leading country model example of best practice at the time (Michalowski, 2005). However, multicultural policy had been highly criticised during the 1980s and the 1990s because of the social distance that had been created and maintained between migrants and the indigenous Dutch (Geddes, 2003). Social exclusion was very evident during this period in the Dutch migration management policy (Geddes, 2003). Dutch policy has had a

long-standing public image that has been admired across Europe and indeed worldwide.

By the early 1990s, policy makers acknowledged that the goals of the *Ethnic Minorities Policy* (1983) had been unsuccessful. A new 'Integration Policy' was developed in 1994, where a greater onus was on the migrant to learn the Dutch language and Dutch history. Orientation programmes were implemented and expected to be used, as sanctions were also introduced to indicate the seriousness of the orientation programmes (van Oers, 2008). Overall, the *Integration Policy* (1994) was centred on mainstreaming migrants into the community. The policy was aimed at migrant groups already residing in the Netherlands and did not target new migrants arriving into the country. Weaker ethnic groups have little choice but to remain as aliens because of the restrictive nature of the new tests (van Oers, 2008). Another Act, the *Civic Integration of Newcomers Act (1998),* targeted the new migrants arriving in the Netherlands in a similar fashion to the *Integration Policy* (1994). The new 'integration' model was a complete reversal of the *Ethnic Minorities Policy* (1983). By the early 2000s, it was acknowledged, yet again, that this new 'integration' policy approach was failing. In 2004, the Dutch Ministry introduced a penalty system for migrants who failed to integrate within a set time (Vasta, 2006). Policy in 2005 proposed that migration management should further enforce the obligation on the migrant to adapt to Dutch norms and regulations; again the obligation reverted back to the migrant to conform and adapt (Vasta, 2007). Overall, policy changes and policy regulations were becoming more restrictive, with a greater onus on assimilation, a complete reversal for the Netherlands. A number of migrant groups were at a serious disadvantage as a direct result of the new 'integration' tests (Strik *et al*, 2010). Moreover, migrants with poor language skills were highly disadvantaged. Likewise, the tests have been criticized for being selective around age, nationality and education (Strik *et al*, 2010). The sole onus is now on the migrant to 'integrate' into Dutch society and failure to do so means that migrants confront a number of issues, including becoming undocumented, or unable to join family members or becoming dependent on other family members. In this respect, the tests hamper their integration (Strik, *et al*, 2010).

Having said that, the Dutch ethnic minorities policy was considered a failure, because even though the policy specifically targeted ethnic groups (Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans), these groups still suffered very high levels of unemployment and frequently those that were employed were in low paid, low skill employment and very vulnerable to labour market change (Geddes, 2003). Dutch employers though, are very much in agreement that ethnic minority groups are either lacking the skills, language or education which means that they have been disadvantaged from the onset (de, Haas, 1997). Equal opportunities have never been present for ethnic minorities to the same extent as they have been for the Dutch population on the whole. This is crucial, since one in five of the population were born outside the Netherlands (Vasta, 2006, 4). The Netherlands did invest considerable time and effort in the integration of ethnic minority groups (de Naas, 1997), yet research indicates that many groups of ethnic minorities continued to be disadvantaged, particularly in employment and education.

A current trend has developed across some European countries which can best be described as widespread moral panic, because the argument has been rife that migrants have not met their responsibility to 'integrate'. Cohen (2002) coined the phrase 'moral panic' to describe groups of people who are seen as deviant and seen as an extraordinary social threat to the fabric of society (Cohen, 2002). This moral panic suggested a re-emergence of assimilation policy to tackle this 'problem'. For example, the Netherlands has shifted their high tolerance policy to a 'coercive assimilationist policy'. Policy has become more heavily reliant in the Netherlands on 'conformity, compulsion and seemingly undemocratic sanctions towards immigrants' (Vasta, 2007, 1). The shift from tolerance has been extreme, particularly for the Netherlands (Vasta, 2006). Moreover, there is an indication that the Netherlands has been unwilling to 'recognise the exclusionary racist practices and structures within Dutch society that make it very difficult for immigrants to integrate' (Vasta, 2006, 2-3) and there is evidence of institutional racism within Dutch society (Vasta, 2006).

One of the dominant challenges is a high level of fear of Muslims (Vasta, 2006) and their religion which is seen as a threat in both the Netherlands and to a lesser extent in Britain, and has largely come to be regarded as a threat to the overall 'integration' process in both countries. The native Dutch population consider Islam as the 'root of

all evil' (Entzinger, 2014, 700). Religion can threaten the long-term projection of 'integration' because of this perceived threat. In 1991, Frits Bolkestein, the parliamentary leader of the Liberal Party (VVD), triggered a public debate that Islam was 'presumed' incompatible with western values (Entzinger, 2006). This argument has been repeatedly raised throughout the last twenty-three years.

Multicultural policy broadly means that migrants should be able to participate as equals in all spheres of society, while simultaneously continuing to enjoy their own culture, religion and language. It also entails conforming to the norms and values of society. A further onus rests on the indigenous population to accept the cultural differences of minority groups and multicultural policy places a certain emphasis on official State action to ensure equal rights for minorities (Castles & Millar, 2009). The question of whether 'the focus on tolerance had served ultimately to gloss over a number of quite real and pressing social problems' was raised (Michalowski, 2005, 2). The reality remained that migrants were seldom viewed as equal partners and high unemployment and low-skilled employment was a dominant feature among ethnic minorities (Michalowski, 2005). The unemployment rate among the 'Allochtonen,' for example, was four times higher than among Dutch nationals in 2005 (Michalowski, 2005). More recently, there have been some improvements in statistics but labour market participation overall is twice as low for the main ethnic minority groups as for the indigenous Dutch (de Kroon, 2014). Unemployment among young people is a different picture, 10% of Dutch young people are unemployed, 28% of non-Western young people are unemployed and 39% of Moroccan young people are unemployed (de Kroon, 2014, 2). The employment rate among Turkish and Moroccan minorities of Muslim descent is 52% and 48% respectively; this figure for the indigenous Dutch is 66% (Eijkman, Lettinga & Verbossen, 2012). Furthermore, cultural prejudices are widespread in the Netherlands (Hurewitz, 2005).

> The Dutch use of the word "allochtoon"— literally "not from here"— for dark-skinned Dutch, even those born to families living in The Netherlands for generations, shows just how widespread cultural prejudices are and how much compromise needs to come from both sides. The Netherlands has taken a first step in pulling its head out of the sand and looking at its internal problems openly. But it still has a long way to go
> (Hurewitz, 2005, 5).

There are divisions between different groups in the Netherlands. The use of the terms *allochtoon* and *autochtoon* show a crucial distinction between the majority and the minority groups; statistics from 2003 show that 61% of Dutch people stated that most social tensions were between these groups (Kremer, 2013, 3). In a survey in 2011, 54% of Dutch agreed that immigration and open borders are threatening the identity of the Netherlands (Kremer, 2013, 5). In addition to higher unemployment, there were high levels of delinquency among certain minority groups which gives further evidence that 'integration' has not been working and it is clear that minority groups have fewer opportunities compared to mainstream Dutch society. Segregation has increased (Entzinger, 2006). The evidence suggests that the Dutch State's thinking is currently distancing itself from the model of the multicultural society (Hamidi, 2013). The more recent 'integration' policy, *the Civic Integration Bill* (2011), has called for tougher approaches to deal with people who disobey the law. Integration policy currently no longer targets specific groups of migrants (Hamidi, 2013), which was the standard practice up until very recently. The *Civic Integration Bill* (2011) also terminated all previously allocated grants and finances awarded specifically for 'integration' purposes, which again, is a complete turnabout from previous policy. Furthermore, immigrants are charged the full fee of €5,000 to take part in the orientation programmes (Entziner, 2014).In addition, a common agenda for modern citizenship has been projected in the near future (Hamidi, 2013). Finally, the economic recession in the Netherlands has a large influence on migration management policy. The following section explores the higher education systems in Britain and the Netherlands.

3.5 Higher education systems of Britain and the Netherlands

Both Britain and the Netherlands acknowledge that education is the key driver in a knowledge-economy. This section introduces an insight into the higher education systems in Britain and the Netherlands and focuses on ethnic minority groups who are long-established communities in both countries. These groups include African Caribbean or former colonial minority groups and Asian groups (Indian, Pakistani and Bangladesh) who migrated to Britain in the years after the Second World War. In the Netherlands, these groups include Surinamese, Antilleans, Turks and Moroccans, who migrated during a similar period between the 1950s and the 1970s. The following subsection begins with a focus on lifelong learning in both countries.

3.5.1 Focus on the Lifelong Learning (LLL) in both countries.

Today the 'learner is the driver of the system' (Jongbloed, 2002, 428). In reality though, most adults did not participate in regular education at all in the Netherlands (van der Kamp, 2006). This is a similar picture in Britain; those who would benefit the most do not necessarily take part (Fullick, 2009; Sperlinger, 2009). It is widely recognised that people who do not participate in education and training tend to be less educated and skilled than their contemporaries who do. LLL endorsed the 'cradle to the grave learning concept', which is particularly suited to a society where technological change, knowledge and information are the norm (van der Kamp, 2004). There has been an overall shift in focus from education to learning. Lifelong learning essentially acknowledges two inter-related facts:

- that learning is *lifelong* (not confined to a particular period in life) and
- that learning is *life-wide* (not confined to school or to schooling)
  (van der Kamp, 2004,8).

For LLL to be operational in higher education, the system must be seen to be a flexible form of learning with a wide range of audience learners, a wide age range and diverse modes of study. In reality, higher education remains elitist, highly bureaucratic and conservative; adults and non-traditional learners are regarded as lower status and unconnected to mainstream higher education (Taylor, 1999). LLL policy and practice is on a different path from higher education policy and practice. Addressing the specific needs of adults in Britain remains challenging (Fullick, 2009). Furthermore, people still do not have access to equality of opportunity in the higher education sector (Fullick, 2009), which impacts future employment opportunities (OECD, 2007). The current lifelong learning programme does not sufficiently address the skills needs of lifelong learners in Britain (Watson, 2009) or the Netherlands (Sperlinger, 2009).

3.5.2 Challenges in higher education in both countries

In general, there are major problems that present a number of challenges in the education system, particularly for adult migrants. These barriers are associated with individual, institutional and structural barriers to higher education opportunities. Firstly, the barriers relate to individual background characteristics such as an

individual may lack motivation or may not understand the benefits of learning and up-skilling (van der Kamp, 2004). The material barriers refer to family obligations, financial commitments and adult employment (Moser, 2012). Secondly, access barriers to education also include institutional and structural barriers that negatively impact migrants (Moser, 2012). Institutional barriers are those around policy and practice that have automatically become institutionalised and therefore have become the norm. Generally, migrants are underrepresented in mainstream adult education, which is another institutional barrier (Moser, 2012). Structural barriers include a whole host of legislative and socio-economic barriers, including residential and legal status, and civil and political rights and entitlements. It also involves the employment positions of migrants in the labour market and their qualification history and the lack of qualification recognition (Moser, 2012). Migrants also encounter major funding constraints, and discriminatory and exclusion barriers (Moser, 2012). Barriers to higher education are complex, multidimensional and interlinked.

3.5.3 Education provision and delivery requirements in both countries

In addition to the role of higher education institutions, the delivery of lifelong learning courses are also provided by numerous part-time and distance learning facilities through higher education and adult education (Thijs *et al*, 2008). Currently, higher education can be delivered in many different formats and time zones such as full-time, weekend, evening, on-line, and distance learning (Amsing, 2011). The provision of educational delivery also requires a widening of the traditional service provision specifically in out-of-office hours. Furthermore, all types of student loans, scholarships and grants need to be available and flexible (Amsing, 2011). Adult students need relevant information regarding courses and extensive information about all programmes that are available to suit their needs. It has been well established that non-traditional students frequently require additional services tailored and designed to meet their specific needs; it is vital that the higher education system implements services to address these specific needs (Amsing, 2011).

In general, there are very few initiatives directed towards people in the Netherlands with low levels of education (van der Kamp, 2004). Two out of every three adults in the Netherlands do not participate in learning and this is particularly the experience for

older learners and ethnic minority groups (van Der Kamp, 2004, 7). Related to this, there remains a lack of up-dated skills among the Dutch labour force (Schuller & Watson, 2009). These gaps in skills need to be bridged. It is essential to explore the gaps and design pathways to learning, specifically for hard to reach groups (van Der Kamp, 2004). This requires a new approach to teaching and learning, particularly for older age groups, and the implementation of new strategies to combat the combined issues of inequality and social exclusion (van der Kamp, 2004). The strategies the Dutch Government has implemented are not currently addressing the real needs of LLL and there has been a lack of substantial funding invested in the sector.

Similarly, there is a noticeable disparity in the skills levels between lower level secondary education and third level education in Britain (Janmaat & Green, 2013). The percentage of disadvantaged people in LLL remains critically low (Fullick, 2009). One in 'eight adults of working age have no qualifications' in the UK (Jones, 2010, 6). The unemployed in Britain who are most in need of higher education opportunities have lower participation rates than other western EU countries (Fulick, 2009; Janmaat & Green, 2013), while the better educated increasingly engage with LLL (Fullick, 2009). According to the European Commission (Nijssen, 2008) there are five key objectives in investing in migrants and older adults which are:

- removing the barriers to participation;
- ensuring the quality of adult learning;
- recognising and validating learning outcomes;
- investing in migrants and the older age group; and,
- establishing indicators and benchmarks
  (Nijssen, 2008, 39).

Equality of opportunity in higher education in the UK has been below average for adult students (Janmaat & Green, 2013) and the lack of skills is a major detriment to quality of life issues. Traditional research has focused on income inequalities, but more recently, education has become the key ingredient of western societies; the lack of skills and educational opportunities influences the level of social cohesion in society (Janmaat & Green, 2013). Inequality can directly undermine social and political trust and create a greater divide between groups (Janmaat & Green, 2013). In Britain, for example, the continual rise in the level of household income inequality has been

blamed for the lack of cohesion and inequality (Janmaat & Green, 2013). The British and Irish higher education system share many similarities. Many Irish students gain entry to higher level courses at British universities and the recognition between Irish and British qualifications is fairly straightforward. The Dutch approach to education is slightly different, so the next section provides an outline of this.

3.5.4 Dutch education system

The Dutch education system is targeted at the 'integration' and inclusion of migrant students in primary and post-primary education, and does not address *per se* any of the issues around migrant students in higher education (Taguma *et al*, 2009). The school drop-out rate is high among Dutch students but it is twice as high among the established ethnic minority groups (Thijs *et al*, 2008; Herweijer, 2009). The national objectives set out to 'reduce the annual number of new early school-leavers by 50% between 2002 and 2012'; this was a maximum reduction of 35,000 new drop-outs (Thijs *et al*, 2008, 28). There are a number of specific characteristics associated with the drop-out rate. Students are more likely to come from single parent families (24%) and low income families with high levels of poverty (25%) (Thijs *et al,* 2008). The highest drop-out concentrations are found in the four main cities, Amsterdam, the Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht (Thijs *et al*, 2008, 29). The enrolment rate for ethnic minority students in higher education was 12% in 2008 (Thijs et al, 2008, 33) and they remain under-represented in the academic stream of post-primary education (Herweijer, 2009). Immigrant students in the Netherlands are at a greater disadvantage than the indigenous Dutch student, not only because of their socio-economic background but also because of language skills (Schnepf, 2006). This is the experience particularly for first and second generation migrant students (Schnepf, 2007). The statistics show that 20% of the population of the Netherlands has a non-western background (Thijs *et al*, 2008, 31).

The main differences in the Dutch education system begin in post-primary education streams. The following is a list of acronyms associated with the Dutch post-primary and higher education systems:

BOL   -   Full-time vocational programmes

HAVO -   General secondary education

HBO -   Professional higher education

MBO -   Vocational education

VAVO -   Adult education

VMBO -   Pre-vocational secondary education

VO   -   Secondary education

VSO   -   Secondary special education

VWO   -   Pre-university education

WO   -   Academic higher education

(Akkerman, 2011, 5).

The higher education system in the Netherlands is exclusively reserved for young people. Furthermore, non-traditional students who have entered the higher level system frequently report an innate 'sense of insecurity', coupled with boundaries they had to overcome, not only to access university courses, but right throughout college life (Amsing, 2011). Students, for example, who came from the vocational stream system felt inferior in the University sector (Amsing, 2011). Moreover, the transfer options between the streams remain very limited and restrictive.

The situation is more precarious for non-traditional students who may seek to address their education needs through the Dutch private education sector. The private education sector is not equally accessible. It is also much more expensive than the public sector and there is no coherent structure in the delivery and provision of courses (Amsing, 2011). Accordingly, the current Dutch higher education system addresses the needs of young people and the privileged few (Amsing, 2011). In 2008, for example, the statistics show that 26% of people aged in their twenties in the Netherlands were in education, while 3% of people in their thirties were in education. Only 1% of the over 40 age group was in the education system in the Netherlands (Thijs, *et al*, 2008, 28). This is a major failing of the Dutch education system as it ignores the education needs of practically everyone over the age of thirty. In order to verify that policy in the Netherlands does not specifically address the higher education needs of ethnic minority groups over the age of thirty, this researcher contacted a representative from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and asked two specific questions.

The first question asked how the Netherlands addresses the needs of older migrants (over 30 years of age) in their higher education system. The response was as follows – *'in the Netherlands we don't have a specific policy which focuses on the needs of older migrants in higher education. Institutions are free to decide whether they want to focus on this specific group. (Institutions are autonomous to decide)'*

The second question asked if there is a policy in the Netherlands that addresses the education needs of migrants in low skilled, low paid employment over 30 years of age. The corresponding response was as follows – *'No, in the Netherlands we don't have a specific policy for these migrants. (There is no policy distinction between people with a migrant background and natives. The policy focuses more on social-economic factors that can be hindering in education, but this is especially the case or primary and secondary education)'*

(Representative from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, Government of the Netherlands, 8 July 2014).

The late Professor Max van der Kamp, an established authority on adult education and andragogy, was highly critical of Dutch colleges and universities who made no provision to adapt their degree programmes for adult learners who wish to return to education (Amsing, 2011). Van der Kamp was also highly critical of the Dutch higher level system because of the lack of initiatives for the inclusion and participation of non-traditional students in the Dutch higher education system (Amsing, 2011).

VAVO (Dutch adult education) provides a 'second chance' opportunity but it mainly targets basic language and numeracy skills for older adults. The education for adult migrants is specifically aimed at preparing the migrant to take the civic integration tests, in addition to learning the Dutch language (Eurofound, 2011). Moser (2012) classifies this approach as an institutional barrier because it does not address the higher education needs of many ethnic minority groups (Moser, 2012). People with low levels of literacy skills and school drop-outs are the current target groups for up-skilling in employment (Eurofound, 2011); ethnic minority groups are not specifically targeted. Adult literacy is a problem in the Netherlands; there is a total of over one and a half million Dutch citizens with low levels of literacy skills (de Haan, 2012, 4). This is a

substantial number, although it is being addressed to a certain extent. Again there is an increased focus on basic common skills. However well intended, this does not address the skills of groups of migrant workers or unemployed migrants. The next section explores student finance.

3.5.5 Student finance in Britain

Traditionally, student grants were available for full-time students in Britain, but this gradually changed; full-time and part-time students in both countries are increasingly contributing to the college fee. The shifting of the financial costs of higher education to the student effectively means that there are groups of students who cannot afford to access third level education (Taylor 1999). The cost of tuition fees in the third level sector in Britain can fluctuate between £6,000 and £9,000 per annum for tuition fees; this is quite a substantial sum (Kottmann & de Weert, 2013). The White Paper *Higher Education: Students in the Heart of the System* was published in Britain in 2011, which justified student contributions, on the grounds that students would be more particular about the courses most suited to their needs (Kottmann & de Weert. 2013). Full-time third level students in Britain can apply for a loan to cover tuition fees, which they are required to repay when their earnings reach £21,000 per annum. The loan is written off after a thirty year period (Latchman, 2013). Education on the whole is almost exclusively targeted towards young people; 86% of the annual total budget in Britain is targeted at students under 24 years old (Kingston, 2009). The UK and Ireland are the only two EU countries where funding is deliberately used as an incentive to encourage disadvantaged groups into the higher education sector, as it is widely known that there are additional costs incurred in higher education for disadvantaged groups (EC, 2014). This policy mainly targets socio-economic disadvantaged students. However, part-time students are financially discriminated against because there is no form of means testing for part-time students (Taylor, 1999). Part-time students are usually mature students and the student support systems and financial arrangements have not been appropriate (Clyne, 2009). It is critically important that these ongoing problems are addressed in the education system and in light of LLL (Clyne, 2009).

3.5.6 Student finance in the Netherlands

Student grants were initially available for full-time students in the Netherlands. The global recession or, more to the point, the financial crisis, has had an impact on all sections of education in the Netherlands, bringing financial restraints and reductions (Eurofound, 2011). Full-time students in the Netherlands are entitled to apply for a government funded grant which is means-tested and dependent on residency status. The loan does not have to be paid back if the student continues in education (Scholarship Portal, no date). Students from outside the EEA encounter a much higher fee in accessing higher education courses (Scholarship Portal, no date). There are a number of challenges facing the Dutch higher education sector, which is under major pressure because of the growth in student numbers. It is estimated that by 2020, the number of students will exceed 800,000. Although this is welcomed, the current system will be unable to manage without substantial re-adjustments (Keizer, 2011, 11). The Dutch government is attempting to address these issues and there are plans to re-develop the Dutch Recognition of Prior Learning system (Keizer, 2011); all of which are progressive actions in the higher education sector. The private education sector is not equally accessible. It is also much more expensive than the public sector and there is no coherent structure in the delivery and provision of courses in the private sector (Amsing, 2011, 2). Higher education provision that aims to meet labour market needs is increasingly prevalent in the Netherlands.

3.5.7 Challenges to inclusion in both countries

It is a well-established fact that learning the host country language is critical to the socio-economic and cultural 'integration' into the host country (Kluzer *et al*, 2011). The diversity in education and cultural backgrounds of migrant groups, frequently aggravated by weak levels of literacy, creates major challenges (Kluzer *et al*, 2011). Immigration and residential status have a dominant influence on the employment position for different groups of migrants. Others may encounter legal restrictions around courses or work-related activities. For example, asylum seekers cannot work for the first six months of arriving in Britain and they may be legally restricted from taking part in activities. In both Britain and the Netherlands, information technology is becoming more and more inter-usable with traditional methods of orientation

programmes (Kluzer *et al*, 2011). Currently though, there are some limitations to the technical approach to language learning. First and foremost, the lack of or a very poor knowledge of the host country language and a basic lack of ICT skills seriously hinders learners (Kluzer *et al*, 2011). However, there is no single solution that fits all learners' needs; the appropriate education tools needs to be specifically targeted at each adult migrant learner to address their learning needs.

Recessions are notorious for changing public attitudes, particularly around migration; the subject not only can become very sensitive (McNair, 2009) but social cohesion can undergo tremendous strain (McNair, 2009). The reason that migrants experience problems in the host country is mainly as a result of poor language proficiency and the lack of knowledge of the host country norms. Frequently, these are the first major stumbling blocks, but there are other equally damaging restrictions that are beyond a migrant's control. Migrants may also encounter discrimination, whether intentional or non-intentional, in service provision or/and direct discrimination. Non-intentional barriers may be structural, either in the way in which policy is structured or in how the policy is institutionalised. People differ in many ways (age, gender, country of origin, cultural norms, language, migration and employment status, qualifications, education and skills), therefore tensions can easily arise and can often be quite severe. However, where migration coincides with poverty and social exclusion in any community, this 'can exacerbate underlying tensions' (McNair, 2009, 7). When social cohesion is threatened, it is normally because the community has been severely disadvantaged prior to the arrival of migrants (McNair, 2009), so equality of opportunity has already been weak. From this perspective, lifelong learning can instil confidence in people in disadvantaged communities and provide a sense of control over their lives. Some of the most important strategies in tackling poverty, inequality and social exclusion are centred on education and employment (Fullick, 2009).

The situation in the Netherlands has at times displayed similar traits with Britain with regard to social cohesion and inclusion, whereby non-Western migrants tend to congregate in certain areas. A large percentage of non-Western migrants live in deprived inner city areas of the Netherlands (Herweijer, 2009), and remain highly disadvantaged (Zorlu & Hartog, 2012); 50% of these migrants are young people (Herweijer, 2009). The socio-economic position of this group is generally much

weaker than that of the indigenous Dutch population and frequently, income is below the poverty line (Herweijer, 2009; Zorlu & Hartog, 2012). The Dutch Government has initiated a number of programmes in the Universities of Applied Sciences in the four main cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, the Hague and Utrecht) in an attempt to encourage greater student supports for migrants from non-Western backgrounds. Although this is a progressive move, these supports are only applicable in the University of Applied Sciences and do not apply across the whole third level sector (Shewbridge *et al*, 2010). In addition, local authorities or municipalities offer free second chance education to students aged 18 and over, through the VAVO system of education; 70% of VAVO students are migrant students under thirty years old (Shewbridge *et al,* 2010, 54). Again, this opportunity of accessing education applies only to students under thirty. Initially, the Netherlands granted colonised migrants easy access to full citizenship rights, secure residency and unlimited welfare access, under the umbrella of the *Dutch Ethnic Minorities Policy* (Koopmans, 2010).

While Britain partially did the opposite, it places a restriction on Commonwealth migrants and limited welfare State provision; they did however implement multicultural policies, albeit in a much more limited way than the Netherlands (Koopmans, 2010). The Netherlands initially implemented multicultural policy to a greater extent than any other Westernised country (Koopmans, 2010). On the basis of this, they should have been much more successful in migration management, but they encountered not only low labour market participation by ethnic minority groups but a high level of segregation and comparatively high level of crime among migrant groups (Koopmans, 2010). As a result of this experience, contemporary Dutch policies have become more restrictive and this trend has been followed to a greater or lesser extent by other EU countries (Koopmans, 2010). It is a well-established fact that without migration, the community would encounter major labour market skills shortages but one of the most dominant public fears that increase during a recession is that migrants take jobs from existing workers. This is totally unfounded, yet is a strongly held public belief (McNair, 2009). Nor are migrants responsible for draining the welfare system (Lemos & Portes, 2008). The trend of under-employment is a serious issue (McNair, 2009).

3.5.8 Employment and under-employment in both countries

Under-employment can occur because of lack of qualification recognition and language difficulties, lack of RPL and lack of relevant information regarding employment opportunities (McNair, 2009). A formal overseas qualification recognition system exists in Britain (NARIC) but recognition is largely academically based. Some countries have very poor qualifications frameworks, which is problematic for migrants from those countries. Under-employment is a substantial lost opportunity for both the migrant and the host country (McNair, 2009).

Migrants with poor language skills have no choice but to accept jobs below their skill level (McNair, 2009). For the undocumented it is a different story. Employment usually entails low pay, long hours and high levels of exploitation (Bloch & Zetter, 2009). For some, the lack of basic language skills limits the kind of work available to them (Block & Zetter, 2009; Taguma *et al*, 2009). Access to proficiency in English language remains the largest and most urgent migrant issue in Britain today. Proficiency in language increases employment opportunities, education and skills, and improves community cohesion and cultural integration (Martinoview *et al*, 2009; van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2009). It can also decrease levels of discrimination (McNair, 2009). The British Government has recently established a 'Universal Adult Advancement and Careers Service', which provides relevant information and support and can deal with the complex circumstances of international migrants, asylum seekers and refugees combined (McNair, 2009, 51). This service is probably best described as a 'one stop shop' but one of the dominating services is language provision for various groups of migrants, which is an important but very basic need. The Office of the Independent Adjudicator (OIA) is an independent organisation that investigates students' grievances in the higher education sector in England and Wales. The type of grievances includes teaching and research supervision, discrimination, plagiarism and disciplinary practices. This service is free for all students. OIA currently processes 2000 cases per year (Behrens, 2015, 1).

The labour market over the next decade dictates the demand for skilled and unskilled migrants, so the need for migrants will continue, and one of the bigger challenges the British Government will encounter is to ensure that diversity continues to be a

'strength' and not a weakness. Long-term strategies are needed to address both the disadvantaged and the newcomer; policy cannot ignore the needs of either group, as this reinforces social exclusion; lifelong learning requires greater recognition (McNair, 2009). There is no single lifelong learning model in the EU (Prokou, 2008) several different approaches can be observed. Moreover, there is no simple picture of overall migration in Britain, because migrants within the EU are not obliged to register their entry or exit, while migrants from outside the EU are obliged to but may not necessarily do so. Some studies have suggested that approximately one third of migrants from Eastern European countries have not registered their presence in Britain. On top of this, it has been estimated that the undocumented in Britain may be anywhere between 300,000 to half a million migrants (McNair, 2009, 68). Monitoring ethnic groups is a problem because of these issues (McNair, 2009). Furthermore, Britain is very conscious of the fact that the public strongly believes that ethnic minority groups are not only a threat to social cohesion but also a threat to employment and social welfare (McNair, 2009). These fears are not exclusively held by the white British population but also by long standing migrant groups in Britain. In times of economic recessions, fears, whether real or imagined, substantially increase (McNair, 2009).

The subject of adult migrants is vitally important, particularly in the Netherlands, because the likelihood of attending third level education decreases with age (van Tubergen & van De Werfhorst, 2007). Currently there is no existing policy designed to address the direct education needs of specific groups of migrants over the age of thirty who wish to access higher education opportunities in the Netherlands. Furthermore, there is very little literature on the topic of post-migration education in any form, either research or study of the economic performance of adult migrants (van Tubergen & van De Werfhorst, 2007). The next section briefly presents an up-to-date image of racism and discrimination in Britain and the Netherlands.

3.5.9 Reality of racism: Britain and the Netherlands

Racism continues to blight many lives. I felt profoundly British,
but…just last week a London cabbie refused to let me into his taxi
because of the colour of my skin…
(Alibhai-Brown, 2000, 2).

There is strong evidence in the UK that ethnic minorities have poorer labour market outcome and experience racism and discrimination (Sims, 2014). The Asian population is the most dominant ethnic group in Britain, followed by Black and mixed ethnic groups. Despite Britain's extensive experience with anti-racist and discrimination policies, racism still exists and is widespread (de Haas, 1997). Some ethnic groups are more vulnerable and risk being permanently excluded and marginalised; radical tension results in ethnic rioting every so often (de Haas, 1997). The UK has had a weak economic outlook since the 2008 global financial crisis, which had a greater impact on ethnic minority groups in low paid, low skilled employment. Ethnic minorities remain specifically vulnerable in times of economic recessions (Collett, 2011). Since passing the *Equality Act* (2010), the government has scaled back on 'original provision at the expense of the individual's rights' (Sims, 2014, 2). There are very high levels of residential segregation in the UK (Koopmans, 2009); communities live side by side with sparse interaction between one another. Furthermore, the British government has been silent on the issues of ethnic minority unemployment, and persistent discrimination. The recent programmes designed to create back to employment opportunities have not specifically targeted ethnic minorities.

Racism and discrimination is also common in the Netherlands. Ethnic minorities still encounter substantial levels of discrimination in the work place and while some groups of migrants are progressing well other groups are not which may increase the chances of developing 'an underclass' in permanent unemployment (de Haas, 1997, 16). Racism is still very real for many ethnic and religious minority groups (Hamidi, 2013). The extent of racism and discrimination is frequently unknown and undocumented, especially in official documents, which means there is a lack of analysis around any kind of an established solution. The unemployment situation in the Netherlands is similar. Unemployment has been and continues to be especially high among non-Western ethnic minorities (ENAR, 2005). Almost one quarter of employers will not

employ ethnic minorities and ethnic tensions at work and in schools regularly lead to discrimination (ENAR, 2005). This is a direct result of negative stereotyping and discrimination. Approximately 50% of Turks and Moroccans, both groups recognised as Dutch, have indicated that they have encountered discrimination in the past year, while the other dominant ethnic groups, the Surinamese and Antilleans, have experienced 35 to 40% discrimination during the same period. There is evidence of under reporting of racist incidents; the main reason given for this was that it was 'pointless' (ENAR, 2005).

Even though it is mandatory, the police frequently refuse to report acts of discrimination. Yet at the same time, Dutch legislation prohibits racism and discrimination. The Dutch government does acknowledge that discrimination is a threat to social cohesion and can result in divisions in society (Hamidi, 2013). However, race discrimination is still the most common discrimination that is perpetrated in the Netherlands, particularly for Moroccans who are Muslim. The level of hatred against Muslims dominates all other ethnic minority groups, and in the interests of social inclusion, it is imperative that this form of racism is addressed as quickly as possible (Hamidi, 2013). It seems that the Dutch multicultural policy is not achieving its main objectives and goals. The range of policies that the Netherlands developed 'should have been comparatively successful in solving problems of integration and combating, exclusion and segregation' but the opposite occurred, where there were low levels of labour market participation and 'comparatively high levels of crime among immigrants' (Koopmans, 2009, 21). The Dutch welfare state may have contributed to migrants becoming passive welfare seekers. In an attempt to address this, the Dutch government implemented a change in social welfare policy which currently prevents anyone under the age of twenty-seven from accessing social welfare benefits (Koopmans, 2009). However, on the positive side, there is a clear-cut policy that strongly encourages everyone under the age of thirty to return to education, even though almost no one over thirty is encouraged to do so. This is a new practice that reflects assimilation policy, yet at the same time, Dutch legislation prohibits racism and discrimination (Modood, 2012).

With regard to multicultural policy, it has been argued that all perceived models of 'integration' are in crisis (Modood, 2012). Whether there is substance to this statement

is hard to decipher but the point is that any model has greater potential for success if it is chosen by the individual or group rather than imposed on them (Modood, 2012). Ethnic minority groups are an essential part of the management process. Some form of multiculturalist approach is necessary in the Netherlands and in Britain too, as both countries are multicultural societies. A national identity is also an essential element of the 'integration' process, where all citizens have rights and a sense of belonging to the whole population, as well as a sense of belonging to their own group (Modood, 2012). Finally, the use of the word 'tolerance' in relation to 'integration' is frequently misused. 'Tolerance literally means putting up with someone…endurance of this kind always implies inequality, since the space given to those we tolerate can always be taken away' (Scheffer, 2011, 118).

Measuring and evaluating policy benchmarks is an important part of the development of progressive policy. Developing best 'integration' or migration management practice and policy will require certain benchmarks. Policy and practice will necessitate a coherent and transparent framework that identifies set benchmarks and key areas for improvement, using set guiding principles for professional standards. Benchmarking has four distinct stages, planning, research, analysis and implementation. The planning stage identifies the issues that are to be addressed. The research stage identifies the target group and the resource material, and identifies the barriers the group may encounter. This stage also maps the policies designed to deliver the services that organisations provide to address the areas of improvement (Nlessen & Huddleston, 2009). The analysis stage reviews the impact of the assessments and explores best practice by networking with other agencies. The final stage is implementation. This is the process where improvements to policy and practice are made by closing the gap that remains between current and best practice (Nlessen & Huddleston, 2009).

There is a 'multitude of approaches' to public policy (Peters & Pierre, 2006). It is very complex. Policy analysts focus on shaping and forming policy, on decision-making and on policy delivery (Parsons, 1995). Similar to the four stages of bench marking, policy development consists of different stages and includes agenda setting, decision making, implementation and evaluation (Peters & Pierre, 2006). Policy interests and ideas that frame policy developments are closely linked together (Parsons, 1995). In times of recession, policy is guided entirely by economic necessity (Pierre, 2006).

Policies in the process of implementation should be evaluated to measure whether they reach their targeted population and whether the service is consistent with the specified service delivery (Parsons, 1995). The next section presents a number of discussions that may provide Ireland with a greater understanding of the experiences and challenges that Britain and the Netherlands have encountered in their extended histories of the migration management processes.

3.6 Conclusion: lesson learning for Ireland

This chapter's central focus was on migration management policy, centering on the experiences of ethnic minority groups in the higher education system of Britain and the Netherlands. These groups encounter barriers in higher education and in accessing it in Britain and the Netherlands, barriers that are ethnically and culturally constructed. The focus on migration management policy created an understanding of the problems and challenges encountered. The focus on ethnic minority groups created an understanding of the experience and challenges encountered by specific groups in accessing and attempting to access higher education opportunities in each country. There are common barriers. Firstly, proficiency in the host country language is critical for all aspects of economic and social functioning. Currently, language remains a significant barrier in both countries. Secondly, financial barriers and costs associated with higher education opportunities are major barriers. Unemployment is much higher among ethnic minority groups than in the host population in both countries. Ethnic minority groups tend to encounter greater socio-economic disadvantage. Discrimination, racism and social exclusion remain very real for many ethnic groups. Certain groups do not have access the same opportunities that are freely available to other people. These are serious social justice issues. Britain and the Netherlands have a well-established history of migration management policy and challenges do remain in developing and implementing policy. It is crucial that migration management policy continuously evolves and develops, to address social and economic changes in the host country.

Multicultural policy has many different forms and frameworks; there are many variations between different countries. The modern theory of 'integration' is founded on the mutual adjustment between the migrant and the host country, relying on a two way process. The ultimate goal of migration management policy is a strong foundation

in equality. What lessons can Ireland learn? One core strength will be in Ireland's multicultural policy. Both Britain and the Netherlands have an established history in developing multicultural policy based on their experiences of migration management policies. Britain's experience of restricting inward migration allowed them to 'manage' migration in the most successful way they could manage. Initially, migration management policy in the Netherlands was much more liberal but it changed because of a number of mitigating factors. Again, although the Netherlands did implement policies that targeted the main ethnic minority groups, with their best interests at heart, these groups remained more disadvantaged than the host population, both intellectually and economically. There are different aspects to their policies but the core ingredient is equality (Modood, 2012b). There are a number of influential factors that promote the successful implementation of multicultural policies. Firstly, it is an economic issue. The perception that migrants are economically contributing to society ensures a better success rate in the process of multiculturalism (Kymlicka, 2012). Secondly, multicultural policy should be regarded as a social issue. Thirdly, it is a major human rights issue.

Different multicultural models work for different groups. There are four main approaches. The first is assimilation; some groups are happy to assimilate into the host country. The second is access to the same rights and entitlements as the host population. The third allows ethnic minority groups to retain their cultural identity and culture. The fourth is the cosmopolitan identity of a more diverse society (Modood, 2012b). The point is that the choice should remain with the migrant themselves (Modood, 2012b). Furthermore, no approach fits all, and no approach should be rejected (Modood, 2012b), as they all have potential elements to offer society and the individual. Whatever approach is chosen, society at large must respect 'difference' as a concept in itself, and in addition, society must tackle discrimination and socio-economic disadvantage (Modood, 2012b). Equality is impossible to development without addressing discrimination and disadvantage. 'Cultural diversity is an inescapable fact of modern life' (Parekh, 2005, 3). When migrants seek a new start in a new country, it is frequently a personal choice to belong to the new country of migration and not to preserve personal or/and historical identity, but this should remain a personal choice. The ultimate goal of migration management policy is to achieve a sense of belonging to the community and a major emphasis of this is that the majority

fully accepts the minority group. A 'sense of belonging is dependent on how others perceive and treat you, not just as an individual but also as a member of a racial group or ethno-religious community' (Modood, 2012, 24b).

There are many different views of multiculturalism and this is why the notion is such a challenge to interpret and understand, even though almost all societies are multicultural (Parekh, 2006). Parekh (2006) defines multiculturalism as obtaining a common sense of belonging in a political sense. In other words, the multicultural process entails finding ways of reconciling unity and diversity from a legal perspective, creating a common sense of belonging, while at the same time respecting legitimate cultural difference without weakening a sense of shared citizenship. It is inclusion without assimilation (Parekh, 2006). The reason some politicians argue that multiculturalism is dead, is often that multiculturalism has never been totally defined and no one really understands its full meaning. State public figures and the media have constructed a 'card-board cut-out' of multiculturalism (Hasan, 2011, 2) but in the main, it is about managing difference, which should be shared equally between the minority and the majority of the population (Hasan, 2011). Whatever migration management approach is chosen, society at large must respect difference (Modood, 2012b) because cultural diversity is inescapable and the reality of modern life (Parekh, 2005).

3.6.1 Fanon and identity

Frantz Fanon (1967) focused on the impact of colonialism and in particular how the 'black man' sees or identifies himself, and how he is seen or identified and positioned in the white world by the 'white man'. When the 'black man' enters the white world, he is judged and sees himself as the inferior being, the lesser human. Fanon (1967) proposes 'nothing short of the liberation of the man of color from himself' (Fanon, 1967, 8). He has created an understanding of the experience of the 'black man' entering the white world and how the white world impinges on or interacts with the black world. When a 'black man' enters the white world, he is made aware of his inferior status. He needs to shake off and get rid of his blackness; he needs to whiten his skin! 'For a black man there is only one destiny. And it is white' (Fanon, 1967, 4). The specific outcome or act of colonisation evaluates the 'black man' 'above his jungle

status' and this is measured directly 'in proportion to the adoption of the mother country's cultural standards. He becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness, his jungle' (Fanon, 1967, 18). This is how he liberates himself from himself. He adopts the colonizer's ways, culture, norms, values, and language, and becomes like the colonizer. The 'black man has two dimensions. One with his fellows, the other with the white man. A Negro behaves differently with a white man and with another Negro' (Fanon, 1967, 8). The 'black man' adopts a variety of different attitudes when in contact with white society. 'Man is what brings society into being' (Fanon, 1967, 4). Man itself is what brings society to life, into a human living environment. The art of language is a very powerful tool; one can become proportionately whiter by mastering the language of the host country; this is the experience of any colonised 'black' person who masters a Westernised language. 'A man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language…mastery of language affords remarkable power' (Fanon, 1967, 18). A 'white man addressing a Negro behaves exactly like an adult with a child and starts smirking, whispering, patronising, cozening' (Fanon, 1967, 19). Talking 'pidgin-nigger' is another way of enforcing the concept 'you'd better keep your place' (Fanon, 1967, 21). This plants the 'black man back in his inferior shell'. Language is a powerful tool in a derogatory act; he's 'a great black poet' is a permanent put-down and a reminder of a lesser human being.

By and large, the very act of colonisation extracts the valuable resources of the colonised country, which in turn enriches the mother country, while leaving the colonised country barren, underdeveloped and poor. Africa contains two areas - North Africa and South Africa. North Africa is considered white Africa; it is Mediterranean and has strong links to Europe, while South Africa is Black Africa and seen as uncivilised. The structure of South Africa is a 'racist structure', thirteen million blacks are 'penned in by two and a half million whites' (Fanon, 1967, 64). In Martinique, there are two hundred whites who consider themselves superior to three hundred thousand people of color…it has never occurred to a single black to consider himself superior to a member of the white minority' (Fanon, 1967, 68). It is taken for granted the Negro has no culture, no civilisation and no historical past unlike a German or Russian individual. Fanon (1967) also argues that the Negro is stereotyped in films, particularly in American films; they are portrayed as good 'niggers' (Fanon, 1967, 22).

The black man is constantly trying to get the attention of the white man. White equals rich, beautiful and intelligent, black denotes the complete opposite. 'In the man of color there is a constant effort to run away from his own individuality, to annihilate his own presence'; this is a pathological process (Fanon, 1967, 43). Fanon (1967) states that he was born into a world of wonder and meaning, where he processed the will to 'find meaning in things, my spirit filled with the desire to attain to the source of the world, and then I found that I was an object in the midst of the other objects' (Fanon, 1967, 82). This experience forced him to find another self, another side or another part of himself so that he could re-identify with himself, again and understand his experience or re-imagine himself. He argues that 'as long as a black man is among his own, he will have no occasion, except in minor internal conflicts, to experience his being through others. The fact is the black man is black but 'not only must the black man be black, he must be black in relation to the white man' (Fanon, 1967, 82-83). This is a major source of anxiety and physical confusion that is deep-seated in the psychic. Fanon (1967) finds he cannot assert himself 'as a Black Man' because 'I am a slave not of the "idea" that others have of me but of my own appearance' (Fanon, 1967, 87). Everything about the black man, his feet, hands and teeth are physically noted with disdain, which makes him want to be invisible; he is full of self-contempt and shame. Fanon (1967) found that he became multi-individuals, he states:

> I was responsible at the same time for my body, for my race, for my ancestors. I subjected myself to an objective examination, I discovered my blackness, my ethnic characteristics; and I was battered down by tom-toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetishism, racial defects, slave ships, and above all else, above all: "Sho good eatin"
> (Fanon, 1967, 84-85).

This realisation left Fanon (1967) emotionally and wholly disorientated. 'I wanted to be a man, nothing but a man' (Fanon, 1967, 85). The fact remains: *'Wherever he goes, the Negro remains a Negro'* (Fanon, 1967, 173). Every 'people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality – finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation'(Fanon, 1967, 18). But racism remains rife:

> Understand, my dear boy, color prejudice is something I find utterly foreign…but of course, come in, sir, there is no color prejudice among us…quite, the Negro is a man like ourselves. It is not because he is

black that he is less intelligent than we are…I had a Senegalese buddy
in the army who was really clever…
(Fanon, 1967, 85).

The empire of Colonialism continues on in the disguise of the cloak of oppression in present-day society. All acts and forms of racism are the same and are the 'same liquidation of man' (Fanon, 1967, 64). The 'feeling of inferiority of the colonized is the correlative to the European's feeling of superiority. Let us say it outright: *'It is the racist who creates his inferior'* (Fanon, 1967, 69). The black man is no longer wholly black or white and therefore experiences major discrimination; he is robbed of all his self-worth and must bring himself in line with the white world, in order that the white man can acknowledge his humanness and the only world (white) that they are led to believe exists. Only when the 'Negro recognises the unreality of many of the beliefs that he has adopted that with reference to the subjective attitudes of the white man. When he does his real apprenticeship begins' (Fanon, 1967, 149), then he can come to understand where he is in the world and where he belongs. However, the black man has 'one right alone: that of demanding human behaviour from the other (1967, 229), but we must not dwell on our respective histories as we cannot change the past. We cannot rewrite the past but must move forward together into the future. 'Both must turn their backs on the inhuman voices which were those of their respective ancestors in order that authentic communication be possible' (Fanon, 1967, 231).

Frantz Fanon (1925-1963) lived during a period of civil struggle for liberation among colonised people. Anti-racism and anti-colonialism debates were part of this struggle which was occurring simultaneously in other countries. Ireland for a certain period was also under British rule. This may appear to make Ireland historically different from Britain and the Netherlands. Initially, Britain and the Netherlands were specifically chosen in this research for their extended history and experience in migration management policy and practice with mostly former colonised groups. Fanon (1967) has provided an insight into the implications associated with post-colonial identity. In this respect, there are a number of commonalities between the three countries; members of the new communities of Ireland have also come from countries that have been colonised. There are 199 different nationalities in Ireland today (CSO, 2012d). Apart from UK, the main groups consist of Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian and Indian

nationalities. All of these countries have been ruled by more dominant countries at, at least one stage in their histories. Poland gained its independence from the Soviet Union under the Treaty of Riga in 1918, with Marshal Jozef Pilsudski as head of State (BBC, 6 January 2016). The Soviet Union recognised Lithuania as an independent State in 1999 (BBC, 22 January 2016), while Latvia gained its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991 (BBC, 11 February 2016). India gained its independence and became a republic in 1950, after over 300 years of former British rule (BBC, 28 October 2015). The Philippines was a Spanish colony for 300 years also, and was taken over by the US in the early part of the twentieth century. It gained its independence in 1946 (BBC, 2 October 2015). Nigeria is another former British colony (BBC, 11 February 2016). Pakistan was created to meet the demands of Indian Muslims after British rule ended in India in 1947 (BBC, 16 February 2016). A large percentage of the ethnic minority groups living in Ireland come from former colonised countries. The established migrant groups in Britain (African, Caribbean and Asian) are former colonial minority groups and the Surinamese and Antilleans are former colonised groups in the Netherlands. The Turks and Moroccans have similar background experiences because of their established history in the Netherlands. The African, Caribbean and Asian groups in Britain are part of the historicity of Britain while the Surinamese, Antilleans, Turks and Moroccans are part of the historicity of the Netherlands. Similarly, the new communities of Ireland will form part of the historicity of Ireland; their own individual experiences have formed an authentic part of the 'Celtic Tiger' era.

3.6.2 All Western countries are immigrant nations

'In the name of tolerance an entire generation of migrants was written off'
(Scheffer, 2011, 122a).

Again, what questions can Ireland learn? Paul Scheffer (2011b), the prominent Dutch author, politician and professor, presented a live debate in the UK House of Lords on Thursday 7th July 2011 on 'Immigrant Nations' (at the launch of his book), and he argued that all Western countries are immigrant nations and they need to acknowledge this simple but realistic fact. Scheffer (2011a) aptly quotes Elspeth Huxley, from the 1960s, who stated that: 'immigrants have created few new problems, they have merely underscored those which already perplex our society. In this case it is a lack of national

purpose, or self-confidence' (Huxley, cited in Scheffer, 2011, 320a). Our Western societies today are perplexed, and we have not addressed issues around 'immigration' as Scheffer (2011a) calls it, in any meaningful or purposeful way. Our world is profoundly globalised yet there remains a deep-seated assumption in the Western world, that the 'immigrant' will remain an 'immigrant' for generations to come. There are two issues associated with this. The first is 'identity', and how the indigenous population identifies the 'immigrant', and the second is how the 'immigrant' identifies themselves. The second involves the whole concept of 'integration'; what exactly does 'integration' mean? This has been perplexing the Western world, the globalised world, the indigenous population, the 'immigrants', public servants, policy-makers, politicians and world leaders. What exactly is instilled in each group's mind-set? How do they see their position in society? How do they identify themselves? Will they ever gain a sense of belonging or citizenship?

We 'should think of the nation as an imagined community, a human invention that's continually being reshaped, the product of concerted efforts over many generations' (Scheffer, 2011, 117a). The 'self-image of a community of world citizens can be found in the work of countless academics who assume that the era of nation-states lies behind us' (Scheffer, 2011, 116a). Although we receive news of what is happening on the world stage through the media, the 'majority of citizens still live in cultures that have developed in the context of nation-states' (Scheffer, 2011, 116a). There are a number of complicated interactions in the phenomenon of 'integration'. The migrant may have a 'permanent sense of the temporary', for example with permit workers or precarious work. The migrant may return to their country of origin by choice or by force (conditions of employment, visa). The host country may assume the migrant will leave when the work is done. Yet ironically, the longer a migrant stays, the more at home they are with for example, their children settled at school. Frequently, migrants are welcomed into the country to attend to 3D jobs (dirty, degrading, and dangerous) that the indigenous population do not want. It has become the norm for Western countries to need migrants, yet migrant groups are disfranchised in globalised societies. Scheffer (2011a) published 'The Multicultural Drama' in 2000, which generated major debate in Dutch society and brought the meaning of multiculturalism, integration and immigration into the public domain. One of the main themes throughout 'Immigrant Nations' is that immigration is in reality a 'loss' for migrants and their families, and for

the host country. For example, an 'immigrant' mother feels the loss of her teenage girl because the teenager has accepted the host country's traditions and norms such as, going on to third level education instead of helping out at home. Or the 'immigrant' is marginalised and excluded from main-stream society because of the conditions attached to their employment. Initially, the Dutch authorities invested heavily in ensuring the established ethnic minority communities kept their cultural identity. This appeared to be a proactive move at first, but in the long term, it excluded these groups from mainstream society. The Dutch language and culture had not been sufficiently promoted among these groups, which in effect alienated and marginalised the groups (Scheffer, 2011a).

'Immigration is about a shared sense of loss' (Scheffer, 2011b). When one migrates, they leave behind the life they had in their country of origin. Similarly, the population of the host country experiences change because the new-comer changes the host country in some way, whether this is a subtle or a major change. But 'migration is a human reality' (Scheffer, 2011b). Tolerance is not acceptance or accommodation; overall it is a very negative term. Scheffer (2011b) argues that people tolerate by avoidance. The 'way we deal with loss is from avoidance, through conflict, to accommodation' (Scheffer, 2011b). 'Avoidance is on both sides, each group avoids the other, groups are segregated, the question is how not to live next to each other but live with each other' (Scheffer, 2011b). Scheffer (2011b) projects the notion of a 'shared idea of citizenship' because currently 'there is no clear understanding of what it means to be a citizen' in many Western countries (Scheffer, 2011b). The whole concept of citizenship needs to be refined; this is a crucial part of the 'immigrant' problem. He states clearly that 'we need to ask ourselves the question, what do we need to have in common to be able to disagree in a meaningful and peaceful and productive way'? History shows us there are three phases in the 'integration' process, avoidance, conflict, and accommodation but also 'dealing with the loss of certainty' (Scheffer, 2011a, 36-37). In essence you lose a familiar world and must readjust to the new world. Scheffer argues that conflict itself is a 'sign of integration and not a failure of integration', it means groups are interacting with each other. The conflict that accompanies all major migratory movements means that prejudices on both sides will be challenged sooner or later' (Scheffer, 2011, 36a). Generally there is an imbalance of power between the host country and the migrant, but migration brings changes and

challenges to both sides. 'One of the potential benefits of migration can be derived from a conscious reassessment of routines and traditions long taken for granted' and 'as long as reciprocity is its guiding principle, this kind of re-evaluation will not be directionless' (Scheffer, 2011, 37a). There is a need to instil a civic and social duty as part of the democratic right of active citizenship for all individuals within.

This critical analysis of migration policy has been theorised using Paul Scheffer's (2011) concept of citizenship, identity and the notion of 'integration'. The historical distinction of the position of migration policy that is relevant to higher education policy in the Netherlands is different from the position in Britain. Over the past forty years, migration policy adopted different assumptions and mile stones. Initially in the Netherlands, in the 1970s, the main assumption was that ethnic minority groups would keep their cultural identity for the time they would return to their country of origin. This did not occur. By the 1980s, policy-makers realised that the migrant groups were staying permanently, so they attempted to address the common social and economic issues among migrant groups. The Dutch invested heavily in the education system. During the 1990s, 'integration' policy took a different approach, with the intention of addressing individual disadvantage. Reducing inequalities offers a more positive future although it does not necessarily guarantee success in the labour market. There remains a 'persistently low-income position of ethnic minorities in relation to the Dutch majority' (Rijkschroeff, *et al,* 2005, 431). Generally the main ethnic minority groups migrated for economic reasons; all of them have made some improvements in the labour market but they are still not on par with the indigenous Dutch (Rijkschroeff, *et al*, 2005, 420). This means that a certain level of inequality remains in education and employment. Migrants and young migrant people on the whole regard achievement in education and employment as 'major goals in life' (Rijkschroeff, *et al*, 2005, 418). The Netherlands was one of the first European countries to have 'formulated an ambitious long-term integration policy' (Rijkschroeff, *et al*, 2005, 418). From the Dutch perspective, the term 'integration' policy refers to all policy changes from the 1980s onwards.

According to Sagger and Somerville (2012), the 'British model of integration has never been clearly defined' (2012, 1). It had three main objectives, the idea of national identity, immigrant outcomes and successful communities. It was very much

community based 'integration'. Initial 'integration' policy was politically rather than economically driven. Ethnic minority groups in the 1950s were expected to assimilate into society, while groups in the 1960s were expected to integrate. The 1970s witnessed a policy of multiculturalism (Shain, 2013, 63). Education policy has been influenced over the years by 'economic, political and social change' (Shain, 2013, 64). There was a strong element of 'containment' in the 'integration' policy in the 1950s and 1960s. During the 1960s, unemployment began to rise as did a number of new social movements such as 'Black Power' and feminism (Shain, 2013, 67) and 'immigration was constructed as a 'black' problem' (Shain, 2013, 67) by the State. Education policy also began to follow a policy of 'dispersal' under the instruction of the Home Office in 1965. Schools that had too many ethnic minority children were blamed for declining education standards and for 'disrupt[ing] the learning experiences of indigenous children', so the practice began of 'bussing' ethnic minorities out to other schools (Shain, 2013, 70). The language of the decade in official documents was not inclusive; words used included 'immigrants', 'coloured populations', and 'problems' (Shain, 2013, 71), but the experience of ethnic minority groups did begin to improve somewhat after this period.

For all immigrants, 'all one asks is the freedom and fairness…to fulfil one's potential' (Bissoodath, 1998, 3). This is the 'Immigrant Dream' (Bissoodath, 1998).

There have been a number of interlinking themes between chapters two and three which have contributed to the body of this research and are further presented and assessed in chapter five: the presentation and analysis of findings (section 5.10). Chapter four, the methodology chapter, which follows, provides a detailed account and justification of the research design – including ontological and epistemological issues - and wider data collection processes and methodological considerations deployed to operationalise a thorough interrogation of the main research issues under exploration.

Chapter Four

Methodology

4.1 Methodological considerations

Chapter four provides an overview of the research methods and methodological considerations. Section 4.1 provides a brief overview. Section 4.2 provides an introduction to the methodology. Section 4.3 outlines the research ideas within the wider parameters of a semi-ethnographic methodology. It also analyses the purpose and significance of the research, which centres on creating an understanding of the educational needs of migrants, the obstacles they encounter in their quest to access higher education learning opportunities and the manner in which the State has, thus far, failed to meet these aspirations. It also presents the political ideologies that influence social policy. Section 4.4 outlines how the research originated (in 2008) and how it has developed to its current stage.

Section 4.5 discusses and justifies the deployment of qualitative approaches to the key research issues under consideration, outlines and reviews the main strengths and weaknesses of this approach and incorporates a systematic assessment of the data collection processes and techniques utilised. Section 4.5 is structured so as to reflect the complex interweaving of a number of issues and includes a number of different sub-sections as follows. Sub-section 4.5.1 details the interview process and subsequent discussions and the advantages and disadvantages of the use of expert respondent interviewing. Section 4.5.2 discusses the concept and theory of content analysis, a research framework identified as appropriate to this study, followed by section 4.5.3 which explores the advantages and disadvantages of utilising telephone interviews. This sub-section also outlines and highlights the usefulness of using face-to-face interviews when compared to telephone interviews. Section 4.5.4 critiques the research methods employed and includes discussions on triangulation and the concept of research validity. Section 4.5.5 explores the advantages and disadvantages of focus group activity-based research.

Section 4.6 provides a detailed description of the selection of the research participants who were identified as recognised experts in their particular fields of employment and knowledge. It explains and justifies why the participants were chosen and substantiates how they were grouped together. It also details and validates the type of questions each group were presented with. Section 4.6.1 provides a detailed description of the focus group research activity. Section 4.7 evaluates and critiques the issues encountered in the entire research process. Section 4.8 discusses the ethics of social research, while section 4.9 explores other types of qualitative research approaches and section 4.10 provides a conclusion.

4.2 Introduction to the methodology

The research aims were as follows:

- an exploration of the current education needs of migrant workers;
- an investigation into the barriers that confront migrants in accessing higher education opportunities and provision;
- an examination of gaps in the education needs of migrant workers to meet current and future employment demands;
- an investigation into future skills and knowledge needs in order to adapt to new labour market demands and to modify education courses;
- an assessment of the experiences which migrants encounter in Irish society from a social, cultural and political perspective;
- an assessment of the current experiences of migrant workers in higher education o as to identify strengths, weaknesses and opportunities for improvements among HEI providers;
- an evaluation of the process of qualification recognition and recognition of prior learning (RPL) and the acquired knowledge that migrant workers have gained in their countries of origin;
- an assessment of the policies and practices developed and implemented by Access Officers and Admissions Officers across Higher Education Institutes (HEIs) geared toward the needs of migrants accessing higher education.

In addition to the research aims outlined above, this thesis centres on the barriers that migrants encounter in accessing higher education in Ireland in conjunction with an

evaluation of the higher education system in Britain and the Netherlands. The focus on Britain is justified, as Ireland has similar laws, policies and practices that are politically, economically, socially, and historically in line with the policies and practices in Britain and Britain has an established history of 'integration' policy. The Netherlands also has a long established history of 'integration' policy. Both countries also have well established experience of ethnic minority communities, and both have been major contributors to the ideas around multiculturalism and multicultural policy. Britain has a strong colonial past; it ruled one third of the entire world and its population at one point in history (de Haas, 1997). Ethnic minority groups from the British Commonwealth are long-established groups in the UK. Public discourse and legislation has shaped migration management policy since the latter half of the 20th century. The strength of British policy is based on its legislation and Race Relations Acts. Likewise, the Netherlands has four main well established ethnic minority communities and, in common with the UK, has a long colonial history. It occupied Indonesia, the largest Muslim country in the world, for almost 350 years. Initially, the Netherlands implemented policies that were much more liberal than Britain's. The 'integration' policy process appeared effortless, until two high profile political murders sent shock waves through the Netherlands and the rest of the world. The Dutch saw the murder of Theo van Gogh in 2004 as an attack on the 'highly valued principle of freedom of speech' (Michalowski, 2005, 2). As a result, the Netherlands was chosen for this thesis because there is a widespread view that multicultural 'integration' policy is in jeopardy there. Britain and the Netherlands have addressed and continue to address migration management policy issues. Both countries are EU State members. The focus on ethnic minority groups in Britain and the Netherlands create an understanding of the experience and challenges encountered by specific groups in attempting to access higher education opportunities. Ethnic minority groups encounter common barriers in both countries, such as the lack of proficiency in the host country language. The research also incorporates an understanding of the development of migration management policy in Ireland between 1989 and 2014, in part appraisal of migration management in Britain and the Netherlands. So as to operationalise these objectives, this chapter seeks to outline, explain and justify the utilisation of qualitative data collection approaches and techniques.

4.3 Origins of research idea and contextual frame

The researcher has a passionate commitment to the self-empowerment of individuals through education. There are elements of ethnographic methodologies in this thesis most obviously in respect of the migrants and their experiences in migrating to Ireland. One of the defining points of social research is that it must relate to some contemporary social phenomena. Research can often arise out of personal experiences; the Masters conducted by this researcher explored the experiences of mature students returning to education and the barriers they encounter. The researcher herself was a mature student who returned to education as an adult and found some of the experiences challenging. Research can also arise out of a pressing social problem or when a social phenomenon arises. This is the case with this PhD thesis, which explores the rapid rise in inward migration into this country during the well-coined 'Celtic Tiger' era. Inward migration changed the dynamics of the Irish population, to include 12% of migrants (199 global nationalities). The 2011 census reveals that a total of 544,357 migrants are currently residing in Ireland (CSO, 2012, 7d). The process of conducting social research on the influence of major and rapid inward migration strongly suggests that the researcher must be mindful of the 'nature of the relationship between theory and research' (Bryman, 2008, 5). There are two dominant issues pertaining to theory based research which must be elucidated initially. Firstly, what form of theory will frame the research and secondly, is data collected to build or test theories? The theory provides a framework in which the social phenomena can be understood and interpreted. The most common meaning of theory is an 'explanation of observed regularities' (Bryman, 2008, 6).

The researcher is not living the experiences of the migrants but is creating an understanding of their experiences as the newest group of residents settling into their new environment. In contemporary society, the term 'ethnography' essentially entails a holistic approach, which means understanding other groups of people from their perspective. There are other perspectives on ethnographic theory but the one used here is that the researcher does not immerse herself in an observational study but rather in people's lived experiences, thus creating a strong interpretation of that experience from their world view. An ethnographic approach aims to respond to the heart of the research questions and to examine the normality of every day, how the groups

understand and see their world and the 'way they perceive their reality' (Denscombe, 1998, 69). The most obvious feature of ethnographic research with regard to this thesis is the importance of telling the participants' stories from their point of view and presenting their experiences of how they see their world, thus informing wider society of this reality. Ethnography has its roots in anthropological research strategies and its most recent development 'has been its application to lifestyles, understandings and beliefs within 'our own' society' (Denscombe, 1998, 70).

The anthropological/ethnographical approaches have moved from studying 'natives' on 'exotic' islands to the study of deviant sub-groups (street gangs) to more recently the study of social phenomena or aspects of social life of 'normal' society (study of schools) (Denscombe, 1998, 70). The main characteristic of ethnography remains in the 'unusualness' and the 'mundanity' of the group's research activity. What remains crucial for the ethnographic researcher 'is the depth of detail of the descriptions, the accuracy of what it portrays and the insights it offers to readers about the situation being studied' (Denscombe, 1998, 70). There are various perspectives on the main purpose of ethnography, which include 'providing rich and detailed descriptions of real-life situations as they really are' to the argument that ethnographic research could provide a 'test-bed for theories' (Denscombe, 1998, 72), particularly since ethnographic research does not necessarily warrant a theory-based framework.

There are advantages and disadvantages in conducting ethnographic research. The advantages for this thesis include a number of the following aspects. This research strategy is grounded in empirical (scientific) research which involves direct contact with the relevant people, so that it can be linked with the thesis data. The research is holistic in its approach and it provides detailed data. It has a strong element of contrast and comparison of the data and acknowledges the ideology of 'seeing the data through the eyes of the research participants' (Denscombe, 1998, 78-80). The perspective and reality of the influence of the researcher's personal 'sense of self' in an ethnographic study needs to ensure that 'things' retain their natural or original form.

There are a number of disadvantages in relation to ethnographic research, which include the following. There is an internal contradiction between (1) retaining the concept of a natural research setting in the actual research process and (2) the opposing

concept of the researcher's personal 'reflexivity' (Denscombe, 1998). This argument suggests that the concept of naturalism is in conflict with the concept of reflexivity and may have some influence on the researcher's concept of their sense of self. Furthermore, the 'stand-alone' rich descriptions of the data may not build on the foundation of a theory based framework but may appear as a very definitive stand-alone element of research which may be open to criticism.

An ethnographer must be aware of their own experience and how this might impact on and influence the social reality of the research. Another important aspect of ethnographic research is the significance attached to the role of the researcher's sense of self and the influence that this may have. The researcher's 'identity, values and beliefs' infuse into the research (Denscombe, 1998, 74). Therefore a certain degree of introspection is called for on the part of the researcher as s/he needs to be highly aware of how this infusion may influence the research. In addition, creating an understanding of the ethnographic researcher's sense of self may come into the public domain if the sense of self reflects similarities to the research outcomes. This thesis is strongly based on the researcher's lived experiences of social injustices and social inequalities, with particular reference to the research topic, the migrant experience and processes that migrants encounter. Migrants who are in low paid, low skilled employment remain at the edge of Irish society. Ireland is 'among the world's most globalised states' (Mac Éinri, 2007, 75a) as a consequence of the 199 different nationalities who reside here, yet it continues to remain in a state of limbo with regard to migration policy. As Mac Éinri so rightly states, migration policy in Ireland is ineffective and void of any indicators, benchmarks or targets. Subsequently, 'there is a chronic absence of any substantial degree of coordination or "joined-up" policy, with different agencies and government departments pursuing unrelated and sometimes contradictory roles' (Mac Éinri, 2007, 87a). Current policy confers different rights and entitlements on different ethnic minority groups, depending on their legal status, which means that some groups have access to very few rights and entitlements, yet are legally employed and contributing to the tax system. Conferring different rights and entitlements in this way creates inequalities and marginalised groups; this is a major human rights and social justice issue, tantamount to institutional racism. Ethnic minority groups encounter barriers (in education, in employment and in Irish society) that will challenge them and

the researcher immediately realised from the outset that this was/is a research project worthy of attention.

Initial research was undertaken by a consortium of academics participating in the Strategic Innovation Fund (SIF) sponsored 'Education in Employment (EiE)' project during 2007-2008. The culmination of this work was highlighted in a publication titled: *Migrants and Higher Education in Ireland,* edited by Linehan and Hogan (2008). This consortium comprised of academics from nine higher level institutions: Institutes of Technology in Cork, Athlone, Dublin, Dundalk, Galway-Mayo, Letterkenny, Sligo; National University of Ireland Galway; and University College Cork. The research undertook a series of focus groups with migrants, to examine issues around access to higher education and employment and explored the experience of migrants who might have encountered the Irish higher level education system and were also employed. A series of interviews were conducted with Admissions Officers and Access Officers in relation to policies and procedures for migrants accessing higher education. 160 migrants from 21 countries participated in the research (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). A focus group topic guide developed by the members of the Working Group to ensure that the interviewing of different people at various locations around the country was systematic and comprehensive and that each individual was presented with the opportunity of discussing issues of concern in the time available (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). The participants of each group had similar country backgrounds and a translator was made available to a group when it was considered necessary, because some migrants had lower levels of English language skills than others.

This research was undertaken in the Institute of Technology, Sligo as part of a regional contribution to the wider national experiences of migrants and their access to higher education opportunities. Throughout the life-time of the project the researcher acted as assistant to the Chairperson of the SIF project, Dr John Pender, and undertook fieldwork with him including organising and facilitating Focus Groups with migrants from Poland, North Africa, and Kurdistan, in Sligo, Leitrim and Mayo. She also participated in interviews with the Access and Student Services Officers in the Institute. Interestingly, all focus group participants expressed a major interest in education and learning but it was evident from the beginning that they were encountering barriers in accessing education, such as lack of finance and lack of

proficiency in English. It was also evident that the relevant policies were underdeveloped and inconsistent. What the researcher found most motivating was the participants' overwhelming enthusiasm to contribute and their willingness to succeed as active citizens of Ireland. However, she realised from the outset that they would encounter barriers (in education and in Irish society) that would challenge themThis thesis does not attempt to collectivise the experiences of migrants; it is a study is a generic overview of their experiences; they are a very eclectic group and the research is not a definitive statement of all their experiences. The study cannot be generalised across the entire country either as the particular findings are what is termed a 'within case study' and as such the generalizability is limited.

4.3.1 Significance of research

Research suggests that migrants are living in every county of Ireland, with large numbers in rural Ireland, all with the intention of making Ireland their home despite the economic downturn (Irish Rural Link, 2009: 8). Pope (2009) concurs with this, arguing that 50% of economic migrants live in rural Ireland (Pope, 2009). Although many migrant workers confront the prospect of becoming unemployed, research shows that migrants are staying in Ireland despite this. Net inward migration accounted for a larger percentage of population growth in the Western region, 45.4% compared to 33% nationally (Western Development Commission (WDC), 2012, 1). Furthermore, the Western counties are particularly rural, with 64.9% of the population living outside the towns compared to the national figure of 33% (WDC, 2012, 1). On a regional basis, all counties in the Western region except Galway City experienced net inward migration between the 2006 census and the 2011 census (WDC, 2011, 12a).

There are other factors that further compound the experience of migrant workers specific to Western counties. High unemployment is an issue in this region, especially in the sectors that have been affected most by the recession, such as construction, retail and hospitality (WDC, 2011, 1c). The recession has also resulted in substantial increases in part-time employment, given that one out of every four workers in Western counties now work part-time, a much higher percentage than in the rest of the State (WDC, 2011, 2c). Unemployment figures show that unemployment has vastly increased in the Western counties; there are 54,900 people unemployed an increase of

245.3% on the 2007 figure. This compares to 192.8% for the rest of the State during the same period (WDC, 2011, 2c). The gap in educational attainment between the Western counties and the rest of the State is narrowing but it still remains significant (WDC, 2011, 1c). Furthermore, some areas of the western counties such as County Donegal are still very rural and public transport, accessibility and availability of childcare remain a challenge (WDC, 2011, 8b), factors which could be viewed as additional pressures for migrant workers there. The following section presents the ideologies of social policy and social welfare.

4.3.2 Social policy and social welfare ideology

Policy means different things to different people, and it requires decoupling. Public policy, theory and the development of policy are important elements of policy and policy development (Colebatch, 2009). International social policy, particularly in industrialised societies, is closely linked with GDP state expenditure. During the 1960s, governments across the globe invested in a liberal democratic approach to the social problems of the period. This was particularly the case for the United States of America (USA). Becoming more knowledgeable about individual societies presents the opportunity to make improvements and any decision-making processes become more effective (Parsons, 1995). This approach conceptualised and positioned the government as the main contender to deal with rising social issues and this spread to other industrialised countries. The process of policy analysis and decision-making theories further developed in Europe during the 1980s and the 1990s (Parsons, 1995). This weakened to a degree in what is referred to as the USA Reagan era and in Thatcher's Britain, where her policies had a major negative impact on the poorest groups in society (Matthews, 2004).

Ideologies of social welfare are important because they are the solid foundations of social policy. There are a number of influential ideologies of welfare, such as Liberalism, Conservatism, Christian Democracy and Socialism. The following is a brief analysis of each ideology, beginning with the modern perspective of Liberalism. Modern liberalism is distinctly different from the classical concept of Liberalism. The current use of the term 'liberal' with reference to social issues captures a sense of progression, tolerance and broadmindedness (Considine & Dukelow, 2009, 122). These ideas are somewhat in conflict with the classical concept of liberal ideology,

where the core beliefs centre on individuality, the 'free market' and limited state intervention. Pure Liberalism upholds individual liberty above all other principles, except for the requirements of the justice system. The ideology is politically right-wing and the issue of equality is regarded as unimportant, as the requirement of redistribution of social services would imply that those individuals in a financial position would be taxed, to contribute to redistribution services. Pure Liberalism 'favours individual, private or charitable providers of welfare' with minimal social service provision (Considine & Dukelow, 2009, 126).

The term 'Conservatism' means to conserve. It has regard for established institutions and traditional customs, and it emphases individual obligations and duties. The state has a zero tolerance approach to crime and justice. Conservative ideology upholds the family as the central core unit of society. Similarly to Liberalism, the core of Conservative theory favours individual private and charitable providers of welfare over state welfare provision, and considers a minimal approach to social service provision. The Christian Democratic ideology approach has similar characteristics to Conservatism with regard to social order and stability, but it upholds stronger beliefs in Christianity, where social supports begin within the family as the first port of call, followed by local supports, followed lastly by national supports. The concept of welfare is similar to the 'social market economy' approach, which favours a comprehensive welfare system with little State intervention. It is a holistic approach that is in favour of the good for all. The Socialist point of view strives for social equality for everyone, with more emphasis on equality of outcome than on equality of opportunity with regard to sharing all resources in society (Considine & Dukelow, 2009, 131). The socialist idea of society is revolutionary in the sense that it takes the view that state welfare and social services should be substantially resourced. The Marxist perspective on welfare shares many socialist principles but differs in the belief that the class system creates injustices. The welfare state is capitalist because the existing rules create barriers to assessing welfare services; capitalism creates persistent inequalities.

The term 'welfare state' tends to refer to the idea that the state publicly supports social policy. The capitalist system of public social policy is designed to support and reinforce the market economy' (Jones, 2004, 6). The USA and Japan favour this end of the continuum. The opposite end is where the economy supports social policy and

there is a greater onus on promoting and sustaining a welfare society. This model or approach is the model used in Sweden and it is a policy approach that is much more sensitive to social needs. The policy approach in Britain is between these two approaches. Thatcher coined the phrase the '3 E's – Economy, Efficiency and Effectiveness which was used to justify reducing public spending on welfare during 1970s Britain. Effectively, the role of the State was reduced, and was replaced by 'a monetarist economic policy that rejected the Keynesian consensus together with an emphasis on individualism, self-help and nationalism' (Matthews, 2004, 2). The Keynesian theory of public spending, particularly during a recession, is that a country's economic output is strongly influenced by the total spending in the economy. During a recession, jobs are lost, there is less overall consumer spending and business investments decrease, so there is an economic downward spiral. Keynesian theory suggests greater investments in the economy to generate higher consumption and demand which is a job for the State (Briggs, 2010). There are four different policy regimes in the EU; these are 'worlds of welfare capitalism', the Scandinavian welfare states, the 'Bismarck' countries, the Anglo-Saxon countries and the 'Latin rim' countries (Leibfried, 1993, 139). Scandinavia is the 'modern welfare state', where everyone has the right to work and the labour market is regarded as a 'welfare state strategy which conveys the institutionalised notion of social citizenship' (Leibfried, 1993, 140). The 'Bismarck countries', Germany and Austria, pursue a strong policy in support of economic development which is grounded institutionally. The Anglo-Saxon countries use a 'residential welfare model', with support from the private market and the family to meet individual needs; the state only helps out temporarily if at all. The Latin Rim countries (Spain Portugal, Greece) appear to be characterised by a 'rudimentary welfare state'; these countries appear to be playing 'catch-up' with the other approaches. Economically, finance is seen as the 'main constraint upon social rights' (Rose, 1993, 224). Membership of the EU requires respect for civil and political rights but this does not necessarily ensure a high standard of social policy. A welfare state involves securing basic welfare provisions for its citizens but the question that is often asked is how much provision is required. Furthermore, high levels of social spending do not necessarily paint a picture that the citizens are financially wealthier. Social spending increased in Britain during the Thatcher era as a result of high levels of unemployment (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Esping-Andersen (1990) promotes the idea of regime theory, where different 'regimes have the autonomy to behave

differently' and are dependent on individual countries and other influential factors (Hill, 2006, 275). The primary role of the State is to 'enhance economic efficiency' (Hill, 2006, 27). The 'mixed economy of welfare' is a relatively new term that encapsulates welfare as being provided by a number of different agencies, including the State and private agencies, voluntary organisations and community and family units. It is an umbrella approach to welfare (Hudson *et al*, 2008, 10). Economically, finance is seen as the 'main constraint upon social rights' (Rose, 1993, 224). This concludes the political ideologies that influence social policy. The following section provides an overview of the methodology and research design utilized in the thesis structure.

4.4 Constructing an appropriate research paradigm

My initial interaction and engagement with the SIF 'Education in Employment' project in 2008 laid the foundation for an interest on the experiences of migrant workers and their struggle to gain access to higher education opportunities in Ireland. In particular, I sought to widen my knowledge of the unique demographics situation in modern Ireland, by devising and undertaking further in-depth research, which involved an additional succession of interviews with key education and migration policy experts, at regional, national and international level. The SIF/EiE project steering committee chose to adopt a qualitative approach in their research. I was immersed in this research *modus operandi* – and for reasons advanced below – I also chose to use qualitative methods.

4.4.1 Research design and process: interview and focus group approach

This section seeks to present a rationale for the selection of the methodologies employed in this thesis, including an overview of the advantages and disadvantages of adopting the interview approach as a form of qualitative strategy. This is followed by a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of adopting the focus group approach, another form of qualitative research. In the context of the contribution that this thesis seeks to make to our understanding of the experiences and barriers migrants encounter in higher education and in accessing higher education, it is apparent that a qualitative research approach is most apposite. Qualitative methods tend to favour exploring people's everyday life experiences, such as the experiences that migrants encounter in

accessing higher education courses and can be tailored to extract the desired information by way of semi-structured interviews and focus groups techniques. Outside the social research arena quantitative data research tends to dominate the research process (Silverman, 2000). This section provides an overview of the choices made throughout the research process.

One core rationalisation that briefly describes both strategies is that 'qualitative refers to descriptive characteristics rather than numerical measurements. Quantitative refers to numerical measurements rather than descriptive' (O'Leary, 2007, 214). However, this definition presents the idea that there is a clear dividing line between the two approaches, which is clearly not the case and is limiting and artificial, according to O'Leary as 'most quantitative data starts out as word-based' qualitative inquiry which in turn is transferred and coded numerically into statistics (O'Leary, 2007, 214). The most appropriate rationale is the role or purpose of the research and what the researcher is trying to ascertain. In social research, the research question often leads to a definitive research approach that is either quantitative or qualitative or a combination of both. During the planning stage of the research process, decisions are made as to the best possible approach, based on factors such as the relevance, feasibility, availability of resources, practicality of the research and availability of participants with expert knowledge in the field. More often than not, practical considerations become a definitive feature, in the context of obtaining access to participants, time constraints, financial cost of conducting the research and so forth. Ethics is another key consideration in social research which is further discussed in section 4.8 of this chapter.

Both qualitative and quantitative approaches have their advantages and disadvantages in social research. One of the main advantages of qualitative analysis, according to Denscombe (2007), is that the research data is 'grounded in [the] reality' of social existence. The data is rich and detailed. Another advantage is that there may be contradictions in the data but this is not a sign of weakness, rather a measure of uncertainty or ambiguity around the data analysis, as the social reality is not static (Denscombe, 2007). There is also a possibility of multi interpretations of the data.

There are a number of disadvantages of qualitative analysis. One of them is the fact that the data may be less representative, as qualitative social research is generally

conducted on a smaller scale than quantitative research (Bryman, 2008). The possibility of decontextualizing the data is another disadvantage, particularly in the coding process where the meaning of the data may be lost. A further problem in data analysis is under-developing the data or finding data that does not 'fit'. Data analysis takes longer to work through than quantitative data analysis and this may often appear daunting but it is attainable (Denscombe, 2007). Bryman (2008) outlines a simple version of the of contrasts between the two approaches. These are:

- numbers versus words;
- the point of view of the research versus the point of view of the research participants;
- the research is distant versus the research is close;
- the theory and concepts test the research versus the theory and concepts emerge from the data;
- hard reliable data versus rich deep data;
- artificial settings versus natural settings (natural environment settings) (Bryman, 2008, 393-394).

There are a number of similarities between the two approaches. Both are concerned with answering research questions and with 'relating data analysis to the research literature' (Bryman, 2008, 395). Both treat 'frequency as a springboard for analysis' of the data and both 'seek to ensure that deliberate distortion does not occur' (Bryman, 2008, 395). The interpretation of data is bound up with the 'self' of the researcher, which is not necessarily a huge disadvantage if the researcher is aware of this fact. The personal beliefs and values of the researcher can impact the choice of the research topic, 'the formulation of the research question', the 'research design and data collection techniques', the analysis and interpretation of the data and the final conclusions (Bryman, 2008, 24-25). Often in qualitative research, the researcher can develop a close affinity with the research participants, especially 'underdog groups' (2008, 25). The concept of 'self-reflection' plays a part in the 'values' element of the researcher (Bryman, 2008, 25). The following is a brief overview of the advantages and disadvantages of a quantitative research approach.

The advantages of quantitative analysis lie in the strong scientific framework of mathematical statistics. Statistical tests give the researcher creditability, while interpretations and findings are based on measurements. Large volumes of research can be analysed relatively quickly through this approach. Charts and tables provide an effective way to present the data and there are a number of computer programmes that help to analyse the statistical data (Denscombe, 2007) thus making this aspect of the research easier. One of the disadvantages is that the data is only as good as the methodology used in the data collection process (Denscombe, 2007). Another major criticism is that it 'ignores the differences between the natural and social world by failing to understand 'meanings' that are brought to social life' (Silverman, 2000, 4-5). However, most quantitative researchers argue that they 'aim to produce a set of cumulative generalizations' based on the data (Silverman, 2000, 5), which is critical for the evaluation of the data (Silverman, 2000).

There are different approaches to conducting research interviews. The interview process in quantitative research is highly structured, while in qualitative research it is either semi-structured or unstructured. The latter approach enables the participants' views to be investigated. It is a more flexible approach as it also responds to the direction in which the interview is heading. Also, additional questions can surface during the qualitative interview approach allowing for further and deeper probing of the research topic (Bryman, 2008, 436-437). The semi-structured question approach was used here in all the interview and focus group research activity. This type of interview strategy is becoming more and more identified as an in-depth interview approach (Bryman, 2008, 438).

Forty-one interviews were conducted with professionals purposively selected because of their expertise on migrants and the issues they encounter on a national and international basis. Purposive sampling in qualitative research is a strategic approach which ensures the researcher 'samples on the basis of wanting to interview people who are relevant to the research questions' (Bryman, 2008, 458). This approach may also ensure that participants differ in their perspectives, knowledge and expertise (Bryman, 2008). Having reviewed the strengths and weaknesses of the qualitative approach underpinning this research, an exploration of a micro-enabling research method, namely a focus group, is highlighted in the following section.

The focus group approach is basically a group interview. The original idea involved a group of experts in a chosen field interviewed in an unstructured way, where the discussion between participants generated further discussion on specific fields of interest. This whole process presents the researcher with the opportunity to develop an understanding of why participants feel the way they do and how they justify their opinion. The participants can probe each other's reasons for holding a certain view, or voice agreement with that view (Bryman, 2008). Another advantage of the focus group is the opportunity for the participant to be challenged by other group members and therefore to think 'or possibly revise their views' (Bryman, 2008, 475). One of the more important aspects of recording the focus group research is 'not just what people say but how they say it' (Bryman, 2008, 476). The focus group participants were chosen because of their specific background experience in the field, the criteria being that they must be migrant workers, migrant students or potential students.

Focus groups have considerable potential but there are also limitations. The data is often more difficult to analyse. The participants may talk over one another other or interrupt another participant's flow of discussion. Finally, certain research topics are of a sensitive nature (may contain personal or private details) and therefore are unsuitable for a focus group while other topics may be a source of embarrassment to group members (Bryman, 2008). An expert researcher should be aware of and sensitive to these issues. This section has provided a brief overview and rationale of the research design and methodologies employed in this research process. Section 4.5 further justifies the deployment and rationale of the qualitative approaches is.

4.5 Choosing a data collection framework

The two main qualitative methods (interviews and focus groups) were considered the most efficient approaches to explore the issues that migrants encounter in higher education. This section begins with the advantages of using interview based inquiry, while section 4.5.5 discusses the advantages of using focus group research. 'One of the main ingredients of the interview is listening – being very attentive to what the interviewee is saying or is not saying'. This is a difficult balance between being active without being intrusive (Bryman, 2008, 447). The researcher needs to have sufficient background knowledge of the topic to be able to develop questions that draw out what the interviewees regard as important in relation to the topic area. In addition, sufficient

knowledge is needed to understand the information from the perspective of the interviewee (Bryman, 2008, 442). There are four types of interviews in social research, structured, semi-structured, un-structured and focus or group interviews (May, 2001, 121). Structured interviews are survey type interviews, where each person is asked the same question in the same way, so that any differences between answers are 'held to be real ones and not the result of the interview situation itself' (May, 2001, 121).

The structured interview is similar to a questionnaire with a 'range of pre-coded answers' that interviewees respond to (Denscombe, 2003, 166); this is deemed an unsuitable method for this research. Unstructured or focused interviews challenge the 'preconceptions of the researcher, as well as enable the interviewee to answer questions within their own frame of reference' (May, 2001, 124). One of the advantages of an un-structured interview is that 'it provides a greater understanding of the subject's point of view' (May, 2001, 124). This is similar to the ethnographic approach, as it provides a greater understanding of the participant's point of view. Furthermore, it is a flexible approach, which is more suited to research on life histories (2001, 125) and therefore not as appropriate to use in this research. Semi-structured interviews provide the researcher with the opportunity of clarifying, elaborating, probing and exploring greater in-depth meaning (May, 2001, 123), so this is deemed the most suitable method of investigating the current situation confronting migrants in the Irish system of higher education.

In semi-structured interviews, the 'interview researcher is his or her own research tool' (Kvale, 2007, 60). The semi-structured interview is 'possibly the most commonly used qualitative method and has become almost the 'gold standard' approach, against which other data are frequently compared and found wanting' (Barbour, 2008, 128). An interview is an adaptable approach, along with following up ideas, and probing responses, the interviewer can observe 'the way in which a response is made (the tone of voice, facial expression, hesitation, etc.)' which provides additional information on the importance of what is being said (Bell, 2005, 157). Fourteen of the forty-one interviews undertaken for this research were conducted face-to-face, twenty-four were conducted on the telephone and the remaining three interviewees emailed their responses to the researcher, in an 'electronic interview'. This is a relatively new interview approach in qualitative social research so there is very little literature on it,

but Fontana and Frey (2005) suggest that it is 'possible to engage in "virtual interviewing" where Internet connections are used…' (2005, 721). There are advantages and disadvantages of conducting electronic and on-line interviews, which are outlined below.

4.5.1 Advantages/disadvantages of electronic/on-line interviews

The advantages of electronic interviewing are as follows: They are inexpensive to conduct and there is 'speed of return' (Fontana & Frey, 2005, 721). According to Bryman (2008), by availing of electronic forms of interviewing, the researcher is able to reach participants in other countries, which saves time and travel. There is less anxiety on the part of the participant as they are not audio recorded, the interviews do not need to be transcribed, and they are likely to be more accurate. Participants who tend to be shy may respond better and the researcher does not invade the participant's workplace or home (Bryman, 2008, 640-641). The disadvantages are as follows: participants who do not have the Internet cannot take part and rapport may be more difficult to establish depending on the subject of the interview. Probing is difficult but not impossible and there is less spontaneity, but responses tend to be reflective, which is an advantage (Bryman, 2008, 641).

Fontana and Frey (2005) state that where face-to-face interaction is not possible, reading non-verbal signs is not possible, nor are cues obtainable from 'gender, race, age, class, or other personal characteristics' (Fontana & Frey, 2005, 721). Furthermore, participants may not be truthful in their response and preserving 'anonymity in Internet e-mail surveys' is challenging (Fontana & Frey, 2005, 721). It is possible from this researcher's point of view to preserve anonymity, if communication by email is directly between the interviewee and interviewer. As this is a new area under study, 'it remains to be seen whether electronic interviewing will allow researchers to obtain "think description" or accounts of subjective experiences or whether such interviewing will provide the "process content" that is so important to qualitative interviews' (Fontana & Frey, 2005, 721). This mode of interviewing is relatively new, and therefore many unanswered questions remain.

At this point, it is important to state that the researcher had been in contact on a number of occasions with the three participants who responded by email to discuss the

purpose of the research and clarify any areas of uncertainty on their behalf. She also sought and received their permission to quote them anonymously by email. There is further discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of conducting telephone interviews at a later stage in this chapter.

4.5.1.1 Disadvantages of interviews

The following are criticisms of qualitative research, particularly from a quantitative point of view. Qualitative research is often described as very subjective, as the findings rely too heavily on the 'researcher's often unsystematic views about what is significant and important and also upon the close personal relationships that often develop between the researcher and the research participants (Bryman, 2008, 391). Qualitative research is very difficult to replicate because of the way the research may have been conducted. Issues around the biographical construction of the researcher conducting research have also been raised as has the influence of what the researcher considers important. All the variables often prove too difficult to repeat the exact research and get similar results because variables change or influence the research. Variables such as gender or age of the researcher might, for example, make participants think in a different way. Qualitative research is more difficult to 'generalise': what is occurring in one area may not necessarily be occurring in another area (Bryman, 2008, 391-392). There may also be a lack of transparency in how and why participants are chosen and qualitative researchers need to be aware of this. Interview research is also 'time consuming' (Bell, 2005, 157). Furthermore, conducting an interview 'is a highly subjective technique and therefore there is always the danger of bias. Analysing responses can present problems' and it is important not to distort the data (Bell, 2005, 157). These are areas that a researcher needs to be aware of when undertaking semi-structured interviews. The following sub-section considers the interview process.

4.5.1.2 Interview questioning process

The rationale behind developing questions has been emphasised and detailed in the focus group section of this chapter (4.5.5). This sub-section focuses on the different types of questioning methods and approaches in the interview research process. The rationale for conducting interviews should examine how much detailed information is required and how informative the interview experts are (Denscombe, 2003). The

justification 'to go for depth rather than breadth in the material' gives good reason for using the interview approach, on the basis that the research is examining 'privileged information' (Denscombe, 2003, 165).

Kvale explains the various types of questions that can be used in an interview to elicit the type of information the researcher is looking for and includes questions that probe, specify, interpret and structure the interview process (Kvale, 2007, 60-61). Silence is another interview tool that can elicit good information from the interviewee because 'by allowing pauses in the conversation, the subjects have ample time to associate and reflect and then break the silence themselves with significant information' (Kvale, 2007, 61). Finally, interpreting questions means one might re-phrase an answer or clarify an answer in a more direct way (Kvale, 2007). 'It is also likely that the kinds of questions asked will vary in terms of the different stages of a qualitative interview' (Bryman, 2008, 447). A 'set of questions is invaluable as an *aide-memoir*. As we carry out successful interviews we sometimes augment this list with new questions arising from issues or even distinctions…' 'Therefore analytic possibilities are shaped … by the nature of our questioning as we generate data' (Barbour, 2008, 126). The researcher needs to be familiar with the topic as the 'kind of knowledge produced in the interview depends to a considerable extent on the wording of the questions…' (Kvale, 2007, 63).

The researcher selects the transcripts at their 'discretion' and 'this inevitably limits the significance which can be attached to any one extract'; one extract 'can be used as a *piece of evidence* supporting the argument' but cannot 'be presented as proof of a point' (Denscombe, 2003, 188). The following sub-section reviews the importance of the concept of content analysis: widely believed to be one of the best approaches to the analysis of data.

4.5.2 Concept of content analysis

Qualitative research 'very rapidly generates a large cumbersome database', due to extensive interview transcripts and field notes, which can result in the researcher feeling lost or swamped by it all, but 'it is crucial to guard against failing to carry out a true analysis'. There are few well-established and widely accepted rules for the analysis of qualitative data' (Bryman, 2008, 538). There is no codification structure as

such for qualitative data analysis, but 'many writers would argue that this is not necessarily desirable anyway' (Bryman, 2008, 538). There are broad guidelines to qualitative data analysis. All the research data has been analyzed and evaluated through a content analysis method.

Coding is a form of 'analytic scaffolding' which research is built on (Charmaz, 2005, 517). Researchers study their findings meticulously to find new leads and 'gaps in them. Each piece of data ... can inform earlier data'. Therefore researchers who develop 'a code in one interview' can re-check previous interviews for similar codes (Charmaz, 2005, 517). This approach is based on the concepts of grounded theory although it may be used in coding content analysis in comparing 'data with data, data with categories, and category with category' (Charmaz, 2005, 517). The purpose of coding is to be able to develop similar themes and patterns that will form the foundation for the interpretations in the research. As a researcher working on a specific piece of research, it is also important to ensure that the coding system critically analyses the research data and that the coding scheme is the researcher's own. This ensures that the research is more competent (Rapley, 2011, 283). Content analysis allows for the categorisation of the data into themes and similarities and subsequently a system of coding.

> Content analysis is a very transparent research method. The coding scheme and the sampling procedures can be clearly set out so that replications and follow–up studies are feasible. It is this transparency that often causes content analysis to be referred to as an objective method of analysis
> (Bryman, 2004, 195).

Coding the meanings into categories allows the researcher to 'quantify how often specific themes were addressed in a text, and the frequency of themes can then be compared and correlated with other measures' (Kvale, 2007, 105). It is important that the method of analysis permits the researcher to 'maximise the potential for a full and reflective analysis...and allow emergent ideas, concepts, patterns etc. to remain rooted within original data' (Spencer, Ritchie & O'Connor, 2003, 217). This is an important aspect of the research process. The researcher needs to be aware of the validity of the categories and themes. There are four factors that can influence validation, frequency, specificity, emotion and extensiveness, (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 136). This part of the

process allows the researcher to be more critically aware of what is or is not important about the data. Researchers take note of how frequently something is said but 'it is a huge mistake to assume that what is said more frequently is most important. Sometimes a really key insight may have been said only once…You have to know enough about what you are studying to spot a gem when it comes along' (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 136). The concept of 'specificity' suggests that researchers tend to lay more emphasis on feedback that is specific, (2000:136). The concept of 'emotion' suggests that researchers tend to pay more attention 'to comments or themes in which participants show emotion, enthusiasm, passion, or intensity in their answers' (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 136). The final concept is extensiveness, which has similar traits to frequency but is slightly different. Extensiveness refers to how many different people said something. Frequency is how many times something is said', but this could mean one person repeatedly bringing it up; therefore awareness of extensiveness may be warranted in the research, (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 136).

Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor, (2003) describe the linkages found between sets of data as 'matched set linkages' (2003, 248-249). In other words, the attitudes of one sub-section of the data, may agree, in that they all disagree, in response to something, but the reasons may differ as to why they disagree. In data management, it is only by scrutinising the data intensively that the 'lines of enquiry to pursue, or the puzzles posed by the data, begin to emerge' (Ritchie, Spencer & O'Connor, 2003, 261). One common criticism of coding relates to 'the possible problem of losing the context of what is said' (Bryman, 2004, 411). A researcher needs to be very particular about this part of the process in content analysis, as it is important to retain the voice of the research participants, since it is their voice that lays the foundation of the research. Many researchers often feel inundated at this point in the research, as there may be so many codes and interrelated categories that they feel overwhelmed. Bryman (2008) approaches the process step by step. He suggests transcribing interviews as they are conducted, as this is the start of a framework for coding, and 'may sharpen your understanding of the data and help with theoretical sampling' (Bryman, 2008, 55). Theoretical sampling is a concept of grounded theory and it refers to 'sampling carried out so that emerging theoretical considerations guide the selection of cases and/or research participants' (Bryman, 2008, 700). At this stage in the analysis, the researcher should be thinking about developing general theoretical ideas in the data, (Bryman,

2008, 550-552) and developing linkages. Essentially, the researcher is refining notes into codes, an approach also known as the 'long table approach' where notes were cut and pasted into groups and themes (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 132). However, Bryman suggests that computer software is now increasingly being used to perform these tasks (2008, 552).

Initially, the researcher began coding, using NVivo 8 as a replacement for the 'long-table approach' as a cutting and pasting tool but had to revert back to the 'long-table approach' when working from a different computer which did not have the NVivo8 programme on it. NVivo is one of the most commonly used computer software packages (Barbour, 2008, 195). Computer 'software warrants serious consideration because of its power and flexibility' (Bryman, 2008:582), even though criticisms have been raised that qualitative software packages will become more like quantitative research in that it creates a temptation to quantify findings (Bryman, 2008, 566). There is also a fear that the narrative flow of interview transcripts and events recorded in field notes may be lost, as the software reinforces the 'code and retrieve process' (Bryman, 2008, 566). It has also been argued that the flow of communication between focus group participants could be mislaid in the code and retrieve process. On the positive side, it has been argued that CAQDAS may be helpful in the development of explanations, such as age gender and so on. Software programmes like NVivo create the opportunity for the researcher to 'think about codes that are developed in terms of 'trees' of interrelated ideas...and [this] urges the analyst to consider possible connections between codes, (Bryman, 2008, 567). Many researchers use both methods: computer software and pen and paper (Barbour, 2008). The interview process also involved interviews conducted over the telephone, which will be discussed in the following section.

4.5.3 Telephone interview approach

As previously stated, the interviews were conducted face-to-face and over the telephone. This was not a planned decision initially but one that became necessary. Travelling to interview participants became problematic, time consuming, wasteful and expensive, particularly long distance travel. The decision to carry out telephone interviews was debated owing to the possibility of losing quality data and, it was a research approach of which the researcher had little experience. The decision to

conduct the remaining interviews over the telephone was determined by time constraints, transport and financial costs. They provided precise and condensed data which tended to be very informative. In addition to adding to the body of knowledge, a large percentage of participants suggested other people who might be interested in contributing to the research (snowball referral), even though these individuals might have been 'targeted' already. Irvine (2010) has conducted research comparing the differences, if any, between face-to-face interviews and interviews conducted over the telephone.

4.5.3.1 Differences between face-to-face and telephone interviews

According to Irvine (2010), there has been a long held belief that telephone interviews should be avoided in qualitative research (Irvine, 2010, 1a). This is because they have been associated with market research. But there are advantages in conducting telephone interviews, 'including resource savings, increased access and inclusion, and ethical concerns around anonymity where topics are of a particularly sensitive nature' (Irvine, 2010, 1a).

Irvine explains the aim of the research in her background paper (2010a), which concerns the 'possible *interactional* differences that may (or may not) exist between telephone and face-to-face interviews' (Irvine, 2010, 3a). Her research was more interested in differences, if any, in duration and depth of the interview methods, the monitoring, reception and comprehension of the interview methods, turn-taking, overlapping and silence and finally the rapport and 'naturalness' of the interview methods (Irvine, 2010, 4a). There are other advantages and disadvantages of telephone interviewing.

4.5.3.2 Advantages of telephone interviews

Bryman (2008) agrees with the points Irvine makes on the advantages of telephone interviews compared to face-to-face interviews. Sometimes in face-to-face interviews, the 'respondents' replies are sometimes 'affected by characteristics of the interviewer (for example, class, ethnicity)' or by the interviewer's presence alone, where the participant may answer questions in a way that they think the interviewer wants to

hear. 'The remoteness of the interviewer in telephone interviewing removes this potential source of bias to a significant extent' (Bryman, 2008, 198).

4.5.3.3 Disadvantages of telephone interviews

It is difficult to sustain a telephone interview beyond twenty to twenty five minutes. Respondents who are hard of hearing may find them difficult. The response rate is traditionally lower than with face-to-face interviews, but 'there is little consistent evidence on the question' (Bryman, 2008, 198). The interviewee may be unable to 'remember all details of a question to voice an accurate opinion or may forget the first response option by the time the fourth is read'. Also the interviewer has no facial clues whether the interviewee is following or 'comprehending' the question, (Frey & Oishi, 1995, 73).

A further disadvantage is that 'telephone interviewers cannot engage in observation', and therefore cannot respond to questions that create anxiety or unease (Bryman, 2008, 198). Furthermore, telephone interviews cannot observe (as part of the interview) what Bryman calls 'subsidiary information in connection with their visits (for example, whether the house is dilapidated). Such information cannot be collected when telephone interviews are employed' (Bryman, 2008, 199). Certain areas of research may be dependent on visual clues which provide a wider picture, aiding a specific research study. The disadvantages listed did not apply to this research, as the interviewees were 'targeted' purposefully because of their experience and knowledge, and all were willing participants. All the participants were sent a set of questions prior to the interview and the research shows that they were engaged with the questions as part of the thinking and response process. Research issues can be sensitive and there are different views on whether sensitive issues can be addressed over the telephone.

4.5.3.4 Conducting sensitive interviews

Bryman (2008) makes the point that telephone interviews may not be appropriate for exploring sensitive issues such as alcoholism (2008, 198). Irvine does not agree and argues that telephone interviewing can address sensitive issues. Irvine (2010) conducted a small social research survey, using both telephone and face-to-face interviews, concluding that both methods were successful in gathering similar data. In

fact, She argues that a number of contemporary researchers who conducted telephone research have come up with similar views that they can be successful. Her research is still ongoing (Irvine, 2010). The following section explores the dominant research methods employed.

4.5.4 Research method and approaches

A methodology is a framework of theoretical principles and guidelines underpinning the research. 'Research methods should be appropriate to the research questions' (Bryman, 2008, 395). On specifying the research questions, it is important that the research method and approaches are selected that are suited to the analysis of data. The main research methods associated with qualitative research, according to Bryman, are ethnography/participant observation, qualitative interviewing, focus groups, language-based approaches and the 'collection and qualitative analysis of texts and documents' (Bryman, 2008, 369). Qualitative research has three features worthy of attention. It is inductive of the 'relationship between theory and research, whereby the former is generated out of the latter' (Bryman, 2008, 366). It has an epistemological position because it interprets the social world and the participants in that social world (Bryman, 2008).

Whittaker (2009) describes interpretivism as a broad term that challenges the research methods of the natural sciences for not taking into account the viewpoints of participants, an important feature of qualitative research, as one must understand the meaning of what is being said (Whittaker, 2009, 9). The third feature is an ontological position which is constructionist and means that social outcomes are derived from interactions with 'individuals , rather than phenomena 'out there' and separate from those involved in the construction' (Bryman, 2008, 66). The methodology chapter should outline the researcher's epistemological position or stance on the assumption of the legitimate knowledge in the body of the research (Whittaker, 2009). Sarantakos (2005) considers constructionism, interpretivism and relativism as the most common theoretical foundations of qualitative methodology. Construction theory focuses on the fact that reality is constructed when the human mind focuses on it. 'The construction of reality is an active process of creating a world. The reality people experience in everyday life is a constructed reality – their reality – based on interpretation' (Sarantakos, 2005, 37). The basic assumptions of constructionism are that 'research

focuses on the construction of meanings' and that meanings 'emerge out of people's interaction' with their world; it is the people who construct the world they live in, (Sarantakos, 2005, 37). Constructed realities are presented in many forms and therefore cannot be regarded as coming from the one 'source of knowledge about reality' but as variations of reality (Sarantakos, 2005, 38).

> The key process that facilitates construction and reconstruction is *interpretation*. This involves reflective assessment of the reconstructed impressions of the world and integration of action processes in a general context, which will constitute a new unit
> (Sarantakos, 2005, 39).

Interpretivism is a framework within qualitative research (Sarantakos, 2005, 40) which explores the research through social traditions, histories, social norms and cultures. There are a number of criticisms of interpretivism, which conclude that it is difficult to monitor the intention, the reason and the motives of interpretivist inquiry. 'Accounts of researcher and respondents may vary and be competing' (Sarantakos, 2005, 41). Also 'interpretivism fails to acknowledge the role of institutional structure, particularly division of interest and relations of power', (2005, 41), in other words, the social construction of 'gender' and 'power role' norms that can interplay and impact on research, making the findings appear questionable. The meanings of norms and beliefs held in society are not addressed, nor are the different belief systems in different societies. The common theoretical foundations have many aspects in common, as all are based in the human/social side of the environment, in and through people which relate their beliefs and values. A qualitative paradigm is a framework of beliefs, values, and methods that underpins the whole body of the research.

One of the central concepts of qualitative research is that it is a perception of reality that is subjective, constructed, multiple and diverse and 'resides in the minds of people who construct it', although the 'realities are different' as people can experience the world differently: human beings are central and active members of their world (Sarantakos, 2005, 41). The differences between qualitative and quantitative approaches do not suggest differences in quality but in purpose. Both possess certain qualities that make them suitable for studying particular aspects of reality (Sarantakos, 2005, 49) and they can be used in research to effectively complement each other. A

quantitative approach in social science research is more scientifically based, as opposed to the reflectivity and analysis basis of qualitative research. When research is subjective as opposed to objective, this means the research approach uses judgments that influence the results, whereas objective research uses 'instruments or standardised procedures that precisely measure something without human influence (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 200). Standardised procedures are used to analyse the qualitative data; the researcher must be careful:

> to distinguish the findings from our interpretations and recommendations. We expect more subjectivity in the interpretations and recommendations. But these are also the parts of the study that are open to debate. People with different backgrounds and different experiences may very well come up with different interpretations and recommendations
> (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 200).

Criticisms of qualitative research include that it is much harder to prove how objective and reliable the research is because of the very nature of the research.

4.5.4.1 Criticisms of the reliability of qualitative research

The following are criticisms of qualitative research particularly from quantitative researchers. Qualitative research is too subjective because the findings 'rely too much on the researcher's often unsystematic views about what is significant and important, and also upon the close personal relationships that the researcher frequently strikes up with the people studied' (Bryman, 2008, 391). Qualitative research is too difficult to replicate because of the way the research has been conducted, and is even influenced by who conducts it. Furthermore, the topics or issues the researcher initially considered important may change, or could prove too difficult to repeat the same research, because variables change, as nothing remains static in social science. An example of a variable that may influence or change the research is the gender or age of the researcher. A male researcher may approach or understand the research from a different perspective to that of a female researcher. Or for example, a twenty year old researcher may think differently from a forty year old researcher regarding a certain situation. Or they may ask specific questions that are of interest to them because they have a different perspective (Bryman, 2008, 391). Qualitative research is more difficult to 'generalise'. What is occurring in one area may not necessarily be occurring in another. Qualitative research findings are generalised to theory. 'It is the quality of the

theoretical inferences that are made out of qualitative data that is crucial to the assessment of generalisation' (Bryman, 2008, 391-392). The following principles help to ensure the research is reliable, valid and objective.

> Objectivity is the research principle that requires that all the personal values and views of the investigator must be kept out of the research process. The purpose of this is to minimise personal prejudice and bias, to guarantee that social reality will be present as it is, and not as the investigator interprets it, imagines it or wants it to be
> (Sarantakos, 2005, 92).

The concept of validity ensures that 'the instrument measure what it is supposed to measure' (Sarantakos, 2005, 91) and that it ensures 'accurate results'. Reliability ensures that the instrument produces the 'same results every time it is employed' (Sarantakos, 2005, 91). Qualitative researchers 'reject the notion of objectivity' because in its very nature, qualitative research is grounded in 'interpretivist epistemology', so that, on the contrary, personal views and interpretation are 'considered an advantage' (Sarantakos, 2005:94). The epistemology underlying qualitative research is that the researcher is looking through the eyes of someone else and seeing the social world as they see it (Bryman, 2008). With regard to the validity and reliability of the transcripts, a small number of the interviewees requested their data to be returned for validation and /or to confirm what they said at their interview 'read well'. Also the researcher sent back transcriptions to some participants to rule out possible language inferences, so that the transcriptions could be verified by the participants, particularly those whose first language was not English. This was to ensure that the tone and the implied content of the transcript were as intended.

> Respondent validation has been particularly popular among qualitative researchers, because they frequently want to ensure that there is a good correspondence between their findings and the perspectives and the experiences of their research participants
> (Bryman, 2008, 377).

One disadvantage of respondent validation is that it can cause 'censorship' as participants may restrict the use of the information they contributed (Bryman, 2008, 378). None of the research participants restricted the findings. The following section creates an understanding of the benefits of triangulation.

4.5.4.2 Triangulation

With regard to the validity of findings, triangulation is 'often cited as one of the central ways of 'validating' qualitative research evidence' (Ritchie, 2003, 43). It is a 'three-point perspective on an event or phenomenon' (Edwards & Talbot, 1999, 55). It can involve the 'use of different methods and sources to check the integrity of, or extent, inferences drawn from the data' (Ritchie, 2003, 43). Triangulation is viewing the research from either different methods or different views but basically, it is the corroboration or confirmation that the research is reliable and valid (Thomas, 2009, 111-112). It is a deepening of the 'understanding of a subject through the combination of multiple readings' (Lewis & Ritchie, 2003, 275). Some researchers suggest that triangulation is acknowledged as using a multi-method approach, that is using 'different methods in different combinations' to create more meaningful data (Fontana & Frey, 2005, 722). Other researchers (Richardson & St Pierre, 2005) suggest that triangulation in qualitative inquiry should be replaced by 'crystallization', to include the 'incorporation of various disciplines as part of [a] mutli-faceted qualitative research design' (Janesick, 2003, 67). Essentially, advocates of 'crystallization' see this entire concept 'as a better lens through which to view qualitative research designs and their components' (Janesick, 2003, 67). The idea of the crystal is that it has so many sides, shapes and angles that make it multi-viewable from so many perspectives. There are many perspectives on the concept of triangulation and there are also a number of criticisms. Triangulation does tend to give a fuller picture but it is not necessarily a more convincing one, particularly from an ontological perspective. One criticism Ritchie (2003) states is that:

> there is no single reality or conception of the social world to ascertain and that attempting to do so through the use of multiple sources of information is futile. Second, it is argued on epistemological grounds, that all methods have a specificity in terms of data they yield and thus they are unlikely to generate perfectly concordant evidence
> (Ritchie, 2003, 44).

Having said that, the advantages of using different methods outweigh the disadvantages. The following section concentrates on the advantages of using focus group research.

4.5.5 Focus group research process

The two main qualitative methods (interviews and focus groups) were considered the most efficient approaches in exploring the issues that migrants encounter in higher education. This section concentrates on the focus group research process. The objective of the focus group research was to examine the experience of migrants and migrant students in accessing higher education opportunities. The purpose of focus group research is to collect information, listen, and learn. The 'participants are preselected' and the approach is compiled of 'open-ended questions that allow participants to select the manner of their response' (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 192-193). The 'logic of sampling in qualitative research is different. The purpose of the study and the nature of what is discovered determine the sample type and size' (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 206). In focus group research, the 'quality of the study is not dependent on the size of the study', unlike the size and random sampling of quantitative research (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 205).

The 'strategy is to use purposeful sampling, whereby the researcher selects participants based on the purpose of the study' (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 204). Purposeful sampling is 'selecting individuals who fit the criteria that were central to the main topic of the research' (Bryman, 2008, 376). All the focus group participants were chosen purposefully for the focus group research. The student group - consisting of five students - was ideal for this section of the study. The small number of students was good, as their accents were very different and required the full attention of the researcher. In contrast, the North Africans, the Polish and the Kurdish focus groups were separate groups with similar accents and shared cultural background experiences. The opportunity to conduct the student focus group arose when a workshop on racism and inclusion was held at the Institute of Technology Sligo. This event attracted a number of students from outside of Ireland. At the end of the workshop, the researcher spoke to the students about the research and the prospect of their participation. A number of students indicated having an interest in participating in a focus group and put their contact details forward. This was the basis of the student focus group selection process. Dr Pender had prearranged the three focus groups with the Polish, the Africans and the Kurdish, on the predetermined dates and the researcher conduced and transcribed the tape recordings from each focus group. Focus group participants

are chosen, 'because they have special knowledge or experiences that are helpful in the study' (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 204).

A focus group is a carefully planned series of discussions where participants respond to each other's ideas and comments (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 5). The 'role of the moderator is to ask questions, listen, keep the conversation on track', and ensure all the participants have a chance to communicate their opinions and experiences (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 9). The Institute of Technology Sligo was a natural setting in which to conduct the focus groups in the Sligo region. 'Focus groups are typically composed of five – ten people ... the group must be small enough for everyone to have an opportunity to share insights and yet large enough to provide diversity of perception' (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 10).

Each individual presents their own opinions and experiences and listens to each other; 'they listen, reflect on what is said, and in the light of this consider their own standpoint further', generating additional material. Participants respond to what they hear and prompt each other, resulting in a more in-depth understanding of the research questions (Finch & Lewis, 2001, 171). The three focus groups conducted in 2008 had a similar agenda or topic guide. The student focus group had a singular topic guide but there were similarities between the two. The questions followed five specific types of categories.

4.5.5.1 Focus groups question design

There were five categories of questions, 'each with a distinctive function in the flow of a focus group interview' including opening, introductory, transition, key and ending questions (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 44). The opening question is designed to get the participants to contribute to the discussion and is factually based. 'Introductory questions introduce the topic of discussion and get people to start thinking about their connection with the topic. These questions encourage conversation among participants' (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 44). This type of question allows the moderator to initially understand participants' insights of the issues raised. Transition questions create the opportunity to move the discussion towards the key questions of the study (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 45) which are the central core and which allow the moderator to probe more deeply and clarify any responses that participants provide.

The ending questions bring 'closure to the discussion, enabling participants to reflect on previous comments, and are critical to analysis' (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 45). These may be presented in three formats, '(1) 'the all-things-considered question, (2) the summary question and (3) the final question' (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 45). The general questions lead on to the specific key questions. It is a good rule of practice to ask a positive question before a negative one, which 'allows participants to comment on both sides of the issue and in some situations, this is particularly important' (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 62). Fink (1995), however, suggests that a researcher should not ask a negative question, as it tends to lead the participant to ignore what the question is actually looking for, as 'negative questions are difficult for many respondents to answer because they require an exercise in logical thinking' (Fink, 1995, 29). 'If necessary, a question which might seem to invite a particular response can be 'neutralised' by adding 'or not?'' (Legard, Keegan & Ward, 2003, 154). It is important to establish 'that there are no right or wrong answers (Legard *et al*, 2003, 156), whereby assuring the participants that the research process is open and non-judgmental.

Occasionally, 'probing' is required using various probing type questions (Krueger & Casey, 2000, 110). One can also probe by repeating a question, asking a direct question, allowing time for reflection and highlighting 'differences in views', to encourage group discussion (Finch & Lewis, 2003, 182). A common criticism which can be beneficial to the research if used in a positive way is that focus group research tends to force 'participants to conform to a socially acceptable viewpoint' (Finch & Lewis, 2003, 188). Other researchers, such as Denscombe, agree with this point (2003, 168). Conforming to acceptable viewpoints sets a challenge for the researcher in drawing out the participants' true insights. Finch and Lewis suggest that the researcher could ask a direct question (2003, 188), or they could ask if there are any situations in which the group would feel and respond differently (2003, 189), or they could use the third person approach, 'some people might say...' (Finch & Lewis, 2003, 189). Otherwise Denscombe argues participants 'might be inclined to keep quiet or moderate their views somewhat' (Denscombe, 2003, 168). These techniques offer the opportunity to challenge the participants' statements at a more in-depth level.

4.5.5.2 Characteristics and influences of focus group research

At times, clarification was required, due to accents, pronunciation, and choice of words; this tended to interrupt the flow. The researcher found it was important to clarify points of concern as they occurred, as mishearing data would distort it, so particular attention was paid to this, especially with the student group. A double check of the data was conducted when it was transcribed. Sections of the transcription were colour coded and returned to the particular students, who confirmed that what was transcribed was exactly what they meant to convey and that the researcher had captured this as intended. This was a requirement of the student group because their accents were different from each other and some had more developed English language skills than others. Some of the participants in the Kurdish group translated for others in their group, particularly those whose English language was poor. There was a Polish language translator present during the Polish group session. The participants in the North African group were all proficient in English language communication skills.

4.5.5.3 Advantages of focus group research

As with any type of research method, there are advantages and disadvantages. The following presents some of the advantages. Participants in the focus groups are more encouraged to talk to one another (May, 2001:125). Focus group research allows the researcher to observe 'how people respond to each other's views and build up a view out of the interaction that takes place within the group'(Bryman, 2004, 346). A great advantage is that the interaction between members of the group presents the 'opportunity of allowing people to probe each other's reasons for holding a certain view' (Bryman, 2004, 348), but, more importantly, 'participants are able to bring to the fore issues in relation to a topic that they deem to be important and significant' (Bryman 2004, 348). Other advantages of focus group research are that the 'results are relatively easy to understand' and the approach is flexible and can be used in a variety of settings with a variety of individuals (Edwards & Talbot, 1999, 105). Finally some participants feel greater security in group discussions, compared to one-to-one interviews (Barbour, 2008, 134).

4.5.5.4 Disadvantages of focus group research

The challenges to be aware of in focus group research include the following points: the 'interpretation of open-ended questions may be difficult', individual participants may dominate group discussion with 'strong views' and the researcher may 'directly or indirectly' bias the data (Edwards & Talbot, 1999, 105). There may be gender issues in focus group inquiry, as 'men tend to hog the centre stage in group discussions'; women's opinions may be passed over in focus group inquiry (Denscombe, 2003, 168). Researchers disagree as to whether focus groups or face-to-face interviews can explore sensitive issues; Barbour suggests giving the participants the choice (2008, 134). There may also be cultural issues; there are subcultures where 'focus groups may be more attractive to women than they are to men', while other cultures may inhibit men and women mixing together (Barbour, 2008, 134). In spite of these arguments, focus group research is deemed to be most suited to explore the issues and experiences of migrants in accessing the Irish higher education system. The following is a summary of the research interview process and the justification of the purposeful selection process of the research participants.

4.6 Research interview

The purpose of the research is to examine the higher education needs of migrants, interviewing strategic participants in education, and examining the policies impacting education. Choosing key professionals whose expertise has been grounded in the third level sector and its environment was a definitive and meticulous process. Participants were purposefully chosen because of their background expertise, the work they were engaged in, or the positions they held. A certain percentage were chosen by this method, a number of whom were referrals by previous interviewees who had a genuine interest in the research. Participants whose backgrounds were similar, such as the representatives of the Higher Education Authority or the Department of Education and Skills, were interviewed with a similar set of questions and grouped together for the purpose of analysis. The interviewees were grouped with people who shared similar background expertise and experience. The groups included:

- Representatives from regional organisations such as the HSE and community based coordinators (6);

- Representatives from NGOs such as the Migrants Rights Centre (6);

- EU representatives from the EU Commission, the European political parties and Irish MEPs (8);

- Representatives from Irish politicians and Trade Union spokespersons (5);

- Representatives from State departments such as the Higher Education Authority and the Department of Education and Skills (7);

- Representatives from the third level sector (academic perspective) (5);

- Representatives from the third level sector (student services perspective) (4).

Initially, participants were grouped together according to their expertise. Nevertheless, there were similarities and interrelated themes across the research data from the beginning. For example, all interviewees regarded English language proficiency as important. Therefore, the research findings were linked and interrelated. The data from each group were initially analyzed separately but as the data from each group was familiar, the final data were presented together. The interviews began at a local level and finished at an international level which the researcher found less daunting. Overall, the research consisted of forty-one interviews and four focus groups. Each individual from each group is identified as follows:

- Representatives from regional organisations are classified as a Regional State Representative (RSR);

- Representatives from NGOs are classified as a Non-Government Organisation Representative (NGOR);

- EU representatives from the EU Commission, the European political parties and Irish MEPs are classified as an EU State Representative (EUR);

- Representatives from Irish politicians and Trade Union spokespersons are classified as an Irish Political Representative (IPR);

- Representatives from National State departments are classified as a Irish State Representative (ISR); Representatives from the third level sector are classified as an Academic Representative (AR);

- Representatives from the third level sector (student services perspective) are classified as a Student Services Representative (SSR);

- Representatives from the focus groups are classified as either a focus group representative (FGR) or a Student Group Representative (SGR) in the presentation and analysis chapters.

The following is an analysis of the interview process. The majority of the interviews were conducted between November 2009 and October 2010. All the regional interviews were conducted face-to-face. After the regional interviews were conducted, (9 in total), the interviews continued on a nationwide basis. Most of the interviewees were based in Dublin (22). At the beginning face-to-face interviews were conducted but it quickly became clear that this was too expensive and too time consuming, so they were conducted over the telephone for the remaining interviewees in Dublin, Cork, Navan, Galway, Belfast and Brussels.

The main interview strategy began at a regional level. This included interviewing representatives of the community and adult education sector who represent the Vocational Education Committees (VECs) and the Health Service Executive sector (HSE) in counties Donegal, Sligo, and Leitrim. These six interviewees had continued contact with migrants through the education courses and services they delivered in the community and therefore possessed first-hand knowledge of migrants at a local level. The set of questions was not specifically designed for this group, but designed to suit several of the interviewees, particularly those who worked with migrants or regularly had contact with them. The purpose of the questions was to create an understanding of the kinds of barriers migrants encounter in accessing education which would have an impact on employment from the perspective of national Non-Governmental organisations (Migrants Rights Centre of Ireland and Integration Ireland), and other identified groups such as the Irish State sector (FÁS, HEA). The following is an explanation of the issues explored.

4.6.1 Issues for Non-governmental organisations

The questions sought and explored the following. Did the organisation:

- advertise their services;
- have specific policy supports to meet the needs of migrants;
- have specific policy supports to meet additional student supports;

- provide induction training programmes;
- evaluate English language proficiency;
- evaluate the skills and future skills needs of migrants; and,
- recognise qualification recognition and prior learning?

Fundamentally, these questions were generated so as to elucidate any barriers to access to education, obstacles to employment and barriers facing migrants who have become unemployed. There was a focus on the issues specific to this region and the explicit barriers encountered here. The closing question ascertained how institutions can shape the demand for third level education. A copy of the questions can be viewed in the appendix.

The representatives of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) such as Integration Ireland, and regional organisations representing migrants' interests and education, such as the Mayo Intercultural Action, were included in this group. Their background expertise included migrants' rights activists, education policy officers, integration policy officers, and directors and CEOs of national and regional organisations. Representatives of the organisations were asked similar questions to those outlined above.

As the interviews progressed, a number of statements emerged from interviewees, such as 'incidents of racism are on the increase'; this was added to the set above as it was deemed important to explore the impact of racism. Another issue of importance that surfaced was the impact of successive budget constraints on education and on organisations such as the NCCRI. The emerging situation was that, on the one hand, there are increasing numbers of students accessing higher education, while on the other, there has been a decrease in resources due to successive budget cuts, which has had a negative impact on the services that third level colleges can provide.

As Ireland's relatively recent education, employment and immigration policies have been largely influenced by EU policy, there was significant input from representatives of the European Commission, and the European political parties. The seven EU representatives were chosen because of their combined background experience, an

education policy officer, a migration policy co-coordinator, head of the political section, project officer on migration and development, and political analysts and advisors. The EU group representatives included Irish Members of the European Parliament (MEPs), as they contributed to the research on policy and practice from a European perspective. A number of MEPs were contacted to participate in the research. Two of them were chosen because they were substitute members of two EU Committees relevant to the research, combined with their role in Irish politics. One was more knowledgeable about outward migration than inward migration and therefore declined to participate in the research. The third MEP is still in the process of responding to the research. One MEP and one EU representative conducted the interview by email, as this was more convenient for them.

One of the Irish politicians responded to the interview by email after they conducted additional in-depth research on the issues concerned. A number of Irish politicians were contacted, specifically those who were party or frontbench spokespersons on education and 'integration'. Three Irish politicians participated, all of whom were knowledgeable on issues around education policy. A small number did not respond, even when contacted repeatedly. Two Trade Union officials participated, as their knowledge and awareness of migrants were similar to those of the Irish politicians and they therefore formed part of the Irish group of politicians.

Obtaining the views of politicians and policy makers on policies that underpin practices was vital, in understanding how and why policies are developed and evaluated to address ongoing issues of concern. This was important from a European perspective as EU social and public policy increasingly underpins many Irish policies and practices. Therefore, the European Commission representatives, the European politicians, the MEPs, the Irish politicians and Trade Union officials were asked questions designed to explore specific policy on education, employment and migration. The appropriate terms 'Irish', 'EU' and 'Commission' were used in the interviews where necessary. Policy questions also explored the importance of:

- English language proficiency;
- integration policies;
- qualification recognition and prior learning;

- future skills needs and future employment patterns;
- role of third level colleges; and,
- issues around a knowledge based society.

Specific policies designed to address the precise needs of migrants were analysed. These included education and employment policies specifically tailored to meet the needs of migrants. Policies that might hinder migrants in education, employment and unemployment were also investigated. Representatives of organisations from the Irish State sector were included in the research and represented key education policy, practice and decision-makers. This group included representatives from the Health Service Executive (HSE), the Higher Education and Training Awards Council (HETAC), the Department of Education and Skills, the Office of the Minister for Integration, the Irish Vocational Education Association (IVEA), Foras Aíseanna Saothair (FAS), the Higher Education Authority (HEA), the National Qualifications Authority of Ireland (NQAI), and the Central Statistics Office (CSO). The combined expertise from the State sector included a head of department, a manager of operations, a principle education and integration officer, a senior policy analyst, a planning specialist in social inclusion, an education research officer, a statistician, a manager of operations, a director of social inclusion, and a director of quality assurance. All the interviewees, with the exception of one, responded to a similar set of questions to those for non-Governmental organisations.

One of the interviewees in this group agreed to take part in the interview process on the basis that their expertise was in national research and it was agreed that questions around policy and policy development would not be asked during the interview as this was not their area of expertise. Accordingly, the participant was interviewed on the basis of their employment status and the fact that they had co-authored an official publication pertaining to migrants in 2008. The interviewee questions were designed in relation to this publication. The type of questions the interviewee responded to included the following:

- what attracted migrants to Ireland;
- what factors left migrants at risk from unemployment;

- will the labour market continue to need migrant workers;

- are there similarities in education between migrants and the indigenous population;

- are there similarities in skills between migrants and the indigenous population; and,

- are migrants who have not finished their full time education at a greater risk in the current economic climate?

Most of the representatives of this group were based in Dublin and were interviewed face-to-face. Many of the interviewees had dual roles and spoke on policy and practice from different perspectives, such as education or 'integration'. This was a definitive feature of this research. Numerous participants in most of the groupings had dual roles such as the one above.

The group representing the third level academic sector all have/had dual roles and were purposefully identified as qualified to participate in the research as a result of their background experiences. Two of the interviewees were based in Dublin, two in Cork, and one in Belfast. All five had extensive experience in the higher education sector and were interviewed by telephone. Three of them had held positions as either head of department or a director and three of them had specialized in working with migrant organisations or conducted research on migrant issues. All have published various articles, reports, chapters, official publications, and books. Two of the participants specialised, among other issues, in racist and anti-racist policy and practice, one in the history of conflict and the impact on the community. This interviewee was chosen on the basis of their specific knowledge of oppressive practices, and the importance of 'integration' and anti-racist policy. They responded to a modified set of questions that reflected this experience and specifically drew on this information and they were not asked specific policy questions, such as what policies might hinder access to education, but rather asked questions that examined the following areas of concern:

- the importance of proficiency in English language;
- the significance of 'integration' policy;
- the consequence and impact of anti-racist policy and practice.

The final third level group consisted of the Access and Student Servicers Officers. The objective of interviewing key education stakeholders was to examine current education policies and practices with regard to migrants. Two of these interviews were conducted in 2008, in the Institute of Technology Sligo. The other two interviews were conducted in 2010 with participants from the Institute of Technology, Sligo and University College Dublin. The Access and Student Services Officers group were asked specific questions designed to examine the following aspects of migrants in accessing higher education. The following policy and practice issues were explored: and included policy on the:

- recognition of qualifications and prior learning;
- additional specific student supports;
- specific policies to target migrant students such as the evaluation of English language proficiency, relevant information on courses and on the education system;
- Induction training courses for students and staff.

This group also responded to questions that included future employment patterns, future skills needs of migrants and how the third level sector will shape or direct the future demands of third level provision. All the groups responded to very similar questions on policy and practice from their organisation's perspective. The wording of a question may have differed according to what group was being addressed. One such example was changing the sentence from 'what policies might hinder migrants in accessing education' to 'what EU policies might hinder migrants in accessing education?' A detailed explanation and rationalization of the format of the questions has been discussed in section 4.5.5 of this chapter.

4.6.2 Research focus group

Initially, the research began with a series of focus groups conducted in 2008 in County Sligo, with migrants from Poland, in County Leitrim, with a group of Kurdish Programme refugees and in County Mayo, with migrants mainly from Nigeria. Both male and female migrants participated voluntarily in the focus groups. Each focus group lasted between one and two hours and was recorded using a dictaphone. The same topic guide was used in each session and it was quite similar to the one used in

the EiE project. This explored each person's nationality, the length of time each person has been living in Ireland and their impressions of Irish society. Experiences of racism and discrimination were discussed, along with the issue of 'integration' and whether they encountered any cultural barriers in their attempt to 'integrate'. Another topic brought up for discussion was whether the participants perceived barriers in accessing third level education, whether they believed they were entitled to third level education, and, for example, would their future in Ireland depend on up-learning? Proficiency in English language, both oral and written, was another relevant topic explored. RPL and qualification recognition were additional topics for discussion along with the barriers participants encountered in this respect and the barriers in obtaining the on existing information and accessing the appropriate services. The final topic explored the participants' perspective on a future in Ireland and this closed the focus group dialogue. Each participant was given a small token in the form of a voucher to be used in a local department store. These vouchers were funded by the Strategic Innovation Fund. Participants were not aware of the vouchers until the focus group activity was completed. Basically, the voucher was a 'stipend' of €20. Economically it was not a large enough sum to sway the views of participants, even if they had known of the existence of the vouchers prior to the research activity.

The focus group involving Polish participants was conducted at the Institute of Technology Sligo on the 18th December 2007. Nine participants, including an interpreter, participated. Initially contact was made with the established Polish Community in Sligo, to inquire about their interest in participating in the focus group activity. The focus group comprising Kurdish nationals was conducted in County Leitrim on the 13th of March 2008 and comprised nine members of the Kurdish community (all undertaking the Foreign Nationals Course supported by Leitrim VEC and funded by the Back To Education Initiative). The initial contact with the Kurdish community in County Leitrim was conducted through the coordinator of this programme, to establish their interests in the research process. The third and final focus group involved a number of African nationals and took place in County Mayo. Eleven participants attended, on the 26th of February 2008. The participants were contacted through the coordinator of the Mayo Intercultural Centre in Castlebar, which had a large community of North Africans to determine their interests in participating in the research process.

The focus group questions for the above groups were designed to explore the following issues: participants' impressions of Ireland, issues around racism and 'integration' and cultural differences between nationalities. English language proficiency and the importance of communication skills were also included for exploration as were issues and concerns around education. These issues and concerns included the financial impact of returning to education and other barriers such as sourcing relevant information about third level options and finance. Issues around qualification recognition and prior learning attainment were addressed in tandem with questions that sought to elucidate on the extent to which participants believed they had a right to a higher education in Ireland. The last section of the topic guide attempted to shed some light on the participants' future plans, aspirations, hopes and fears.

Preparations for the focus group research were conducted prior to holding the groups and this took into account factors such as room size, acoustics, seating, recording equipment, the topic guide, and the consent forms for participants. The student focus group, composed of migrant participants already studying for higher degrees in Ireland, was conducted on the 23rd of April 2010.This group was composed of participants from Poland, Malaysia, Malta, and South Africa (2). The student participants volunteered, prior to the focus group activity, at a Diversity Workshop held in the Institute. This focus group was conducted to explore the issues migrant students encounter in accessing higher education. The questions were designed to include the following areas: college supports, Irish cultural norms, employment, and issues around Irish education. Topics were:

- College Supports
- college guidance and supports;
- college support improvements – additional supports needed;
- relevant course information;
- accommodating college services i.e. library, canteen, administration etc.
- Irish Cultural Norms / Differences
- cultural differences and comparisons and their impact;
- language/accents and difficulties;
- Irish friendships.

- <u>Employment</u>
- employment outside of college;
- employment difficulties;
- employment versus study.
- <u>Irish Education</u>
- difficulties encountered in college;
- comparisons between the Irish education system and the country of origin;
- interaction with lecturing staff;
- expectations and outcomes of college;
- financial aspect of college and how college was financed;
- things good /not so good about Ireland and would they recommend Irish education to others.

4.7 Issues encountered in the research process

The research investigated and examined the education needs of migrants. One of the barriers that migrants encountered, that impacted integration into education and employment, was lack of proficiency in English. Migrants had acquired different levels of English language skills, which ranged from good levels of communication skills, to very poor levels, or none whatsoever. This was an issue encountered in the 2008 SIF research process. An interpreter translated the proceedings for participants who had poor or no English language skills, particularly among those in the Polish group. Occasionally questions were presented in a number of different ways, to ensure that migrants with low levels of English language skills understood the questions they were asked. This provided migrants with a greater opportunity of responding to the research questions about their experiences.

Researchers often encounter simple challenges in qualitative research, such as the speed at which people speak, the tone or pitch of the voice, or the different accents that people naturally possess. The researcher was more attuned to what was stated and this helped to clarify what, precisely, the participant intended to say. During the process of transcribing the student focus group, there were areas of uncertainty in the transcript. The researcher had to make sure that the data was interpreted correctly and that the data transcribed was what the participant wanted to state. Any part of the transcript that the researcher was unsure of was highlighted by colour-coding the section and this part

of the transcript was given back to the participant for their approval/rejection. This was the only area of concern during the focus group research.

Clarifying English language content and meaning, including the use of colloquialisms, was a small constraint, as it was time-consuming in both the interview process and the transcribing process, particularly in communicating with individuals whose first language was not English. A small number of potential interviewees were repeatedly contacted by telephone, email and an introductory letter, but did not respond. A very small number of individuals gracefully declined to take part in the interviews due to the fact that they felt they had very little to offer, while some of the individuals directed the researcher to a much more suitable expert in their field of study.

Part of the interview process included an unexpected double interview where the primary interviewee felt that the interview would be much better informed if the second individual were included. The second person was much more informed about the education and training courses available in their community. The advantage of the double interview was that the researcher had access to two informed views at the same time, but the disadvantage was that they could end up talking to each other or talking over each other. The double interview was more challenging to transcribe, but nonetheless did yield rich and up-to-date data.

A practical issue encountered during the focus groups was the lack of childcare facilities for one particular group and innovative ways to entertain the young children were quickly developed so that as little disruption as possible occurred during the interview. A double recording of each interview was made as a back-up. The longest interview lasted two hours, the shortest was twenty minutes in duration; this was a specialist interview. Generally, the interviews lasted approximately between thirty-five and fifty minutes. With regard to the research process, none of the issues encountered had any negative impact on the overall research. The following section is a justification of the ethical considerations.

4.8 Ethical issues

Ethical considerations are very important areas in social research practice, as it involves collecting information from people that is about people (Punch, 2005). Ethics

examines how you think and conduct your research. Ethical guidelines are 'principles of conduct' that 'balance one right action against another right action, taking into account the possibly conflicting interests of the party involved' (Thomas, 2009, 147). Ethical issues can arise in both qualitative and quantitative research but 'they are more likely and more acute in some qualitative approaches' (Punch, 2005, 276), depending on how sensitive and personal the research is. When researchers are studying human subjects in both qualitative and quantitative approaches, they 'ponder over the dilemma of wanting to give full information to subjects but not 'contaminating' their research by informing subjects too specifically about the research question to be studied' (Silverman, 2000, 200). In other words, the researcher does not wish to direct what the participants' state.

The 'whole research endeavour is characterised by a growing concern with accountability and the need to justify one's research design choices and the conduct of the research to ever-widening audiences' (Barbour, 2008, 66). These audiences include the research participants, the subject area and the impact on the wider community. It is the duty of the researcher to ensure anonymity and confidentiality in all matters relating to the research. There are three types of research procedures which raise ethical concern according to Baker (1994):

> covert research, which usually entails some forms of deception; studies in which there is coercion of subjects to participate in certain ethically questionable practices as a part of the study; and research that is considered an invasion of privacy
> (Baker, 1994, 71).

There are ways of protecting research participants: granting anonymity which 'is an assurance that subjects' identities will not be disclosed in any way' (Baker, 1994, 79); providing confidentiality 'to minimize in any available way the possible exposure of a subject's identity' and protecting identity by storing 'the data on subjects under codes and fictitious names' (Baker, 1994, 79). It is very difficult to ensure that a participant's 'confidentiality is protected' in any form of interview, as the participant can be identified by the interviewer (Frey & Mertens Oishi, 1995, 32). Frey *et al,* (1995) suggest that anonymity cannot be guaranteed if identifiers such as the participant's name and contact number are known to the researcher but that the researcher can guarantee confidentiality as a 'matter of trust' (Frey *et al*, 1995, 33).

Informed consent is another form of protection and 'is achieved if the subject knows what the study is, understands his or her level of confidentiality in the study, comprehends the objectives of the study, and agrees to cooperate' (Baker, 1994, 79). However, there is a second objective to informed consent. This is in relation to the participant's understanding of 'what he or she is consenting to and has been given a clear exploration of what that is' states Baker, (1994, 79). If some participants are reluctant to take part, 'allowing them to choose a pseudonym' (Barbour, 2008, 78) is another way of reassuring them. They may also be reluctant when asked 'for a signature' which 'can compromise confidentiality and anonymity. Some groups of people, such as asylum seekers who may be in the country illegally, are likely to feel threatened by such requests to identify themselves on paper' (Barbour, 2008, 78). When an interviewer asks for written consent and repeatedly reminds the participant that they are engaging in research which 'may invite parallels with police cautioning', the call for consent could become the cause of ethical concern (Barbour, 2008, 79).

Informed consent also means that the research participant should be informed of how long the data will be kept and when will it be destroyed (Thomas, 2009, 150). Thomas (2009) writes of 'opted' consent and 'implied' consent. Opted consent means that the participants make an active decision to take part in the research, whereas implied consent assumes they will take part unless they refuse to do so. Some of the disadvantages of opting-in mean that as participants are willing to take part, this might not include all subsections of the population, (Thomas, 2009, 151). The students who participated in the focus group research gave their consent freely to participate in the study by signing the Volunteer Forms before the session began and gave their permission for the interview to be anonymously recorded. The participants of the focus groups conducted in Sligo, Leitrim and Mayo expressed an interest in the research and agreed verbally to participate, prior to the commencement of the focus groups. Each interviewee received an introductory letter by post and email, outlining the issues under investigation. A set of relevant questions followed and the process of arranging the interview proceeded. Each telephone interview began using a similar process. In order to ensure that the identities of participants are not identified or identifiable, all individual names of participants were edited out from the data, including any descriptions that could infer a participant's identity in the transcript.

'One Cardinal rule is that merely by doing your research, you will often raise people's hopes and expectations – less advantaged people may hope for some improvement in their situation' (Kane & O'Reilly-de-Brún, 2001, 124). None of the individuals who participated in the focus groups and the interviews were led to believe that this research would in any way change their circumstances, as the research was exploratory in nature, and designed to discover the experience of migrants in this region, and to create a greater understanding of this experience, as was stated in the 'Introductory Letter'. Other potential risks of harm include: psychological or physical harm, 'damaging the standing or reputation of participants or others' being unlawful, or 'harming a community in some way (for example, by drawing attention to differences within it)' (Thomas, 2009, 152). Data management is another ethical dilemma; the researcher must ensure all necessary steps are taken to protect the participants if the data is lost (Whittaker, 2009, 17). Protecting the anonymity of participants is difficult; 'watertight confidentiality has proved to be impossible. Pseudonyms and disguised locations often are recognised by insiders' (Christians, 2005, 145). It is still the duty of the researcher to protect personal data and research locations 'behind a shield of anonymity' (Christians, 2005, 145).

Furthermore, the interviewer should be 'very attuned and responsive to what the interviewee is saying and doing; body language, for example, might indicate that the interviewee is becoming uneasy or anxious' about the line of questioning (Bryman, 2008, 447). An ethnically sensitive interviewer will not want to place undue pressure on the participant (Bryman, 2008, 447). 'It is unethical to conduct research which is badly planned or poorly executed' (Greenfield, 1996, 30). This is one of the codes of the ethical standards of the *Declaration of Helsinki (1964),* and this 'applies to all research, without exception' (Greenfield, 1996, 30). The researcher's own standing and integrity are at risk if the researcher does not uphold the highest ethical standards possible.

4.9 Conclusion

The basis of this chapter has been to critique the research framework in precise detail and justify the research method that has been employed. Leading on from this chapter is Chapter 5, Presentation of the Findings.

Chapter Five

Presentation and Analysis of the Findings

5.1 Introduction

Chapter five seeks to present the findings of the research journey into experiences of HEI migrant learners and aspirant learners. It engages in a wider unpacking and critical analysis of the issues uncovered and discovered around the manner in which HEI providers adequately address, or otherwise, the up-skilling/up-learning needs of migrants. Finally, it integrates the rich qualitative data derived from the fieldwork with existent research reviewed in chapters two and three. Accordingly, the chapter is structured as follows.

Each section presents a specific theme, although there are many interrelated cross-over themes. These include proficiency or lack of proficiency in language and how this may negatively impact on migrant students/aspirant students' access to higher education courses, employment opportunities and wider 'integration' opportunities. This is a dominant feature of the interaction between themes and the resulting data in this research. Section 5.2 presents the data on proficiency in English language and examines and critiques the significance given by respondents to the importance of English language proficiency as a highly influential factor in determining whether or not migrants will undertake a programme of study at an Irish HEI provider. Section 5.3 details the findings with reference to the financial barriers that migrants encounter in the process of accessing higher education. Section 5.3 also critically reviews the extent to which the issue of disproportionately high third level fees for particular categories of migrant learners negates this cohort's attendance and participation in higher education.

This is followed by section 5.4, which explores the findings on qualification recognition and recognition of prior learning. Section 5.4 evaluates key findings around the ways in which, it is asserted, key HEI stakeholders are either unable or incapable of undertaking the critically important task of engaging in accurate and expeditious international qualifications recognition. This section also excavates issues around major deficiencies identified in the process of recognising migrants' prior

learning – certificated and experiential. Section 5.5 presents the data with regards to barriers to employment and explores the increasing interdependence between higher education attainment and employability, and how migrants in Ireland are experiencing a double bind of disenfranchisement in these policy domains. Section 5.6 defines the specific policies and essential supports which migrants deem vital, while simultaneously reviewing the array of supports and resources necessary to address policy deficiencies and weaknesses in these areas. Section 5.7 presents the data on integration policy and practice followed by section 5.8, which provides an overarching analysis of the implications of the findings of this research on wider discourses around the racism and discrimination in modern Ireland. Section 5.9 details the findings on future employment needs and the role that higher education should play in this process. This section is followed by section 5.10, which examines the continuous interlinks between chapter two, on the higher education needs of ethnic minority groups and the barriers they encounter in higher education in Ireland, with the experience of ethnic minority communities in Britain and in the Netherlands in chapter three. It also presents a discussion on the experience of the migration management process in both countries. There are four emerging themes, the relevancy of rights and entitlements on the 'integration' process, the impact of racism in real terms, the challenges of migration policy and the challenges of multicultural policy. Section 5.11 provides an overall conclusion to this chapter.

5.2.1 Proficiency in English language

The findings show that each research participant agreed that proficiency in English language is crucial and the lack of proficiency of language negatively impacts all areas of a migrant's life. Proficiency in language is a basic fundamental tool and a key requisite of communication (Irish State Representative, ISR). Without language skills, *'you are really at an enormous disadvantage and I think a priority has to be to enable people to become proficient as rapidly as possible'* (Non-Government Organisation Representative, NGOR). Possessing the ability to speak the language helps a migrant to 'integrate' more fully into society and develops a route to both employment and education opportunities. Language supports for '*those migrants who want to fully integrate into Irish society is also crucial*' (IPR). In fact, proficiency in the host country language is regarded as the 'main pre-condition' to employment (European

Union Representative, EUR). Research conducted in other countries shows that language is fundamental to 'integration'. '*We know from all the studies that are done on integrating migrants in other countries…that the proficiency in the major spoken language of any community is essential*' (Academic Representative, AR). It is a key tool in 'integrating' people into society. In reality proficiency in host country language is vital from every point of view (AR).

All prospective students need proficient language skills. Third level institutions have established their own tests and evaluations of language proficiency in verbal and written English. As *'language is an issue, yeah, there's no doubt about it…it is a problem',* Migrants whose first language is not English must have the international qualification at level six, because language is frequently an issue (Student Services Representative, SSR). On occasion, an additional interview or a practical examination is necessary for further evaluation. The practical examination is usually presented in the form of an essay. Migrant students need additional language supports in place, particularly in higher education institutions, *'we need to be providing language support classes, in some shape…or form, as a matter of course'* (SSR), as experience shows that often a migrant's level of English is weaker (particularly written English) than that of an indigenous student. A number of employers will not employ migrants on the basis that there might be communication problems due to a lack of language skills. In fact, different groups of migrants have varying degrees of verbal and written English, which necessitates an evaluation of the provision of language services, ensuring that different migrant groups are accessing the correct level of service provision because of their 'mixed abilities'. In addition, *'we would always ask our English language students to work towards accreditation'* (Regional State Representative, RSR). Numerous migrant workers found the lack of opportunities to practise English difficult when other employees did not speak English, *'at the beginning I was working in Ireland, so I used just English…I go to the C... Hotel, work with Polish and that's why I don't progress anymore'* (Focus Group Representative, FGR). Students also found the need to practise their language skills essential for communicating with others. However, there are different cultural approaches to communication:

> *like in my country once you start talking, you can talk for half an hour*
> *but here with friends you are supposed to talk in minutes…but if you*

> *don't know each other very well then they will think that for some reason that you really need to talk to them, if you talk to a girl she will think you are persistent, you try to seduce her…you just try to talk to her because you want to improve your English, you know we talk to people to improve our English*
> (Student Group Representative, SGR).

The more opportunities one has to speak the language, the greater the chance of perfecting it (SGR). There is also a lack of confidence in the language ability needed to follow a course of study. Prospective students need to be confident and feel competent in their language skills to succeed in an academic course and pass exams (SGR). Consequently, migrants need practical support in putting an assignment together, *'because a lot of that its alien enough'* (RSR). Traditionally, adult students find this prospect daunting. Students have to develop academic English as *'academic language is different language'* (SGR) which is a common problem for many migrant students. Students feel this is a barrier they must transcend in order to succeed in higher education. Key education representatives agree with this argument: '*what we would be very much stressing is, it's not enough to have communicative English, you need to have academic English'* (ISR).

A further barrier in accessing higher education courses is the lack of coherent and sustainable English language provision. Migrants with low levels of English language ability need to access language courses in preparation for accessing third level courses, yet *'what is available is grossly inadequate [and] programmes are haphazardly designed'* (ISR); the current system is completely incoherent. Prior to the economic downturn, budget funding was allocated to adult literacy training and part of the funding was used to provide English language provision for migrants who wanted to learn English as a second language. This practice not only resulted in an *'ad hoc'* delivery system, but also had a detrimental impact on the service delivery of literacy classes for the indigenous population, as the funding was taken out of the adult literacy budget. This resulted in a *'disservice both to the people with adult literacy problems and to migrant workers themselves, in the end it resulted in a very, very poor service across the State'* (AR). Without language, people simply cannot communicate:

> *English language proficiency is an absolute requirement, the need for brawn as distinct from brain is rapidly disappearing in our economy*

and proficiency and communication through English language is Sine qua non
(IPR).

Sine qua non is Latin for an 'essential action' and means 'without which not' (Collins English Dictionary & Thesaurus, 2006, 1122). In other words, without language, people simply cannot communicate. Prior to the 'Celtic Tiger', people did not need an education *per se,* as many jobs such as work conducted in agricultural and manufacturing industries jobs required manual and physical strength. Society has changed, however; now we live in a knowledge based society and *'language is a key skill to be integrated into society and especially like in this knowledge society that we have'* (EUR). Finally, given the current economic downturn and the employment situation, migrants need to be proficient in English language if they are to progress in Irish society (NGOR).

5.2.2 An analysis of proficiency in English language

As demonstrated in the presentations of findings above, the research participants (that is, the specialized field experts and migrants all inclusive) agree that the lack of proficiency in English language is a major problem for migrants in Ireland. English is universally used and an inability to communicate effectively in English impacts negatively on several vital areas, including education opportunities, employment status and, more broadly, in the 'integration' participation in social, economic and political aspects of civil society. A myriad of previous research conducted with numerous groups of migrants correlates these findings, outlining that language skills are basic fundamental and key requisites of communicating and engaging with the host country (Healy, 2007, 2008; Dunbar, 2008; Connolly & Dunbar 2008; OECD, 2008; Focus Ireland & Immigration Council of Ireland, 2008; O'Connell & McGinnity, 2008; NASC & Cork City Partnership 2011; McGinnity, Quinn, Kingston, O'Connell & Donnelly 2011; McGinnity, Quinn, Kingston, & O'Connell, 2012). Proficiency in English language and communication is the greatest single fundamental factor in integrating people into Irish civic society and this is predominately made possible through access to higher education and employment opportunities.

Research conducted among the Polish population, who were and continue to be the largest group of new migrants residing in this country, corroborates the finding that proficiency in English language is vital, yet the cost of private tuition is expensive (O'Brien, 2006a; Kropiwiec & King-O'Riain, 2008). Time constraints created by unsociable working hours and fatigue (Moynihan & Dunbar, 2008) add to the difficultly of accessing English language tuition. This was further compounded by the reality that English language provision is inconsistent, with delivery often on a piece meal basis (Charlton, 2007). There is little or no standardised system of accreditation (Egan & Dunbar, 2008; O'Mahony & McMahon, 2008). Prior to the economic downturn, the biggest single gap was the provision of English language courses. As a result of the economic downturn, budget constraints have had a greater impact on English language provision; it is even more under-resourced. There have been major financial funding cuts in the Budgets between 2008 and 2012, which negatively impacted all resources and funding in the education sector. Subsequently this impacts the various government departments and State organisations that deal with all sectors of education. Consistent cuts to English language provision may result in long-term damage (McGinnity, Quinn, Kingston, O'Connell & Donnelly, 2011). Moreover, research and policy around the importance of English language provision is very much orientated towards primary and post-primary migrant students (OECD, 2009). Very little research has been conducted around English language skills or provision for adult migrants.

All prospective students need a certain level of proficiency in language skills. As illustrated, migrants who participated in this study acknowledge, and are very aware, that poor levels of English language disadvantage them in the process of securing employment and education and making economic and social progress. Migrants are also conscious of a lack of confidence in their language ability to follow a course of study. Prospective students need to be confident and have competent language skills to succeed on an academic course and to complete the examinations and assignments as part of the course. Undertaking further education is almost impossible without proficiency in English language skills (Dunbar, 2008). The research findings in chapter five show that student service officers have encountered numerous migrants with lower levels of English (particularly written English) compared to indigenous students' language skills and that migrant students need additional language supports. Previous

research conducted by Dunbar (2008) confirms these experiences, that a number of education institutions have noted an increasing number of migrants experiencing difficulties and struggling academically (Dunbar, 2008).

Moreover, some employers are reluctant to employ migrants on the basis of their poor communication skills. A number of employers will not engage migrants due to prospective or unforeseen communication problems (Dunbar, 2008). Again it has been necessary to evaluate English language skills for employment purposes. Service providers who participated in this research study have been engaging in evaluation strategies to ensure that migrants are placed at the most beneficial point of learning on each of their learning curve.

Migrants who work with other non-English speaking employees found the lack of opportunity to practise English severely impinged on further developing English language skills. Often migrants found that their English skills did not progress or even regressed. English was very difficult when none of the other employees spoke English. Some employers have insisted that migrant workers communicate in English during work, not to ensure that they improve their communication skills but because there were signs of resentment among the indigenous workforce as they were beginning to feel isolated (Moynihan & Dunbar, 2008).

Similarly, migrant students also found the need to practise their language skills essential for communicating with others and the most effective way of learning (Connolly & Dunbar, 2008) but some are reluctant to speak to the indigenous Irish for fear of appearing foolish, or making errors; as one Polish migrant reiterated:

> I could read and write but I couldn't speak that well. I had no self-esteem then in speaking so the first few months it was a challenge but I knew until I started speaking, I won't move on.
> (as cited in Connolly & Dunbar, 2008, 51).

They may also lack confidence in their communication skills. The more opportunities one has to speak the language, the greater the chance of perfecting it and as Carson so aptly reminds us, learning the host country language is 'learning to make your own voice heard' (Carson, 2008, 102).

Previous research shows that there is a difference between common or standard language skills, and academic language ability, which is a common problem that many migrant students encounter. Students feel this is a barrier they must transcend in order to succeed in higher education. Key education representatives agree with this argument; Lyons and Little (2009) point to the fact that thirty years of international experience reveals that there is a difference between English language communication socially, and proficiency in language academically. Their current area of expertise focuses on addressing the language of post-primary students; there are similarities in the outcomes of migrant students and migrant adult students around lack of language proficiency (Lyons & Little, 2009). David Little, a recognised authority on the acquisition of the language needs of ethnic minorities, particularly those whose first language is not English, began working with refugees in the late 1990s. Little developed a language based programme, designed and tailored to the specific language needs of programme refugees. The programme ended in 2008.

It is interesting to note that research conducted in Australia on third level migrant graduates finds that language still remains a barrier after the student graduates. The Australian research concluded that the majority of migrant student graduates failed to obtain employment commensurate to their qualification in their chosen field of study, yet almost all the host graduate students were fully employed in their qualified field of employment. Migrant students agreed that language proficiency is crucial to gainful employment, but that even their accents may pose a major problem in communication, which might surface during the interview process. Relevant work experience in the employment field of study and relevant internships and visa requirements were also barriers to gainful employment (Arkoudis *et al*, 2009). The previous manual labour-intensive based economy in Ireland has largely been replaced by a knowledge based one. Nevertheless, without language people simply cannot communicate, *'proficiency and communication through English language is Sine qua non'* (Irish Political Representative).

To conclude this section, the findings presented in chapter five outline how all the research participants agreed that proficiency in English language and communication skills is central to accessing and progressing in the host country on an economic, social, political and civic scale. Proficiency in language presents the opportunity for

full active participation and engagement in Irish society. Proficiency in English language is an indispensable tool in the process of 'integration' and of immersing oneself in civil society; this is very important. Otherwise migrants are in danger of being socially excluded and isolated. Given the current economic downturn and high levels of unemployment, migrants need to be proficient in English language skills if they are to up-learn or re-skill for future employment opportunities and progression in employment. Migrants need to be proficient in English language skills to be employable and adaptable to future changing labour market needs. The following section seeks to unpack, in greater detail, issues around finance and migrants' accessibility to HE opportunities and participation therein.

5.3.1 Financial barriers

Finance has a universal impact on all students but it has the greatest impact on migrants from countries from outside the EEA. This is a major issue of concern voiced by the research participants. Migrants who are required to pay the non-EU fee find it impossible to access third level education and this affects many different groups of migrants. The international fee is grossly overpriced and the non-EU fee is more than three times the cost of the EU fee; migrants just cannot afford to go to college. This is counterproductive for this category of migrant currently residing in Ireland:

> *quite a number of different categories of people can find themselves*
> *being expected to pay the full costs of non EU students fees and that's*
> *very high, typically it would be ten to twelve thousand euro plus*
> (AR).

There is a very real need to equalise HEI fees structures and wider policy around resourcing HEI accessibility in Ireland. This fee has to be paid annually until the course is completed and some courses are up to five years in duration. Students from outside the EEA are not entitled to any form of grant payment. Students who do qualify for grants often find that the grant is not enough to finance all living expenses and they resort to working to supplement the shortfall in income. One respondent indicated: *'I do know that for some of them it is not enough to cover their rent or food…so you need to work those extra hours'* (SGR). All the student participants contributing to this research revealed that they work over the summer months to help with the expense of living and attending college during the academic year. Another aspect of finance that arose from

the data is that students from outside the EEA not only contribute to the Irish economy but there is a misguided perception that they are 'taking our jobs':

> *you mentioned fees, there is one thing that really sometimes literally just pisses me off, it annoys me that some idiot starts blabbering away about foreigners taking jobs and coming to college if they appreciate like…we are investing in your country because we pay a lot, I have a friend from Pakistan he pays ten grand every year for registration fee*
> (SGR).

Also, there are migrants who have been accepted on training courses but finance is still an issue. One participant had to turn down the offer of up-skilling/up-learning because a lack of finances made it impossible:

> *but I couldn't actually do it, and I...called my social worker, about the programme and she told me all what's she going to...my monthly rent allowance, she going to cut half of these, but at the end of the day I have to pay, and I need money and I have to travel down to this place every day so it's not really worth it, and I have to pay my bills*
> (FGR).

This respondent could not afford to attend the course. Financially, the economic downturn has had a major impact on educational resources and on education funding, which is having a negative impact all round:

> *we have an immediate crisis in education anyway because of the cutbacks in real terms for the funding in the entire sector and the indications are that's going to continue, the next budget in December will probably result in further cuts and at the moment we are just about operating at the edge of what's possible and everyone's working harder and you know staff are retiring and not being replaced and so on, then with respect with the smart economy and improving employability of people both migrants and indigenous workers…it's part of an emerging new policy framework and while government has given the broad outlines they haven't given us any of the details yet*
> (AR).

There have been major cuts in all the budgets from 2008 onwards, which have impacted State agencies, services and migrant organisations. The budget cuts in education are having a detrimental impact on higher education:

> *access to education as a right is non-negotiable. If we are serious about building a knowledge economy then we need to recognise that investment in education is key*
> (IPR).

Furthermore, there is a growing demand for education, particularly in light of the downturn. It:

> *is regressive and regrettable...it seems perverse in the extreme to reducing that funding at times and the demands on the organisations are actually growing to provide services and supports* (NGOR).

This will eventually have a detrimental impact on the services and service providers, as a direct result of reduced or eliminated funding (NGOR). Furthermore, the policy on the Back-to-Education Allowance (BTEA) scheme has been changed, due to budget restraints. The Department of Education and Skills instructed all relevant organisations that any student moving from level six to level seven (NQAI Framework) is now to be considered as if they were starting a new course and they will not be entitled to the grant along with Back-to-Education Allowance, to which they were previously entitled. On the other hand, students on three or four year honours degree programmes are still in receipt of both the BTEA and the grant. This is discriminatory against students who are socio-economically disadvantaged and it *'can be very difficult to influence the policy'* (SSR), or challenge it, *'they are still going to be educationally disadvantaged'* (SSR).

This leaves the socio-economically disadvantaged in a more vulnerable position and could reflect on migrants in a similar way. It is also creating a divided society. In reality, finance is a major barrier to accessing higher education for many migrants. Migrants from countries outside the EEA encounter an excessive HEI fees structure, rendering access to education virtually impossible: *'our costs are so prohibitive that there is no way that they are going to be able to go to college'* (AR). Nor are these groups of migrants entitled to a State grant. It is widely accepted that students on grants often find the grant is insufficient to cover the basic cost of living. The economic downturn has created severe budget cuts in education, impacting language supports, education resources and funding. It is also currently impacting the socio-economically disadvantaged and is having a major impact on higher education. The following section provides an analysis of the impact of finance.

5.3.2 An analysis of the financial barriers

'Access to education as a right is non-negotiable' (Irish Political Representative).

Universally, finance is a major issue for all students, but for adult migrant students, finance is more crucial, because of other important financial commitments and obligations such as mortgages, bills and daily living expenses. Migrant students encounter further additional financial barriers specific to their experience. The level of severity impacts different groups of migrants at different levels. As demonstrated in this chapter, this is a major issue of concern, voiced repeatedly, by all the research participants and corresponding research findings (Connolly & Dunbar, 2008).

Finance has an impact on all migrant students, but it has the greatest impact on migrants from countries from outside the EEA who encounter the excessive fee structure which affects a substantial number of migrants in this category, particularly since these migrants are engaged in low-paid employment (Hogan, 2008; Smyth, 2011c; Coakley, 2012). Furthermore, this category encounters an additional obstacle in that their teenage children - or more appropriately young adults - encounter similar fee barriers in accessing higher education. Migrants in low-paid employment cannot afford the fees. This almost guarantees the end of their education (Integration Centre, 2012c). TDs who participated in one of the surveys exploring TDs attitudes on migration and migration policy, revealed that 82% of the research participants objected to the fact that migrant students residing in Ireland are required to pay the non-EU fee (Integration Centre, 2012b). Other groups of migrants that are seriously affected by the high level fees structures include asylum seekers and refugees, individuals on work permits, parents of Irish born children and 'aged-out' teenagers (young people who reach eighteen years of age and who are regarded by the State as 'leave to remain' adults in the asylum seeking system). These migrants are required to pay the non-EU fee to access third level courses, which often proves impossible, as indicated in chapter five.

As already stated, the international fee is grossly overpriced and migrants required to pay the non-EU fee find it impossible to access higher education opportunities because of the excessive nature of the fee. This is counterproductive for this category of

migrant residing in Ireland. There is a very pressing need to equalize the structure of third level fees and the policy around resourcing higher education accessibility in Ireland. Finance is undoubtedly a major concern for certain migrants and can have a serious impact on the quality of life for individual migrants and migrants as a group, as the research reveals in this section. This is a main area of contention for migrants and a direct source of disparity and poverty, as the research literature indicates; those on low incomes are far more directly affected by inequalities of wealth (Lynch, 2004). Poverty is a major issue (Denayer & Dunbar, 2008). Research conducted at Waterford Institute of Technology correlates this: people with limited incomes find it much more difficult to participate in education (Bunyan, 2004). This is restrictive policy particularly since migrants in low-paid employment are at higher risk of poverty. Social inclusion indicators show that non-EEA migrants who are residing in Ireland are at higher risk from consistent poverty and this gap has increased since 2010 (McGinnity *et al*, 2012). The consistent rate of poverty among migrants is 10% compared to 5% among the indigenous population (Forde, 2012c). Also, research shows that migrants have a lower disposable household income compared to the indigenous population again leaving them at greater risk of poverty (Kelleher, 2005; McGinnity *et al*, 2012). Furthermore, these students are not entitled to any form of grant assistance from the Government. These combined factors seriously prevent access to higher education opportunities for certain categories of migrants, as the research has uncovered.

There have been cases where migrants from outside the EEA who have initially been accepted on an educational course, but as a direct result of the lack of finances have had to drop out before even beginning their programme of study. One particular example illustrates the restrictive nature of a number of policies with regard to accessing education and provides a snapshot of a combination of additional financial barriers; one migrant initially accepted a place on a course but had to drop out prior to beginning, due to the impact on her social protection payment. Not only would she have encountered the additional burden of travelling expenses but her social protection payment would have been substantially reduced if she enrolled on the course. The financial penalties were too high a cost to return to education. In the hierarchy of needs, the daily living costs had to take priority over education. Often migrants are unaware that enrolling on a course of study could have a detrimental impact on their

social protection payment (Connolly & Dunbar, 2008). This repeatedly results in migrants withdrawing from courses.

One of the common reasons quoted for 'dropping out' of college is financial difficulty. As previous research indicates (Eivers, Flanagan & Morgan, 2002), more than half of the students in the study experienced financial difficulties in college. Students who do qualify for the State grant (it is a means-tested grant) regularly find that the grant is totally inadequate so they work to supplement the shortfall in finances (Ryle, 2010). Generally students worked during the summer months in preparation for the following academic year but collectively students remain poor. Furthermore, the grant system is problematic and often presents very real hardships for students in receipt of pending grants. The City of Dublin VEC received a total of 66,000 third level grant applications in August 2012. Just over 3,000 applications of the 11,000 approved applications had been paid by November 2012 (O'Brien, 2012). Major delays are a common aspect of the Irish grant system, leaving many students financially exhausted.

A number of education policy changes have already been implemented as a direct result of budget restrictions. The Back-to-Education Allowance scheme was initially designed to financially assist adult students back into education. This State-funded grant scheme was designed to assist socio-economically disadvantaged students into higher education. There are other fundamental financial concerns for the majority of the remaining categories of migrants (Dunbar, 2008). It is widely acknowledged that students typically encounter financial restrictions in higher education. Adult students in general are no different in this respect but they find that the lack of finance is a serious impediment to succeeding in higher education (Inglis & Murphy, 1999; Leonard, 1999), as finance impacts all aspects of college and they have other financial obligations and responsibilities. There have been a number of policy changes in regard to the grant system and the Back-to-Education scheme as alluded to earlier. Mature indigenous students were entitled to access both of the above-mentioned schemes but this policy has changed. Students are entitled to apply for only one of the grants but not both (Citizens Information, 2012). As the research findings indicate, there have been a number of additional annual reductions in each of these schemes, as a direct result of budget restrictions during the recession.

Another policy change that has impacted finance accorded to students is the non-adjacent grant scheme. Prior to the recession, the policy implied that students residing more than 24 kilometers from the perimeter of the college were entitled to access the non-adjacent grant, which is approximately three times greater than the adjacent grant (€3,025 and €1,215 respectively) This distance has doubled to a 48 kilometer radius of the college (Citizens Information, 2012). It is clear from current policy that finance remains very much a contentious subject for all migrant mature students accessing higher education opportunities. There are also practical issues around the provision of student services.

There is an immediate crisis in all sections of education due to the economic recession. Education funding and resources have been restricted and contracted in each budget since 2008. This is regressive policy retraction, particularly when there has been a significant increase on the demands of services and organisations. This will eventually result in a detrimental impact on education service users and providers. This increase in demand for higher education opportunities is set to double over the next twenty years, with a far greater diversity of students accessing higher education opportunities (National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030 (NSHE), 2011). The higher education sector is currently undergoing reform in its delivery, governance, funding and resources (NSHE, 2011). The further development of Lifelong Learning policy remains a crucial challenge to adhere to, due to the economic recession, constricted resources and the fact that new skills are emerging and will continue to emerge (COM (2009)640 final, 2009). Emerging new skills are essential components of the Irish national economic recovery plan.

Economically and socially, inequalities of wealth have a major detrimental effect on the fabric of society as a whole. The European Economic and Social Committee acknowledge that a well-developed social policy - that includes targets for initial and further education progression (academic, vocational and lifelong learning) - needs the support of appropriate funding. It is crucial to challenge growing inequality and poverty, as many countries including Ireland have high levels of people at risk from poverty (Greif, 2009). Currently, migrants are one of the groups that are most at risk from poverty (Deneyer & Dunbar, 2008) and the economic crisis which has resulted in rising unemployment has deepened inequalities (Greif, 2009).

To conclude this section, migrants encounter major financial issues overwhelmingly and disproportionately, negating their ability to access and take advantage of higher education. The evidence shows that certain groups of migrants cannot overcome the higher education fee structure and, therefore, higher education is inaccessible and unattainable. The economic recession is having a detrimental impact on the delivery of higher education, resources and funding and is currently impacting the socio-economically disadvantaged, including migrants, who may become further isolated from mainstream society. The failure of the opportunity for up-learning is a potential source of social tension. At a time when education is re-emerging as the critical cornerstone of the combined roles of the future economic recovery, the development of skills, knowledge and competencies, and a precious source of a well-educated workforce, higher education has never been so important, as Lynch so rightly reiterates *'education is a necessity not a privilege'* (Lynch, 2004, 19). The following section presents the research data specifically generated around qualification recognition and recognition of prior learning.

5.4.1 Qualification recognition and recognition of prior learning

Qualification recognition and recognition of prior learning (RPL and RPEL) are two relatively new developments. They are separate issues but with many similarities between the two. The first is ascertaining the qualification in line with the Irish education system. The second is the evaluation of prior learning, work place learning and informal learning. Participants' responses to questions around both issues were very inter-related and, while the responses to RPL directly preceded qualification recognition, the answers were much less detailed that those derived from other discussion topics. Nonetheless, the data generated was highly insightful and important. The evaluation process of recognising qualifications is time consuming, as the National Qualification Authority of Ireland is under staffed and overworked, which hinders the process:

> *they haven't got enough staff to cope with the level of people approaching them for recognition in the past few years...so there is a policy there but again its speed is not of the essence*
> (AR).

Many migrants also find the process takes too long. It is *'supposed to take twelve weeks but it took about a year'* (FGR). The longer the migrant must wait for the result, the greater the potential impact on their education and employment opportunities and prospects. Many migrants have a third level qualification that they obtained prior to their arrival in Ireland but, invariably, this is either not recognised, or recognised belatedly, and usually results in highly qualified and skilled people being underemployed (AR), '*very often they wouldn't have their qualification with them…they say I have the qualification and I have all this experience…now that obviously presents a problem for them but it certainly presents a challenge to us'* (SSR). There is a need to establish its creditability. It is much more difficult to evaluate qualifications from education systems that are not similar to the Irish system:

> *we are trying to reduce the barriers to recognition...we have developed country education profiles...on various different countries and gone through the education system in detail...we publish that information on our website...so we are actually working on more of these*
> (ISR).

This is more common for countries from outside the EEA and improvements are made on a continual basis. Although all countries are not listed, there are continuous improvements and updates conducted, but problems still exist for a limited number of countries who may lack a more consistent education structural system:

> *they mightn't have the educational structure in place or they mightn't be that well developed to be able to identify a category that we would create or that we would make that would be equivalent to the Leaving Certificate*
> (SSR).

There are many differences in qualifications between countries. To further complicate matters, the content of some of the qualifications *are not up to the Irish standard (my italics)*: *'from what people tell us they have and what they are capable of, they are much weaker we have discovered'* (RSR). Also, there are times when a qualification cannot be evaluated: *'there are incidents where qualifications can't be assessed…and these are issues that every third level college suffers from'* (SSR). This is not an uncommon experience for third level colleges. In addition, there are many migrants who cannot get their qualification recognised: *'there are some countries that are not on that list …I heard in the past where people say that they not even on the radar at all*

because…when they know nothing about the country' (NGOR), which renders the qualification useless. Ireland is an EU Member State, and therefore, is directed by the recommendations at EU level on qualification recognition. It is a very important issue but it is a complicated one. It is also a necessary issue, because migration is global (EUR). The EU Commission is currently working on an EU qualification recognition framework. This is considered a priority (EUR). However, there are still problems implementing the qualification system:

> *I think we need to recognise there are still problems concerning the recognition of educational qualifications in Ireland…there is still work to do there…as a principle it is a well-established EU principle… people should be able to carry…their qualifications with them…when they move abroad within the European Union…there is legislation and policy in place, it still needs refining and more general acceptance* (EUR).

Qualification recognition is a continual process and ongoing developments are occurring. Even though, some problems still exist between Member States recognising one another's education systems, *'qualifications from third countries is even more problematic'* (EUR). A number of EU participants argued that they need to work more closely at recognising qualifications that migrants have obtained from outside the EEA. This appears to be the trend in Ireland too. From an EU prospective, recognition of prior learning is another issue migrants encounter which is as equally important as qualification recognition. Recognition of prior learning: *'is the same principle I think if people are going to be mobile then you know learning in all its forms…there has to be some way of documenting it, some way of recognising it'* (EUR). Recognition of prior learning is part of the EU Commission's Lifelong Learning Strategy, which aims at documenting all types of learning (EUR).

In Ireland, recognition of prior learning is a relatively new policy development because: *'it's the experimental learning that is a much more difficult one here to measure'* (AR). More importantly, it was revealed that access officers need to understand the policy around recognition of prior learning. Currently it is an issue that is in the developing stages in third level institutions: *'it's a very live issue at the moment…and I think we're pretty much working on our own at the moment…it is not being centrally coordinated as a policy for all the institutes'* (SSR). It is much easier to

evaluate prior learning when the cases in questions are derived from RPL applicants from English speaking countries. Similarly, recognition of prior learning can be time consuming, because it is a relatively new process and still in the developing stages. In short, there are many migrants who cannot get their qualification recognised, where they either go back to re-skill if the opportunity presents itself, or work in low paid, low skilled employment.

5.4.2 An analysis of qualification recognition and recognition of prior learning

Qualification recognition and recognition of prior learning are separate issues but with many similarities and as demonstrated in this section, participants' responses around both issues were inter-related but nonetheless highly insightful. The process of evaluation for qualification recognition is excessively time consuming and this was the experience encountered by many migrants as the research findings demonstrate. Additionally, a number were frustrated and disappointed that their qualifications were undervalued in the process (Connolly & Dunbar, 2008). This is particularly the case with qualifications gained in African countries (Coghlan *et al,* 2005). Research they conducted in 2005 found that a number of migrants whose non-EU qualifications were not recognised in Ireland felt that they were discriminated against and that the long term perspective of being socially excluded and marginalized would be a source of social tension (Coghlan *et al*, 2005). The longer the process takes, the greater the impact reflects on the migrant who is dependent on the deliberations of the NQAI to gain access to education or employment. By way of comparison, research conducted in Sweden found the validation period is also very time consuming: only 25% of participants received their qualification notification within a two year framework (Dingu-Kyrkund, 2005). Migrants often encounter even longer waiting periods in the validation process.

There has been a degree of reluctance displayed by Irish employers in the recognition of qualifications from outside of Ireland (Coghlan *et al*, 2005; Hogan, 2008). This is partly because employers do not understand the evaluation process and partly because the transparency of the evaluation is unclear (Dunbar, 2008; Moynihan & Dunbar, 2008). Swedish employers agreed with this perspective that the evaluation process and outcome was irresolute (Dingu-Kyrkund, 2005). Transparency is the key ingredient in

the recognition of qualifications, to ensure that applicants, institutions and employers understand the process and the criteria involved. The two most common terms associated with qualification recognition and institutes of learning are 'recognition' and 'accreditation'. 'Recognition' refers to the official status granted by national legislation such as the higher education system in most countries. The regulations are set in law and bestow degree-granting awards on the education institutions (Europe Education and Culture DG, 2012). 'Accreditation' refers to the education institution having an established accreditation to meet the required standard of education that would ensure a level of quality assurance and is an important part of the overall process of qualification recognition (Europe Education and Culture DG, 2012).

The development of a consistent method and evaluation framework of higher education qualifications from outside the host country remains an intricate, important and sensitive task that will require a continuous enhancement of the system. In association with this, there is a belief that very highly qualified migrants are often employed in jobs well below their level of skills and qualifications (Dingu-Kyrkund, 2005). There is a similar belief in Sweden. Many migrants have a third level qualification which is not recognised and therefore they are under-employed (Integration Centre, 2011b; Monaghan, 2007; Shoesmith, 2007b). Under-employment is a very common occurrence, but a serious issue nonetheless, as not only are migrant workers in danger of losing these skills, but the Irish labour market is also at a loss by not utilizing these valuable skills. Another more serious criticism is that highly qualified migrants encounter informal discrimination in attempting to access the work environment at a level commensurate to their skills (Dingu-Kyrkund, 2005). Policy in Sweden has attempted to address this but the discriminatory nature of the policy is difficult to redress (Dingu-Kyrkund, 2005).

As the research findings have indicated, migrants have expressed concern over the lack of qualifications recognition. The recognition and acknowledgement of different qualifications from different countries and the process of validation often encounters problems due to the different measurements assigned to qualifications. This leads to a certain level of variation between qualifications that appear similar but which when measured are not equal (European Higher Education Area Working Group, EHEA, 2012). Ireland has some qualifications that cannot be acknowledged by a number of the

European Member States because there are no equivalent qualifications. The Level Six qualification borders between the second level education stream and the third level. For example, there is a level six qualification at both the Further (Advanced Certificate) and Higher Education system (Higher Certificate) frameworks (Zamorane, 2011). There have been and there will continue to be situations where qualifications are more challenging to evaluate, particularly from education systems that have not yet developed a national qualifications framework. These challenges will most likely remain until each country develops its own national qualifications framework so as to allow for a comparison between countries (EHEA, 2012).

Prior learning is a further issue that migrants encounter and is equally important to qualification recognition. Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL) is the same principle as qualification recognition, that is aiming to document all types of learning. It is a tool which evaluates and assesses non-formal and informal learning previously acquired by an individual and it is essential for the development of lifelong learning (FETAC, 2007). Essentially, it is an assessment for an academic award or/and exemptions to an existing award or to access to a programme (FETAC, 2007).

RPL is necessary for educational reform, particularly in light of the economic recession, in reforming third level education (Sheridan & Linehan, 2009). In Ireland, RPL is a relatively new policy development and it is a much more difficult process to evaluate because there are a number of strands to the process of informal and formal learning. There are four essential elements of the RPL process which were reviewed in four projects carried out between the higher education sector and the work environment. The four projects simultaneously found that the important elements of value, visibility, sustainability and policy continue to remain weak links in the RPL process. The most positive element was transferability in different higher education settings (Collins, 2009). RPL does have potential for a number of different purposes, such as an alternative route to education, for access, for progression and for personal development. It also has the potential for the recognition and accreditation of skills and is an additional route for transferring learning into recognized codes. Higher education has a role to fulfill in RPL and work-based learning (Collins, 2009).

It is much easier to evaluate the RPL of English speaking countries, which have a similar qualification recognition system to the Irish one. RPL is time consuming, because it is a relatively new process, still in the developing stages. Education institutions may need to network and collaborate with each other for a more proactive approach on the issues involved, as they are quite complex (Sheridan & Linehan, 2009). The high cost involved in the RPL process is one of the fundamental issues requiring resolution and RPL still remains very much under-utilised, probably due to the high implementation costs which is a serious disincentive (Sheridan & Linehan, 2009). Each institute needs a dedicated resource to actively promote this service.

It is crucial that Ireland continues to maintain a highly skilled and highly educated workforce not only to compete successfully on the global market, but to address the huge increase in unemployment and for success on the global markets (Sheridan & Linehan, 2009). Recognition of prior learning is beneficial both for learners and for the learning environment. The lack of qualification recognition and lack of recognition of prior learning in education and employment negatively impacts on a migrant's chance of accessing employment and educational opportunities. Migrants from outside the EU were more likely to find that their qualifications were undervalued. Furthermore, there was a lack of coherent information on recognition of prior learning (Connolly & Dunbar, 2008).

Work Based Learning (WBL) is emerging as another approach to learning. WBL is distinguished from RPL because it takes place directly in the working environment. The programme of learning is specifically designed to suit the precise learning needs of the employee on the job. In Ireland, higher education providers have recently become more interested in delivering WBL programmes as an innovative way of up-skilling those already in employment. 'In-employment' training has not been quantified as yet in the formal qualifications recognition process (Doherty & Bennett, 2009). Letterkenny Institute of Technology (LYIT) has developed significant experience of WBL programmes. In 2006, LYIT worked with a *Lionra* project entitled *Education in the Workplace.* The main objective of this initiative was to recognise and accredit work-based learning with a third level qualification. Since 2007, over 300 *Lionra* partner learners have enrolled on WBL programmes. RPL is an extremely important feature of WBL programmes because many learners completing the

programmes have extensive prior experience, knowledge and skills and therefore are entitled to apply for exemptions from different modules. WBL is a flexible, diverse and innovative approach to education (Doherty & Bennett, 2009).

To conclude this section, qualification recognition and RPL are two relatively new developments. These are complex issues but very important for migrants wishing to access higher education opportunities. The evaluation process of qualification recognition is too time consuming. It is much more challenging to evaluate qualifications from education systems that are not similar to the Irish education system. Many migrants (participants in this research) are unhappy about the low level of credit that they were awarded, as a number of qualifications have been downgraded to a lower level. There are a number of qualifications that cannot be 'valued', as there are no equivalents in place currently in the Irish system. In Ireland, RPL is in the developing stages, and is beneficial to the learner and in the learning environment. Although RPL is time consuming and costly it is an extremely important feature of WBL programmes because of the breath of prior experience and knowledge that learners have accumulated in employment. Finally, WBL is an innovative and new approach to education and up-learning. The following section presents the research data specifically generated around barriers of access to employment.

5.5.1 Barriers to employment

There are many barriers to accessing employment, and these include the impact of the economic downturn, which has resulted in major unemployment (Smyth, 2011a) leaving migrants particularly vulnerable. Also, migrants may not be equipped with the relevant employable skills to be re-employed, or equipped to prepare for the upturn in the economy. They need access to education to develop their skills. This section presents data on the importance of the input of migrants into Irish society. Migrants acknowledge that lack of language is a major barrier to employment, as are the relevant knowledge and skills. Finance, or more to the point the high fee structure, plays a main role preventing migrants from accessing future employment opportunities. Qualification recognition presents a further barrier. A number of the community educators, along with other specialists, are not generally aware of many of the equivalences of qualifications that migrants have and therefore cannot evaluate

them. The economic recession is a major barrier which impacts negatively on migrant workers. Migrants are in competition with the indigenous workforce for jobs which are increasingly scarce. There is the potential risk that problems are already developing owing to the experience migrants are encountering in accessing employment. Other countries that have experienced migration on a similar scale to Ireland include Denmark and the Netherlands; the '*real failure*' both countries made as a society are:

> *they accepted the workers into the work place but they didn't accept the families into society, and two things happened in relation to that, the children of the migrants didn't perform terribly well in school ...and because they now were citizens of the State in which they were born they were entitled to full social welfare treatment and there was a whole new class of second generation migrants who were dependent totally on social welfare...because lower economic groups feel far more threatened by migrants and welfare sponging as they would see it, and this is a problem that I think we can expect here in this country in ten to fifteen years' time*
> (IPR).

Policy decision makers should be fully aware of the problems Ireland may encounter as a consequence of failed policies in other EU Member States. The Irish labour force has been dependent on a labour force of inward migrant workers:

> *we definitely see that there are certain sections of the economy that definitely have a reliance on non-Irish workers...tourism, hotels and restaurant...nearly thirty-two per cent of workers in that sector are non-Irish*
> (NGOR).

The Irish labour force will continue to need the input of migrant workers for the foreseeable future:

> *yes my constant response to people who say we should do without migrant labour, I say when were you last at your local hospital, what was the predominant colour or nationality of the staff working in the hospital and it certainly isn't Irish or white and I said take them all out in the morning and you will have a complete collapse of our medical system. There is a refusal to see people in the totality*
> (IPR).

The indigenous population may not be aware of the input that migrant workers contribute to the Irish economy and unemployment has compounded the situation:

for many people angry about the state of the economy, jobs and public services, migrants have been a convenient scapegoat…the fact that our economy has and will continue to need migrant labour in particular sectors and that they have contributed much to this country through their work, their tax contributions
(IPR).

Migrants have been contributing to the Irish economy and will continue to contribute, but Ireland is in a recession and the impact will affect Ireland for many years to come. People predicted a long road to economic recovery as the recession deepened:

that is going to continue for the foreseeable future, we are also into a situation where we may have a number of years of jobless growth and that was the case as it were the last time we recovered from a recession in the 80s, we could see a decade ahead of us where there is no great reduction on unemployment…there are challenges there of substance
(NGOR).

Unemployment has affected all groups of migrants. Migrants are more vulnerable to unemployment because their skills and qualifications may become outdated:

if you look at the stats, they are more unemployed because they are in the vulnerable areas like construction, like services...and also they are working in jobs not commeasurable with their qualifications and the longer you don't work in your qualifications, the further you get away from the knowledge of it, so there is a need to address it in the same way as we are addressing Irish people
(ISR).

Migrants are more susceptible to marginalisation: those in low paid employment are in danger of poverty. Migrants *'see education as a route out of poverty…I mean it's a cliché but its true'* (SSR).The immigration status of migrant workers varies enormously and one of the groups that are in greatest danger from the impact of the recession are work permit employees:

For non-EEA migrants and those without long-term resident status, the main barrier is the work permit requirement…While this requirement may be reasonable on its face; it causes particular problems for two categories of migrants. The first are families which contain one work permit holder and a dependent spouse/child(ren). In many cases the work permit requirement will also apply to the dependents – and since it is often an insurmountable barrier to a migrant getting a job…the family has to survive on a single income. The second category is

> *workers who are exploited or otherwise face poor working conditions ...it binds workers to their employer and all too often allows the employer to abuse the worker by holding the possibility over their head that they will lose their job and ultimately their right to remain in Ireland. Although the stated policy of the Department of Enterprise is that in such cases the work permit requirement will be waived, the Migrant Rights Centre Ireland has established through numerous examples that in practice employees are too often afraid to come forward and risk being disbelieved when they allege exploitation*
> (IPR).

People who work on behalf of workers employed under the work permit scheme, state that this group of workers is particularly vulnerable and face many barriers in their employment. The work permit system is very problematic, as the application process is lengthy and migrants can become undocumented during the process (NGOR). It can take three months to have a new permit processed and its costs €1,000 euro. The applicant is not allowed to work until the application is successful (NGOR). The policy on work permits makes it impossible to change one's job. Furthermore, workers who have become undocumented live in dread of being caught:

> *yes many of them are at risk of becoming undocumented...they are working in the black economy, I mean the funny thing is most of them are paying taxes...unfortunately they don't have the papers I mean that's the reality...they are more vulnerable to exploitation, they are more vulnerable to racism, they live their life in fear...*
> (NGOR).

The migrants who are required to pay the non-EU fee to access higher education means that they cannot access third level courses. This is a barrier to employment. Another category of migrant encountering the financial barrier are the parents of Irish born children. This particular group are not entitled to State assistance for third level courses and must pay the excessive fee if they are from outside the EEA. This policy and practice in particular regarding the Irish Born Child Scheme where individuals are granted residency is:

> *particularly ludicrous that the latter category cannot avail of grant assistance, since one of the conditions attached to their continued residency is that, if not in employment, they must have "taken all steps necessary, such as appropriate participation in training" to enable them become employed*
> (IPR).

The policy on accessing education is *'on an ad hoc (and completely inadequate) basis'* (IPR). The general lack of information on education is a '*significant barrier*' (NGOR) and '*we don't publicise enough…lack of information supersedes all of these barriers*' (AR). '*We need to be more proactive*' (SSR) particularly around mentoring students and '*buddy up with them*' (SSR). The difference in policies around migrants' rights and entitlements *'creates confusion and it's discriminatory against certain categories'* (NGOR). There is a certain reluctance to provide prospective students with information, particularly around leave to remain; stamp 4 visas and ongoing changes complicate matters. Many migrants are unclear about what they are or are not entitled to, '*so there is a lot of clarity required*' (SSR). In fact '*a lot of us feel on thin ice about giving the wrong information*' (SSR). Generally, migrants from outside the EEA and their teenage children are particularly vulnerable in Irish society, as policy states that access to higher education will cost this group up to three times the cost of the EU fee. This makes it almost impossible for migrants categorised in this group to attend third level courses. This is a big issue. The fee requirement is '*absolutely crazy*' (SSR). Asylum seekers are a particularly vulnerable position in this regard, *they're not going to have ten thousand a year, so that very first step in accessing education prevents an awful lot of them from ever setting foot in front of the door'* (SSR). Furthermore, respondents who have experience in this area, stated that 'aged out' teenagers (eighteen years and over) encounter similar financial barriers to accessing higher education due to the excessive fee structure. This is dependent on where they come from:

> *we work with the children of non-EU migrant workers here in Ireland and what we have seen is that most of them even if their parents have stayed in the State for a long time…when it comes to accessing third level education they are still asked to pay the non-European fees… even if their parents get the long term residency this means they live for five years in Ireland through the time of waiting for the application to come through which now is like two years so even if they live and pay taxes and work for seven years in Ireland, their children when accessing third level education will have…excessive fees so from our point of view…that's one of the main barriers*
> (NGOR).

Recent changes in the Residence and Protection Bill means that the Bill is more proactive and inclusive, so some of the migrants in this category may be able to access higher education opportunities. The Bill will take into account the long term residency

status, and the additional rights that will accompany this. When migrants are granted residency status, their children can access primary and secondary school but aged-out eighteen year olds *'are not considered dependents anymore…the rights only transfer to children up to eighteen years old…by the time their parents get long term residency'* children have aged-out during that time and cannot access higher education, this is a major problem (NGOR). *'This may make it effectively impossible for them to access third level education and runs the risk of creating an immigrant underclass'* (IPR). The creation of an immigrant underclass or third class citizen is a potential source of trouble for the future of Irish society, as the children of migrants will feel marginalised and isolated in this country if they are not afforded the same rights and entitlements as the indigenous are afforded in accessing higher education courses. Migrants who are required to pay the non-EU fee to access higher education means that they cannot access third level courses.

Migrants who have children find that flexible and affordable childcare is a problem. It is a major barrier for many different nationalities as there are large numbers of migrant women parenting alone, so even part-time work is a problem for them (NGOR). The provision of childcare impacts on both genders, as many males are also unemployed and trying to access higher education courses to up-skill and retrain: '*but the main barrier are the children and don't forget I have three kids to mind, so even if I get a job the money would go for the minding'* (FGR). Travel, transportation and distance are problematic for migrants in rural areas resulting in inaccessibility of HEI provision. In knowledge-based economies, '*it's become increasingly important to have a third level qualification*' (ISR). To conclude, migrants encounter many barriers to employment and in accessing employment opportunities. They encounter barriers including residing in a country with a very poorly developed policy, compounded by multilingualism, impediments to swift qualification recognition and delays around recognition of prior learning achievements. There is also a lack of appropriate, user-friendly and multi-lingual information about programmes of study at Irish HEIs. In addition, constraining attitudes and polices that thwart their higher education aspirations and options, due to significant obstacles around finance, including disproportionate HEI fees structures and maintenance grants. Moreover, migrants encounter issues around childcare, residency status, work permits, and employability status. They are also in danger of higher levels of unemployment as many are already

unemployed: *'it's a pretty grim picture for anybody trying to get a job'* in the current employment market (NGOR). The following section presents the analysis of the research data specifically generated around barriers to access to employment.

5.5.2 An analysis of the barriers to employment

Barriers to employment are closely linked with barriers to education. There are numerous barriers in accessing employment; these include the effects of the economic recession, which has resulted in major unemployment, leaving migrants particularly vulnerable. In times of recession, policy is guided entirely by economic necessity (Pierre, 2006). Unemployment has increased dramatically since 2008 (McGinnity *et al*, 2011). It has fluctuated above the 14% mark for the last number of years (CSO, 2011; CSO, 2012a; CSO, 2012b). A further breakdown of this percentage shows that the rate for the indigenous population peaked at 13.8% while the corresponding percentage for migrants reached 18.2% (McGinnity *et al*, 2012). This latter figure shows that Ascension State migrants are one of the most at risk groups (CSO, 2012c). That said, there is evidence to show that, individually, Black Africans encounter the highest levels of unemployment in comparison to other ethnic minorities (O'Connell & McGinnity, 2008; Kingston, O'Connell & Kelly, 2012). Also, numerous migrants were in low-paid, low skilled employment (Hogan, 2008; Coakley, 2012) and are not equipped with the relevant employable skills to be re-employed, nor are they equipped to prepare for the upturn in the economy.

Migrants have repeatedly acknowledged that the lack of proficiency in English is a major barrier to employment (Healy, 2007). This is particularly the case in the service industries (O'Connell & McGinnity, 2008). The lack of qualification recognition is a major barrier to employment (Dunbar, 2008). Migrants also need to be knowledgeable about their rights and entitlements to employment, although access to rights and entitlements is of little use if proficiency in English language is poor (Healy 2007). Furthermore, migrants are in competition with the indigenous workforce in the current labour market (Mac Éinrí, 2004), as jobs are very scarce. Prior to the recession, it was much easier to get work. In times of economic recession, migrants often become the target of accusation and blame, even though they are not responsible for the economic slowdown (McGreevy, 2008). There is the potential risk that problems are already

developing because migrants are not being presented with equal access to employment opportunities. Different groups of migrants are afforded different rights and entitlements according to their residency status (MRCI, 2007a). There is also a risk that migrants are being socially excluded in Irish society through the lack of opportunity to access employment, leaving them more susceptible to poverty (Greif, 2009; Mc Ginnity *et al*, 2012). The Netherlands has experienced migration on a similar scale to Ireland. Research on the experience of migrants in the Netherlands demonstrates a policy failure around 'integration': sadly, the experience of the Netherlands was to identify migrants solely on economic grounds and not as social entities embedded within family structures; this shows a failure that the country made as a society. The family unit settled in the country and subsequently the children born to the migrants performed poorly in the education systems and ended up as dependents on the social welfare systems (IPR).

Lower socio-economic groups of the indigenous population are more likely in the future to regard the second and third generation of migrants as welfare 'spongers', as history shows that social unrest can occur. This was the experience of France in 2005, when riots spread right across the country leading to a state of emergency. The root cause was the sheer hopelessness of a generation of young French adults, ghettoised, marginalised and jobless, because of skin colour and/or their parents' migration status. Tension and discrimination has increased since 2005 for the third-and-fourth-generation offspring of immigrants (Chrisafis, 2010). Rioting is a reoccurring event and a source of civil unrest in France due to the disparity that new generations encounter (Allen, 2012). This is a potential source of social unrest for the future of Irish society (Mac Éinrí, 2004). Policy decision makers should be fully aware of the problems Ireland may currently be developing which will impact the future. As Forde (2012d) so rightly reiterates: *'Ireland is sleepwalking itself into a colossal mess over integration'* (Forde, 2012d, 1). The Irish labour market has been dependent on a labour force of inward migrant workers and will continue to be dependent on them (MRCI, 2008), particularly in certain sectors. The health service is one such example (Quinn, 2006; MRCI, 2008), another was construction (Bobek *et al,* 2008) and while the hospitality sector also remains highly dependent on migrants (Wickham *et al,* 2008). Despite the current economic downturn, Ireland as a developed economy will continue

to be a country of destination for immigrants (Employers Diversity Network, 2009) and will continue to need migrant workers (MRCI, 2008).

The indigenous population may not be aware of the contribution that migrant workers make to the Irish economy. For example, as just mentioned, migrant workers are vital for our health services (MRCI 2008). Financially, migrant workers contributed an estimated annual surplus in income taxes of approximately half a billion euro in 2008 (MRCI, 2008), even though they have often been accused of being welfare 'spongers'. There is no evidence to suggest that migrants are defrauding the social welfare system to any greater lengths than are indigenous workers (MRCI, 2008; MRCI, 2010). The low-paid and less visible work, such as that of the caring industry, is often carried out by migrant workers (MRCI, 2008). Economically and socially, Ireland could not function without the contribution of migrant labour in recent years (Mac Éinrí, 2008) and migrants will continue to be required for future economic growth. Nevertheless, Ireland is in a recession, and the impact of this will affect it for the foreseeable future. Therefore, it is imperative that migrants, as one group of workers, can avail of higher education opportunities similar to those availed of by indigenous workers. They need to gain employable skills to ensure they can adapt to changing labour market demands.

Unemployment affects all categories of migrants, albeit at different levels of severity (CSO, 2012d). For some categories, their entitlement to remain in Ireland is dependent on the fact that they are actively employed (Relate 2010) and if they become unemployed they have no legal right to remain in Ireland (work permit holders). Migrants who become unemployed are at an increased risk of poverty. It is essential to challenge growing poverty and inequality (Forde, 2012c) which the current economic crisis has deepened. Therefore, it is important to establish effective training to create jobs, particularly for those who lack qualifications (Greif, 2009) and remove the discriminatory practices preventing migrants from accessing the labour market, specifically the categories of migrants formally in low-skilled employment. Furthermore, the inability of the Irish labour market to avail of a range of well qualified and skilled migrants renders highly qualified skills useless, as skills become ineffective through lack of use.

Migrants are more vulnerable to unemployment because their skills and qualifications are becoming outdated but, as this and other research has revealed, not all categories of migrants are entitled to access higher education opportunities (Mc Ginnity *et al*, 2012). As the research findings demonstrate, barriers to employment remain for people who have difficulties accessing education opportunities (Dunbar, 2008). This is discriminatory policy which allocates different categories of migrants access to different education and employment services because of the regulations assigned to their legal status. Work permit employees are one group who are very vulnerable and threatened by the impact of the recession. This group of people are from outside the EEA area and their residency status often becomes precarious and very dependent on the possession of current work permits. This is a lengthy process and often directly results in the worker becoming undocumented. There were an estimated 30,000 undocumented migrants in 2010 (MRCI & Pobal, 2010), although this is viewed as a conservative estimation; migrants' rights organisations argue that the numbers could be much higher while other organisations state that it is impossible to know the numbers of undocumented (Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2003).

There are cases of major exploitation regarding migrant workers which is further discussed in section 5.8 but briefly, migrant workers encounter a myriad of experiences of exploitation in the Irish work place, according to the National Employment Rights Authority (NERA, 2010). These range from excessive working hours to extensive practices of underpayment, in some cases amounting to thousands of euros. The work permit system is recognised for its inability to treat migrants as active members of the labour market similar to indigenous workers. Migrant employees are too afraid to speak about problems they are encountering in the work permit system. Policy is currently very restrictive. It is almost impossible to explore employment opportunities because of the strict policy regulations. Even the application process, which is time consuming with a lengthy administration process, forbids the employee from taking up employment, which makes it almost impossible to survive, as the data findings have indicated. Research conducted by Middleton and Mitchell (2006) reveals that employees working under the work permit scheme in County Mayo described it as *'a modern form of slavery'* (as cited in Middleton & Mitchell, 2006, 70). Furthermore, even though most are paying taxes, undocumented workers live in constant dread of

being caught and are, therefore, very vulnerable to exploitation. The work permit system remains fraught with difficulties.

Different groups of migrants have different needs and their circumstances continually change (Nlessen & Huddleston, 2009). Migrants frequently have childcare issues. Childcare is often quite expensive and problematic for migrants in low paid employment; finding affordable childcare is a problem (National Women's' Council of Ireland, 2009). This is a huge barrier for many different nationalities, as there are large numbers of female migrants parenting alone. Furthermore, it can be just as difficult to work part-time, as childcare is still an issue, especially for female migrants parenting alone. Ireland had the highest rate of part-time underemployment of any EU State in 2011 (Social Justice Ireland, 2012).

In conclusion, there are many barriers to accessing employment, and these include the impact of the recession which has resulted in major unemployment leaving migrants particularly vulnerable. Many migrants are/were in low-paid, low skilled employment and are not equipped with the relevant employable skills to be re-employed, nor are they equipped to prepare for the upturn in the economy. Jobs are scarce and competition is high. Migrants themselves acknowledge the lack of proficiency in English as a major barrier to employment, followed by the lack of qualification recognition and lack of knowledge of rights and entitlements. Migrants are more susceptible to marginalization, which may result in social tension. Those in low paid employment are at risk of poverty. Migrants need to be afforded similar opportunities of access to education and employment as the indigenous population is presented with. The following section presents the research data generated around the specific policies addressing the needs and the services available to migrants.

5.6.1 Specific policies and supports

The findings contained in this section seek to elucidate the experiences of migrants when it comes to the range of policies, supports and customised services available to them should they wish to explore the possibility of undertaking third level studies in Ireland. The findings from this section shed light on existing policies and practices geared towards the specific needs of migrants. Different policies are/have been

developed to address a range of different issues affecting migrant learners, so they are at various stages. The research data shows that migrants do need specific policies designed to suit their needs. For instance, so that migrants:

> *can integrate easily and that they can participate in society locally, nationally, regionally, so they, that they can make a contribution...we need the specific policies to make sure that happens...we have seen in the past that it doesn't just happen on its own that you have got to have specific actions, initiatives and policies to make sure that does happen*
> (NGOR).

Migrants do need specific policies, because their needs are different from those of the indigenous population. They need these policies, because research shows they are at greater risk of poverty. As alluded to earlier in section 5.3, the non-EEA fee is a major source of concern for migrants from outside the EEA who encounter this excessive fee. Asylum seekers (in receipt of a weekly €19.10 stipend) are in a similar position; colleges are attempting to respond to these challenges:

> *somebody who might be here looking for status as a refugee...we've created another category of person who is resident here for three of the last five years and has applied for permission to stay...those people who produce evidence to this effect will be treated as EEA students and therefore...we will charge them will be...about one sixth of the eleven thousand...now that also can leave them in a situation that where they can't come anyway*
> (SSR).

Policy is currently being evaluated and may make access more inclusive in the long term, although policy change is quite time consuming. Nonetheless this still leaves certain groups of migrants with no access to education opportunities. There are also practical issues around the provision of student services. As identified earlier, migrants need specific practical supports such as English language, additional tutorials, information provision, and induction, to be able to integrate into college life. The access office in many HEIs may have a much more powerful role to play prior to people entering college but this depends on the size and resources of the access office in each particular institution. Migrants need a designated person to answer their specific queries. The access office is most likely the most appropriate office, because issues around education are very complex (SSR). Several different policies have been developed by various State departments, but unfortunately: *'these strategies are*

largely aspirational and have not been backed up with the resources needed to properly implement them' (IPR).

Government policies need the resources behind them to make them effective. Furthermore, there has been little long-term planning on government policies around recruitment practices and, it has been argued, that there has been little policy on addressing unemployment. *'There doesn't seem to be. The government seems to be applying the same strategy it applies to the young Irish unemployed – hope that they leave'* (IPR). Current EU employment policy is designed to cater for the indigenous population and is discriminatory towards migrant workers *'it is true to say in certain cases that individual migrant needs can be overlooked'* (EUR). The evidence is clear; policies aimed at migrants need further development. The *'European Union has to make a bigger effort in understanding what the needs are'* (EUR). In addition, as there are frequent changes in migration, policy needs to be continuously evaluated for improvements and updating. Migrants have a positive impact on both their countries of origin and their respective host countries. If migration is managed properly: *'they contribute significantly to the economies of the receiving and sending countries alike'* (EUR).

Integration policy is an important policy sphere which needs further development. It has to be continuously called to mind that migrants are not a homogeneous group of individuals; as this thesis has helped reveal, there are numerous 'categories' of migrants, including economic migrants from the EU, EEA and those from outside of the EEA, together with refugees and asylum seekers: *'so policies obviously will differ in relation to each group of migrant'* (AR). There are so many policies that it can be mystifying and this adds to the confusion about the constant changes in regulations.

Cultural integration, or induction training, was frequently mentioned by the research participants as an important part of the support services that should be offered: *'I need to know what constitutes the norms and values in Ireland so that training or that induction course is very important to me'* (NGOR). Also, people are coming into the unknown and have no idea of the specific difficulties they will encounter (NGOR). Some migrants find cultural training programmes are very helpful. In addition, there are specific barriers at a regional level. These include the fact that the border region is

socially, culturally and politically disadvantaged; it is isolated, remote and removed from everywhere (AR), and unemployment has always been very high in this region (RSR). There are fewer employment opportunities (ISR), compounded by rural transport problems: *'the Northwest is no stranger to educational disadvantage as it is'* (RSR). These barriers complicate the experience of migrants living in this region. Also, many research participants stated that there is a necessity for the colleges to get the relevant information out to perspective migrant students (SSR). Again the recession is impacting on college resources:

> *third level colleges are suffering resource wise…the resources are diminishing and the number of students applying...is going to double to the year 2030 so the colleges are going to be very, very stretched to cope with the existing demands as they increase over time*
> (SSR).

This is an additional burden on all education institutions, and one that is deepening as a result of the financial downturn. To conclude, there are numerous policies addressing the specific needs of migrants but migrants are a diverse group of individuals whose needs are not similar or familiar. The residency status, country of origin, and work permit status mean that migrants have different rights and entitlements. Some policy (education, employment and migration) is discriminatory, as it excludes different sets of migrants. Some research participants stated that migrants do need specific policies designed to suit their needs but that general policies will achieve this. Other participants counter argued this point, affirming that they need specific policies to address their needs. Many policies are *ad hoc* at present. It is clear that there are major concerns for the future of higher education and for Irish society.

5.6.2 An analysis of the specific policies and supports

This section analyses the specific policies impacting education, employment and migration. Again there is an interlinking of the themes, which is a strong feature of these research findings. There are a number of various different policies designed to address the diverse needs of migrants, needs which are not well understood by policymakers, because migrants are not a homogenous group of people. Separate policies have been developed to address distinct issues. These include policy and

practice around education, employment rights and entitlements and issues concerning migration policy. The flow of inward migration to Ireland was a rapid experience compared to the flow of inward migration into other countries (Ruhs, 2005), and this resulted in an *ad hoc* method of policy development (European Intercultural Workplace (EIW), 2007), as components of policy were developed basically when the need surfaced or evolved. This situation explains why policies are at different stages. The research data shows that migrants need policies specifically designed and tailored to their evolving needs, to allow migrants to merge more easily into education and employment activities. Designated policy needs to be resourceful, inventive and continuously evolving, to ensure the different needs of migrants are met, as their needs are very diverse and very different from the needs of the indigenous population.

As reiterated in other sections of this chapter, the research participants continually attribute poverty, social exclusion and marginalization as a combination of ongoing issues confronting migrants, key characteristics associated with migrants in low-paid low-skill employment (Cotter & Dunbar, 2008; Forde, 2012c). When migrants become unemployed they have few financial resources to rely on. The link between rising unemployment and poverty levels is strong and poverty levels are set to increase significantly in the coming years, particularly for vulnerable groups on low incomes (Smyth, 2010b). In 2009, the Minister for Integration stated that 20% of the unemployed were migrants (Crowley, 2010).The most vulnerable groups will continue to face greater poverty and deeper inequalities as a result of the economic recession.

There are several separate policies concerning higher education fees, with various levels of gravity for different migrant categories. First and foremost, it is the non-EEA fee that migrants from outside the EEA are required to pay which causes the greatest concern. Asylum seekers are in a similar but more precarious position as policy specifies that they must not be engaged in any type of employment. Colleges are attempting to respond to the financial challenges through adapting the policy, especially for asylum seekers and 'aged out' teenagers. Higher level institutions have created a new category for individuals who have been officially resident for three of the past five years in Ireland. These individuals are categorised as EEA students and are required to contribute a reduced access fee.

In the case of asylum seekers living in direct provision, they are in receipt of €19.50 per week (Middleton & Mitchell, 2006). Their financial situation is so extreme that they cannot pay even the reduced fee, as they do not have the funds to do so. Previous research shows that over 90% of migrants in direct provision stated that they need to purchase additional food to supplement their diet. Almost 70% did not have the finances for this (Fanning *et al*, 2001). Research conducted around food, nutrition and poverty concluded that asylum seekers experience extreme economic deprivation (Manandhar, *et al,* 2006), so paying the reduced fee is impossible. Policy is currently under evaluation and may become more inclusive in the long term with regard to asylum seekers, although policy change is a lengthy process. Furthermore, the recession will more than likely delay any progression in policy for the present. This still leaves certain groups of migrants with no access to higher education opportunities and these groups are not entitled to access any form of Government grant assistance.

Migrants need specific practical supports, such as English language, additional tutorials, information provision, and customized induction to settle into college life, which students often find intimidating in the initial period (Dunbar, 2008). The language support is not general English classes *per se* but specific academic English geared toward third level education. This type of specific language ability tends to be weaker in migrant students (Limerick Integration Working Group, 2010). This applies also to work-based language acquisition skills for greater employment opportunities (McHugh & Challinor, 2011). Also, migrants frequently need practical support in situating an assignment on par with third level academia, as even the indigenous mature learners often find this experience daunting. This is more evident if they have little knowledge of the academic requirements of higher education, which Fleming and Murphy call the 'tricks of the trade' (Fleming & Murphy 1997, 58). The Access Office at Irish HEIs may have a much more powerful role to play in the full student induction process, currently; there are no dedicated support services for migrant students in place in any of the participating colleges. Yet student numbers and ethnic backgrounds are set to increase dramatically in the next decade (NSHE, 2011).

The various State departments have developed numerous policies, in an attempt to address a number of previously established and currently arising policy issues, but unfortunately these strategy approaches are largely aspirational because they lack the

resources to make them effective. To date, it has been argued that the anticipated plan of action by the State to address the unemployment crisis has failed to materialize (Burke-Kennedy, 2013; Kenny, 2012). Unemployment remains very high (CSO, 2012g). The very nature of unemployment is that it is multi-dimensional (Parsons, 1995) and therefore it is quite a complex area to address.

Certain sections of migration policy remain discriminatory toward migrant workers, as they favour the indigenous worker (albeit unintentionally). Policy is discriminatory towards migrants because different categorizations are assigned separate rights and entitlements, depending on their legal status. This leaves certain categories with restricted rights (MRCI, 2008). A migrant's legal status is not static but changeable, due to these alternating rights and entitlements (MRCI, 2007a). If migration policy is developed and managed properly, migrants will benefit the host country and themselves but it is crucial that all aspects of policy development are equally accessed. As there are frequent changes in the migration process, it is important that separate strands of migration policy are frequently evaluated for enhancement and progression purposes, to develop a greater understanding of the needs of migrants. It is equally important that the necessary measures are put in place to both enable migrants and the indigenous population to make contributions to Ireland's economic recovery (Power & Szlovak, 2012).

Irish 'integration' policy is an important policy area but policy still remains underdeveloped, as inward migration has been a relatively recent phenomenon and merits further attention. The Irish model of 'integration' has poor regard for the concepts of equality, social justice and social rights (Considine & Dukelow, 2009). There are 199 different nationalities in Ireland today. Migrants are not a homogenous group, but numerous groups of people and policies differ with regard to their separate and ever changing rights and entitlements (Nlessen & Huddleston, 2009). There are so many policies that it can be confusing and the numerous changes in regulations make it more difficult to remain informed with up-do-date information (Dunbar, 2008). A further specific area of support that the research participants expressed concern about was the lack of service delivery around cultural and induction oriented support services for migrants and services providers (societally and particularly at Irish HEIs). It has been suggested that this induction should include academic and administrative staff

undertaking cultural awareness training programmes, to gain knowledge of different cultures. Migrants also express a desire to become more knowledgeable about the Irish culture, its history and institutions (NASC & Cork City Partnership, 2011). People are entering a new culture and have no idea of the specific difficulties they will encounter but would like to be more knowledgeable around cultural issues which they consider beneficial for themselves and the new destination country.

The study Linehan and Hogan (2008) compiled found that there were no regional differences experienced in the findings from the towns, cities and rural areas (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). This research thesis shows there are no differences between the barriers encountered by migrants rurally or from urban areas. There are additional barriers at a regional level. The border region is socially, culturally and politically disadvantaged. The BMW region overall is underdeveloped (Border, Midland and Western Regional Assembly & Western Development Commission, 2006). The most dominating features are rural isolation, poor infrastructure, rural transport problems, higher unemployment, fewer employment opportunities and childcare concerns (McCoy *et al*, 2009). These barriers complicate the experience of migrants in this region. Due to the specific characteristics of the region, it is imperative that higher education delivers the relevant information to prospective migrant students. Again the recession is impacting on diminishing college resources, yet at the same time student numbers are expected to double by 2030 (NSHE, 2011). This is an additional burden on all education institutions and one that is intensifying for the foreseeable future as the recession continues.

To conclude this section on the specific supports and services available, or otherwise, to migrant learners, it is evident that migrants need additional services to support their access to higher education, thereby generating greater employment possibilities. These include language supports, information on education rights and entitlements, cultural orientation training and awareness programmes. It has been well established that the needs of migrants vary but explicit policies need to address the general areas. In light of the increase of a greater diversity of students and constricted resources, the higher education sector will have to become more innovative and creative in marrying greater need with fewer resources. Rural isolation and the associated problems outlined briefly above are specific barriers to this region which need to be taken into consideration

when dealing with associated problems impacting policy and practice in the region. Finance is a key issue as are poverty and social marginalization. This section is firmly interlinked with the evaluation of the data in the next section on 'integration' policy.

5.7.1 'Integration' policy

According to one of the expert respondents, 'integration' means being part of the social, cultural and political sphere of society and that is the reason *'the integration process is extremely important'* (EUR). 'Integration' is a term that is quite 'loaded', because it often implies that the onus is on the migrant to integrate wholly into the host country: this concept is heavily based on assimilation theory and also implies that the new country has few or no obligations in the 'integration' process. Policy guidelines are vital for integration:

> *I think integration policy is essential, I mean there is no way they are*
> *going to be able to be integrated unless we have some policy in place,*
> *now there has to be some written guide lines for integration*
> (AR).

As stated, the onus is often on the migrant to 'integrate' more than the host community, whereas *'integration policy should be and isn't enough a two way process'* (AR). This is a major argument that has been impacting 'integration' theory for quite some time. Different countries have 'integration' policy which is more in line with assimilation policy; this varies from country to country. Changes occurred in this country in 2008, when the Integration Office published *'Migration Nation'*. This was a new development, because it moved from the concept that the Irish population has developed from being one united nation with one shared culture, to the concept that Ireland has now become a nation of migrants with many cultures (AR). Key stakeholders were initially hopeful that the Integration Office would progress and develop good 'integration' policy and practice.

The establishment of the Minister of the Office for Integration was one of the first such initiatives in the EU. However, there have been a number of serious criticisms about the workings of the Integration Office. One such criticism concerns issues around funding, which has always been considered to be weak. Successive Government

Ministers *'constantly contradicted themselves by what they mean by integration'* (AR), and this has continually weakened the standing of the Integration Office. The recession is also having a major impact on funding and resources and the Office has been downgraded since 2008. Furthermore: *'it has not since retained any degree of prominence in terms of Government policy'* (AR). The NCCRI was closed, which reinforces the message that 'integration' is not important (AR). On top of this:

> *the minister never really escaped from the clutches of the Department of Justice Equality and Law Reform and this department has the most reactionary attitudes...for the most part they have been the major obstacle to achieving any changes in integration, that and their appalling record on asylum, there are people years, and years, and years in the system here, there are people committing suicide, there are people suffering from depression, there are people deported increasingly by the dozen and we have the lowest rate of acceptance in the European Union for asylum applications, so in general, we have never put our money where our mouths are*
> (AR).

There are criticisms of the policy and practice of the Integration Office, while at the same time some research participants argue that the Office is very important: *'because we won't have social inclusion if we haven't got some office driving all that'* (AR); mistakes were made, not intentionally but made nonetheless. A number of research participants stated that the Office for Integration had potential if the right person was appointed Minister. Some respondents stated that the NCCRI should be reinstated: as *'there needs to be something that's outside Government that at least can have a little bit of a watch dog role'* (RSR). Education is the main building block of 'integration' but, according to a number of the of the research participants, education does not address the issue of 'integration' in any real terms (AR). There are other aspects to 'integration' including the provision of services and language, but also:

> *people need assurance in particular that their families would be integrated here because my experience of migrants, it's the migrant story everywhere, the migrant herself or himself will put up with all kinds of human sacrifices...but if the next generation is still treated as if they are there on the outside then it's a different story, and that's what we learn from the experience of Britain and France, the people who rioted in France in 2005 were not migrants, they weren't even the sons and daughters of migrants, they were their grandchildren, the same thing happened in Britain they have a great generation of emigration in 1950s starting with the Windrush in 1948 all of those people coming from the Caribbean, from Pakistan, from India*

becoming the driving force of the heart of the British economy, it was
their kids a generation later found themselves excluded through racism
or lack of opportunities in the work place, they are the ones that rioted
in Tottenham and in Brixton and in all those other places going as far
as the 1980s and beyond, and then we have further riots in 2000, 2001
so we can see all of that happening therefore I think when it comes to
the future, therefore it's the way the children are treated that will
matter to migrant parents probably more than anything else
(AR).

The main benchmark of failed 'integration' policy is the second generation's poor educational achievements. It is crucial for countries like Ireland, with no experience of 'integration' policy, to develop good integration policy; otherwise social cohesion is at major risk (EUR). 'Integration' needs to be high on the agenda of policy makers, since many European States depend heavily on migrant workers. Currently they still do not sufficiently address the *complex myriad of issues'* (EUR), and failing to address the issues *'will create difficult societial problems both for migrants and their hosts'* (EUR). Another important part of progressive 'integration' is that people are allowed to keep their identity. It is a fine balancing act between one's identity and adjusting to the new culture:

people need to preserve their own identity and they need to recognise
and honour their own culture...but they also need to recognise that
they are living in a new culture...that will require adjustment from
their own culture...so I think the challenge is to get a balance between
recognising both culture...and getting a balance there
(NGOR).

Another potential source of conflict is a source of 'extreme multiculturalism,' where interculturalism reaches the point of no contact between groups of people who live side by side, and there are no interactions between the communities. Groups of people live in enclaves of their own, where each community has no understanding of the other. This is a potential source of conflict and another source of social tension (AR). Effective 'integration' is a challenge, but it is absolutely crucial (IPR). 'Integration' strategies that respect diversity and uphold core human rights, are essential for good 'integration' policy and practice (IPR) and, as it stands: *'clearly many migrants do not feel supported in their integration into Irish society'* (NGOR). The onus of the responsibility for 'integration' lies with policy makers, and education is critical to successful and progressive integration (IPR). The following section presents the analysis of 'integration' policy.

5.7.2 An analysis of 'integration' policy

One key question for policymakers is whether, or how far, immigration policy or immigration itself undermines integration
(Saggar & Somerville, 2012, 20).

Inward migration in Ireland is a relatively new phenomenon, as Ireland traditionally has been a country of emigration. Migrants were enticed to Ireland during the 'Celtic Tiger' period and many of these still remain in Ireland despite the economic downturn. 'Integration' policy is absolutely essential, to ensure that migrants are accommodated in Irish society and that policy is proactive and progressive. The extent of the changes brought about by Ireland's sudden economic prosperity which attracted migrants resulted in the induction of *ad hoc* measures (European Intercultural Workplace: Republic of Ireland, 2007). Prior to the economic downturn, indicators revealed that inconsistencies existed across policies and 'integration' policy was lacking overall. Furthermore, legislative and administrative barriers in the employment and educational sectors seriously hinder 'integration' (EIW, 2007). The term 'integration' is loaded, as it often infers that the onus is on the migrant to integrate into the host society with little assistance from the State. *The National Action Plan Against Racism* (2005) defines 'integration' as a 'range of targeted strategies for the inclusion of groups such as Travellers, refugees and migrants as part of the overall aim of developing a more inclusive and intercultural society' (NAPAR, 2005, 38). 'Integration' is a process of mutual adjustment between the host society and migrants', where interaction between both groups becomes the norm (Healy, 2007). The host society accepts the identity of diversity and the migrant forms a sense of belonging (Healy, 2007). These are all aspects of proactive 'integration' policy. In addition, the EU Common Basic Principles (CBPs) state that employment is a major tool in the 'integration' process but it is essential to have a basic knowledge of the language, history and institutions of the host country to harmonize the 'integration' process (COM (2005) 0389 FINAL). The CBPs strike a number of balances between, for example, respect for diversity, while affirming the core values of society (Mac Éinrí, 2007).

Positive changes occurred in this country when the Integration Office published *Migration Nation* in (2008). This was a new development where the Irish population

moved from the idea of being one nation to a nation of many cultures. Initially, key stakeholders were very positive that the Integration Office would develop good 'integration' policies and practices. In an interview with Ruuadhán MacCormaic in 2008, the then Minster of Integration, Conor Lenihan, outlined the two main objectives of his work. He stated that he must ensure that migrants would not encounter any barriers to succeeding in Irish society and that it was essential to create an understanding of the barriers for the indigenous population. In addition to these main objectives, the Minister also insisted they would help ensure that social cohesion is maintained. The most important element of successful 'integration' is the 'integration' policy (Mac Cormaic, 2008a). However, the funding for the Integration Office has always been poor and successive government Ministers have made damaging statements on the meaning of 'integration'. These comments are contradictory and have continually weakened the standing of the Integration Office. Lentin (2006) calls this contradictory process 'biopolitics', while Crowley (2010) says it provides hidden messages, meaning, for example, the process of strategic planning without the back-up resources to carry out the plan. One direct example is as follows. Despite the fact that local government authorities have sole responsibility for ensuring the future inclusion of migrants into Irish society, the Local Government Reform Strategic Plan in October 2012 had no projected plans in place for 'integration' policy or practice. This is one of the greatest challenges facing local government authorities, yet the strategic plan fails to mention it (Forde, 2012a).

The recession is having a further impact on funding and resources (Integration Centre, 2012d), and the Office has been downgraded since the recession began. The Integration Centre called for the appointment of a new Minister for Integration in 2010, when the latest Government went into power, but a Minister has yet to be appointed (Integration Centre, 2012d). The old Integration Office is now called the 'Office for the Promotion of Migrant Integration' (Mc Ginnity *et al*, 2012). The NCCRI, which was the national organisation against racism, was closed in 2008 due to budget cuts. Potentially, this sends the message that 'integration' does not retain any degree of importance. Although there are serious financial constraints on the State's resources, the process of 'integration' facilitation has been dropped by the current government (Forde, 2012d). Yet 'integration' is a serious matter of concern. Migrant workers are needed and the whole subject needs to be addressed politically. Additional to this, the

Office of Integration has been very closely connected with the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, yet Killian Forde, CEO of the Integration Centre (2012), argued that the Minister for Justice, has twice denied in parliamentary questions being responsible for integration (Forde, 2012a). There have been a number of criticisms regarding the policy and practice of the Integration Office, while other research participants argue that the Office is very important because of its watch dog role. One third of the TDs surveyed in 2011 stated that integration should not be under the remit of the Department of Justice (Integration Office, 2012d) which does not have a good record on asylum.

People seeking asylum in Ireland face a tough challenge, as the application process is very time consuming; it often takes three years, although people have been in direct provision for up to seven years (Arnold, 2012). Living in centres of direct provision is challenging because individuals are confined to share their 'living' space and the level of privacy is minimal (FLAC, 2009). Even if all the policy failures/barriers identified in this research were adequately addressed, the conditions in which asylum seekers are expected to live in (direct provision) are totally unconducive to appropriate study environments. Sharing the facilities with countless others over extended periods is also demanding. In one reception centre, there were three bath rooms with three toilets, for 20 rooms that accommodate up to fifty people (FLAC, 2009). Food is also a major issue in direct provision. People are consuming food they have never tasted before; they have no control over the menu, mealtimes or the choice of food (FLAC, 2009).

Education is the main building block of 'integration' but according to a number of the research participants, education is not addressing the issue of 'integration' in any meaningful way. The ability to access lifelong learning opportunities has a significant role in facilitating the 'integration' process (MRCI, 2006). There are other aspects to 'integration', including the provision of services and language, but, as alluded to earlier in this chapter, the lack of services and language supports negatively impact the 'integration' process (Focus Ireland & Immigration Council of Ireland, 2008). The migration experience of other countries confirms that it is the second and subsequent generations that feel marginalised because of the lack of opportunities, and this can, result in tension and social unrest. A further potential source of conflict is the idea of 'extreme multiculturalism', that is, where there is little or no contact between different

cultural/ethnic/religious groups living side by side in the community. Multiculturalism denotes the concept that individuals are afforded rights and entitlements in the host society, while keeping their identity and culture (Mac Éinrí, 2002). Interculturalism should denote the positive movement and relationship between cultures (Mac Éinrí, 2002). Accordingly, the main bench mark of failed 'integration' policy is measured by the second generation's poor educational achievements. Migrant children in primary and post-primary schools in Ireland whose first language is not English are already experiencing difficulties academically along with difficulties in social interactions with those around them (European Commission, 2013).

It is crucial for Ireland to develop good 'integration' policy and thus prevent social tension and unrest among the migrant population. Research conducted among TDs found that over half felt that the Government needs to take a stronger leading role in 'integration' strategies (Integration Centre, 2012a). Many of the research participants agree with these arguments; 'integration' policy must be inclusive and progressive. Measuring and evaluating policy benchmarks is an important part of the development of progressive policy. Another important aspect of progressive policy-making is the involvement of minority ethnic groups in the decision-making process. Migrants understand their own experiences and are the experts on their needs. They should be presented with the opportunity to network with the policy-makers around different policy strategies. Travellers were presented with this opportunity, which was quite a purposeful partnership approach (McVeigh, 2002). Ethnic minorities need to have ownership and should take control of ethnic organisations: organisations like Pavee Point are inspirational (McVeigh, 2002).

Developing best practice or high-quality 'integration' policy will require certain benchmarks. 'Integration' policy and practice will necessitate a coherent and transparent framework, identifying set benchmarks and key areas for improvement, using set guiding principles of professional standards. There are four distinct stages in benchmarking. These are planning, research, analysis and implementation. The planning stage identifies the issues that are to be addressed. The research stage identifies the target group and the resource material and identifies the barriers the group may encounter. This stage also maps the policies designed to deliver the services that organisations provide to address the areas of improvement (Nlessen & Huddleston,

2009). The analysis stage reviews the impact of the assessments and explores best practice that meets the agreed criteria, by networking with other agencies. The final stage of the benchmarking process is implementation. This is the process where improvements to policy and practice are made by closing the gap that remains between current and best practice (Nlessen & Huddleston, 2009). This will further inform the review.

Public policy is very complex, and there is a 'multitude of approaches' to it (Peters & Pierre, 2006). It is an umbrella policy approach for the government, to address different kinds of problems in society (Pierre, 2006). Policy analysts focus on shaping and forming policy, on decision-making and on policy delivery (Parsons, 1995). Similar to the four stages of bench marking, policy development consists of different stages and includes agenda setting, decision making, implementation and evaluation (Peters & Pierre, 2006). Policy interests and ideas that frame policy developments are closely linked together (Parsons, 1995). Finally, policies in the process of policy implementation should be evaluated, to measure if they reached their targeted population and whether the service is consistent with the specified service delivery (Parsons, 1995).

To conclude, inward migration is a relatively new phenomenon for Ireland, as migrants were sought during the 'Celtic Tiger' period and many of these remain in Ireland despite the downturn. As the demographic changes were rapid, management of migration flows resulted in *ad hoc* 'integration' measures, but progressive 'integration' or migration management policy is crucial for maintaining social cohesion (Mac Cormaic, 2008a). The migration experience of other countries confirms that it is the second and subsequent generations who feel marginalized because of the lack of opportunities, thus resulting in tension and social unrest. There is an immediate need for progressive 'integration' policy development, which will require accurate benchmarking tools. 'Integration' remains a debatable concept and Ireland has yet to engage pro-actively on the fundamental but comprehensive question of integration policy (Mac Éinrí, 2007). The onus of responsibility of 'integration' lies with policy-makers but migrants need to be presented with the opportunity to network with the policy-makers to ensure that policy is designed to address their needs. A good example of a partnership approach was used between the Travellers and the HSE to address

anti-racist training (Beire & Jaichand, 2006). Education is also critical to successful and progressive 'integration'. Finally, racism is a barrier to integration, particularly for the individual but also impacting on the surrounding community (NASC, 2012). The following section presents the research data specifically generated around racist and discriminatory policy and practice.

5.8.1 Racist and discriminatory practices

Racism presents itself in many forms and includes discriminatory practices in policy documents, attitudes, assumptions, in the media, and in institutional racism. In addition, State representatives often make racist comments. One respondent was of the view that, on the whole, the Irish are racist: '*I think that there is a sort of deep vein of prejudice running through all our western societies and Ireland is no exception*' (AR). There is a prejudice that:

> *runs deep in western culture about the importance of being white and*
> *also you know the subtle drip, drip, drip over many generations of*
> *what the media has told us about the rest of the world and our place in*
> *it*
> (AR).

There are several Irish policies that basically disadvantage migrants, such as the policy around residency status and access to education, social welfare and health (AR). This is discriminatory and racist, especially around college fees and it could lead to 'third class citizens' (AR). Again, racism is institutionalised, as a direct result of the policies and practices that govern Irish institutions. This warrants serious attention, particularly in light of the recession. Irish organisations need to be proactive in their approach to institutional racism and the people in power have an additional role to fulfill because: '*the TDs do sometimes make some very provocative comments and I think those provocative comments can be extremely dangerous*' (RSR). Racism is very often media orientated:

> *you only have to switch on the radio, the remarks are there, I wish*
> *they'd go back to their own country, we have no work for our own, it's*
> *almost like it's a sloganised kind of racism at the minute, but it's not*
> *being talked about as racism, it's almost like we are justified in saying*
> *these things because of the way the economy has gone, it doesn't seem*
> *to be going down happy with an awful lot of Irish people, and an awful*
> *lot of it is left unsaid*
> (RSR).

Another respondent was of the view that employers will exploit migrants given the chance: '*Irish employers are fine upstanding men, examples of great insight, would never dare exploit anybody, except when they get away with it*' (IPR). The Irish Trade Unions have encountered many experiences of exploitative practices by employers. Some migrants have become so desperate to find employment that they commit to anything, regardless of the exploitative working conditions, but nonetheless, employers continue to exploit them. Too many migrants come from countries where they have little trust in their own country's government, that they almost fear authoritarian organisations, and will suffer in silence rather than seek help (IPR). Exploitation is compounded by the fact that many migrants are afraid of figures in authority and they are commonly employed in sectors that are often poorly regulated. There is no specific system in place to report racially motivated attacks and there is an official tendency to state that attacks were not racist when:

> *it blatantly was the case, we had the murder of the Nigerian teenager…the two Polish lads who were killed in another racist attack not so long ago either…the Probation of Incitement to Hatred Act…has proved to be almost completely toothless*
> (AR).

Approximately sixteen years ago, in 2000, the Government stated that it would review the legislation on racism, but as yet has failed to do so. Ireland is not addressing issues around racism:

> *there certainly should be more…proactive instruments, legislative and otherwise to deal with incidents on the ground, there should also be a more proactive education process whereby people become more familiar with it*
> (IPR).

Research shows that other countries encountered major social unrest because subsequent generations of migrants felt no sense of belonging in their new surroundings and that they were isolated from the community:

> *it's the next generation that you are building up problems with because the next generation is always going to feel in some way an in between generation you know on the one hand neither completely local nor completely from outside and they have to feel that they belong…but if they are constantly getting a barrage of messages which says they are not wanted…that nobody listens to the issues they raise, you know you*

are stacking up problems for yourself as I think the French have found out
(AR).

France has encountered significant social problems with second and subsequent generation migrants. The importance of reporting racism cannot be overstated as the non-reporting of racism may give the false impression that racism does not occur when in fact it does (AR). It is currently very much a live issue and is vital that it does not increase. The actual term 'incidents of racism' *'belittles'* the concept of racism (AR). Racism has been increasing as a direct result of the economic recession; quite a large number of research participants agree with this statement: *'the impact of the recession is now beginning to tell in terms of increases in racism'* (AR). It is vital that racism is stamped out (IPR) and that all groups are treated equally. Migrants need to feel they belong in Irish society, that they are afforded similar opportunities as the indigenous populations are afforded and that ghettos are not created (IPR). It is absolutely crucial that migrants are not forced to feel like third class citizens (AR). It is absolutely essential that policies with regard to migrants are anti-racist proofed. The following section presents the analysis of the impact of racism and discrimination.

5.8.2 An analysis of racist and discriminatory practices

Racism has many faces and many disguises; there is racism in Ireland as there is in other western countries: *'there is a sort of deep vein of prejudice running through all our western societies and Ireland is no exception'* (AR). There is a '*subtle drip, drip, drip'* of the *'importance of being white'* (AR). There is a prevailing racist sense that whites are "better" than blacks and this attitude 'permeates the society, on both the individual and institutional level, covertly and overtly' (Ture & Hamilton 1992, 5). This prevailing sense that one group of people is superior to another is the foundation of racism argues Memmi (2000). In his introduction to Memmi's book *Racism* (2000), Martinot summarizes Memmi's underlying concept of racist theory as underpinned by four principles: (1) the insistence on a real or imagined difference between two groups of people; (2) a difference that is of negative value; (3) this negativity applied to the whole group; (4) a legal status of hostility and aggression (Martinot, 2000, xvii-xviii). Memmi (2000) states that 'difference' is the main component of racism, that is, the

difference of superiority, seen as biological and cultural inequality and the implied economic and political inequality which provides for conditions of superiority. This forms the basis of racist theory (Memmi, 2000); according to Mac Éinrí, difference is not tolerated in Ireland (2004).

The foundation of racism is power and denying access to opportunities, resources and decision-making processes (Farrell & Watt, 2001). There are several Irish policies which basically disadvantage migrants. The tiered college fee is a good example of discriminatory policy. It imparts different rights and entitlements on different groups of people depending on their residency status (MRCI, 2007). Finance is of greater significance to migrants from outside the EU, due to the differential fees demanded by education institutions, again depending on legal status and country of origin. This is one form of institutional racism. Another example of Irish policy that disadvantages migrants is the Irish Born Child Administrative Scheme for Immigrant Residency 2005 (IBC/05), which bestows different legal status, rights and entitlements on individual family members, thus reinforcing inequality within the single family unit (Coakley, 2012). This is a major source of tension within migrant families of Irish born children (Coakley, 2012) and is another form of institutional racism. It is crucial that Irish organisations are proactive in their approach to institutional racism, which is the most difficult form of racism to tackle because of its covert nature and because of the unwillingness of the State to investigate the hidden or even the visible barriers to equality (Beire & Jaichand, 2006). The key to measuring institutional racism is finding out whether a particular policy or practice has a negative impact on ethnic minorities (Beire & Jaichand, 2006).

Political leadership has an important role to play in stamping out racism (Mutwarasibo, 2012). Over half of the TDs who participated in a recent research study believed the Government needs to take a stronger leading role in 'integration' strategies (Integration Centre, 2012a). Language used by journalists frequently portrays racist thought and attitude, but journalists are not the only offenders; unnamed officials habitually feed sensational stories to the media (Haughey, 2001). Politicians and journalists are aware of and acknowledge the importance of implied communication, yet both groups can be lackadaisical about the content of their communication (Haughey, 2001). The terms of reference directed at asylum seekers and refugees indicate to the general public that the

country is becoming 'flooded' with them, which are resulting in all sorts of problems, including 'defrauding the welfare system', 'over-running the maternity hospitals' and generally 'robbing everyone'. This sensationalises and encourages racist attitudes and behaviour (Guerin, 2002). One typical example of a public figure making such remarks was Councillor Seamus Treanor, who stated that the Eastern Europeans were rampantly claiming unemployment benefit and that 80% of the people he meets walking down the street are Eastern Europeans; yet the statistics show that 9.3% of the population of Monaghan are migrants from outside Europe (Integration Centre, 2012i). These comments are fabricated and unjust. The Integration Centre made a formal complaint to An Garda Síochána after Judge Mary Devins made a highly racist remark about Polish people and social welfare (Integration Centre, 2012d). The Integration Centre withdrew the complaint after the Judge issued an apology.

The media influence on public discourse on racism is often authoritative and strongly influential. The media (particularly newspapers) often report on issues about migrants which can be 'second hand' analysis of information (Mac Éinrí, 2006a). Participants in this research expressed a belief that there is almost a justification for racist comments due to the economic downturn, bringing about the assumption that migrants are taking Irish jobs (as well as defrauding the welfare system). In times of economic recession, lack of work may increase tensions in the community, as has happened in Britain, where it was argued that British jobs should be kept for the British, so far similar scenes have not occurred in this country but the potential is there (Krings, 2009). Nonetheless, it has been noted that Irish attitudes towards migrants are more negative since the recession (Smyth, 2009). There are increasing reports of racist remarks by customers towards migrant workers in the hospitality sector (Moynihan & Dunbar, 2008). But racism is seriously under-reported. Research undertaken in Cork shows that 82.8% of participants who had experienced racism did not report it (NASC, 2012). Over half of the participants in the NASC study believed that nothing would come from reporting the incident. Racism has increased in Ireland (Integration Centre, 2011a; 2011c). Research conducted among TDs in both 2011 and 2012, revealed an increase in racist attitudes; 45% of the TDs in the 2012 study felt that racism was on the increase compared to 28% in 2011 (Integration Centre, 2012b). Racism is becoming more acceptable (Mutwarasibo, 2012).

Employers will exploit migrants, given the chance. The Irish Trade Unions have encountered frequent exploitative practices by employers but experience has taught them that migrants tend to be 'afraid' of figures of authority, even though they are continually exploited by their employers. Most importantly, they fear they will lose their jobs (Connolly & Dunbar, 2008). Polish workers called this a 'cultural hang over', as they come from a country steeped in high unemployment (Kropiwiec & King-O'Riain, 2008). Migrants will suffer in silence rather than speak out, particularly migrants who are desperate for work. They are three times more likely to experience discrimination looking for work; while Black migrants are seven times more likely to experience discrimination compared to the indigenous population (O'Connell & McGinnity, 2008).

To conclude this section, racism has many faces and many disguises, but it is the prevailing sense that one group of people is superior to another that perpetuates racist discourse and individual racist behaviour. In addition, there are several Irish policies that disadvantage migrants. Institutional racism is the most difficult form of racism to tackle because of its covert nature. Furthermore, people in power are often racist and the media has a strong influence on public discourse on racism; recently, there have been a number of very serious racist attacks, with an official denial that they were not racist. The State's failure to address social exclusion issues risks increasing tensions. Migrants need to feel they belong in Irish society and that they are afforded similar opportunities to the indigenous population. The following section critiques the research data specifically generated on the future employment needs and the response of HE.

5.9.1 Future employment needs and the role of higher education

The future employment needs, and future skills needs of Irish society are both very important areas for the development of the country. It is vital that higher education focuses on producing a skilled, knowledge-based work force, tailored for future labour markets. The working population needs to be skilled in specialised subjects and include language skills, technology, ICT skills, science and mathematics (EUR), all skills which are extremely important for the recovery of the economy in the future. The role of higher education is also very important for the development of the country. As one expert respondent asserted:

> *higher education plays an essential role in society, creating new knowledge, transferring it to students and fostering innovation…It is very important that a dynamic variety of courses are available in order to match the needs of all students*
> (EUR).

Higher education courses need to be tailored directly to reflect the demands and the needs of the knowledge economy and the labour force (EUR). There are a number of avenues that higher education institutions can use to improve the role of third level institutions. One such example could be developing stronger partnerships between the third level sector and industry within the local community, *'that would be a good way to determine the future demands'* (AR). Education policy makers must create an understanding of what learning outcomes are required. The qualifications of the workforce are a *'huge consideration in the economic recovery'* (ISR), so institutions have a key role and influence in this process. Learning and adapting one's skills is a constant process involving the individual, the education providers, employers and the government to: *'adapt to changing patterns in order to enable people to learn skills needed for a new working environment'* (EUR).

> *The third level colleges should really look at a map of the world at the moment, see what economies are progressing, see why they are progressing…and basically implement it here*
> (IPR).

Finally, given the financial constraints higher education institutions are going to have to network, consult and collaborate with each other, this is '*absolutely vital'* (ISR). Higher education institutions are vital for creating new courses and new knowledge as future employment patterns and skills needs are fully knowledge based. *'Colleges are crucial to creating new courses'* (IPR).

5.9.2 An analysis of the future employment needs and the role of higher education

Employment skills are very important areas for the future development of the country and the recovery of the economy. People need to have the right skills to adapt to the jobs of the future (National Skills National Jobs NSNJ, 2010). Higher skilled-jobs are beginning to replace lower-skilled jobs and therefore it is essential to be provided with the opportunity to upskill (IVEA, 2009b; NSHE, 2011). Higher education courses need

to be tailored directly to reflect the demands and the needs of the knowledge economy and the labour force. Education systems are attempting to rise to the challenges but mismatches and skills shortages still occur (NSNJ, 2010). Greater targeted investments are required between now and 2020 in education and training (European Commission 2010/C 117/01, 2010). Some of the jobs that people work at, in 2015 for instance, will no longer exist in 2030. It is for this reason that we must take a broader approach to knowledge and foster the core enabling competencies and skills (NSHE, 2010) to empower future workers.

There are numerous avenues that higher education institutions can use to improve the role of third level institutions. The development of a broader range of routes into the HE sector has potential, if there is significant expansion of part-time and flexi-course delivery as part of the lifelong learning process (NPEA, 2010). This presents the opportunity to network with local employers and businesses to dictate what should be taught for the current and future job market. Future economic prosperity depends on the population with employable skills, so public investment in education is vital (NSNJ, 2010). Given the financial constraints, higher education institutions are going to have to network, consult and collaborate with each other: this is absolutely vital. As it stands, there is a lack of sufficient mechanisms that work with the constrained resources that must now also deal with new and emerging skills needs (European Commission, 2010/C 117/01, 2010). Many higher institutions find that, although the demand for accessing higher education is continually increasing, the resources are not and this is hampering access. HEIs face the challenge of using scarce resources to reach the increasing diverse needs of students (NPEA, 2010). As a result of the economic recession, resources have been seriously restricted and this is having a major impact on higher education institutions and the increasingly diverse needs of students (NSHE, 2011; COM (2009)640 final, 2009).

It is essential to develop labour market tools to measure skill shortages, skill gaps, and areas where education is under developed (NSNJ, 2010). *The Intercultural Education Strategy 2010-2015* (2010) is the response to Ireland's commitment to the World Conference Against Racism in Durban in 2001. Since the publication of the Strategy, *The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination CERD, (2011)* criticized the severe budget cuts resulting in the closure of human rights organisations due to the

economic recession (CERD, 2011). The Committee states that the services of these important organisations need to be transferred into other Government departments in order to continue to protect ethnic minorities from racial discrimination. The economic recession has had a powerful negative influence that threatens to reverse all the achievements made during the boom years to combat discrimination (CERD, 2011). *The Intercultural Education Strategy* (2010) set out to target all students to become aware of diversity but the strategy mainly focused on primary and post-primary sectors and not the third level sector (DES & OMI, 2010). A one year on discussion group met on October 27th 2011 to discuss the achievements of the Intercultural Education Strategy (2010); one participant from the HEA stated that migrant student numbers are increasing in third level through access programmes. The information on the HE sector is limited to this brief information (Discussion Group, Intercultural Education Strategy, 2011). To end on a positive note, the catch phrase has been coined that states 'get in', 'stay in' and 'get on'; which, in other words, means up-learn, be gainfully employed, and progress in employment (NSNJ, 2010); this is the key to education.

To conclude, employment and skills needs are very important areas for the forthcoming development of the country. It is vital that higher education focuses on producing a skilled, knowledge-based work force tailored for future labour markets and the recovery of the economy. It is vital that labour market tools are developed to measure skill shortages, skill gaps and areas where education is under developed. Future economic prosperity depends on the population with employable skills, and public investment in education is vital. As a result of the economic recession, resources have been seriously restricted, which is having a major impact on higher education institutions and the increasingly diverse needs of students. The role of higher education is very important and meeting the skills needs is crucial for the economy. The following section presents the dominant interlinking themes that have emerged from chapter two and chapter three.

5.10 Emerging dominant themes in chapter two and three

The nature of this research has resulted in continuous interlinks between chapter 2, exploring the experience of ethnic minority groups in Ireland and chapter 3 experience looking at the experience of ethnic minority groups in Britain and the Netherlands, with emerging dominant themes arising from an evaluation of the migration managing process of Britain and the Netherlands. The dominant emerging themes focus on the content of each theme and not on the findings of the separate chapters. It is not a direct correlation between the three countries on each occasion. Proficiency in the host country language is one of the most dominating themes in this thesis. It has been well established that migrants whose language skills are weak encounter greater challenges in the host country. Proficiency in language promotes opportunities in employment education, cultural and social cohesion (Martinoview *et al,* 2009). It also reduces the levels and frequency of discrimination (McNair, 2009). Finance is, and will continue to be, a universal problem for students of all ages, but particularly problematic for migrant students. Many of the jobs migrants do are dirty, dangerous and difficult, and far too frequently, these jobs have very little job security. As it stands, policies and practices confer different rights and entitlements on migrant groups, frequently dependent on their legal and residency status. This means that there are numerous inequalities between ethnic minority groups and between migrant groups and the host country. Policy that disregards the rights and entitlements of minority groups is creating a socially excluded and marginalised society; this is a policy of denial, a denial of social justice and fundamental rights. There are numerous groups who have very few rights and entitlements to public services, including access to higher education opportunities, which is a basic fundamental right set down in law (UN General Assembly (A/51/506) (1996).

The labour market dictates the demand for migrants and migrants will continue to be in demand in the future, therefore long-term strategies are required. Policy that ignores or undermines the importance of both groups (migrants and the rest of the population) is heading in the direction of social exclusion and marginalization. In fact, there is very little literature on the topic of post-migration education. There are numerous migrant groups who have very few rights and entitlements and very limited research has been conducted into the impact of this. People do not have similar access to equality of

opportunity, which constitutes a major barrier, particularly in accessing the higher education sector. Similar themes have emerged: the most dominant are social justice issues and concern:

1. the relevancy of rights and entitlements in the 'integration' process;
2. the impact of racism in real terms;
3. the migration management process;
4. the challenge of multiculturalism.

The following section presents the arguments around individuals' rights and entitlements.

5.10.1 Relevancy of rights and entitlements in the 'integration' process

There are stark contradictions between what the State envisions as its idea of 'integration', and the reality for different groups of migrants in Irish society. The State promotes anti-racist policy and practice, but at the same time, numerous State policies, when applied in practical terms, actually discriminate against and marginalise many groups of migrants, because of a direct policy of assigning different rights and entitlements to various groups of migrants. These policies result in widening the gap between rich and poor, not only between migrants and the indigenous population, but also between different migrant groups. The impacts of these policies are particularly prevalent in two contentious areas, education and employment, and as a result, have a deeply detrimental impact on equality of opportunity for separate migrant groups (OECD, 2007). Furthermore, these social inequalities have been institutionalised by the State system as the norm, which in effect is racist practice (Fanning 2007b).

A common language has been developed in communications with the public or the media over a number of years about migration issues which has frequently inferred a negative image. In 2004 for example, the terms 'national' and 'non-national' became commonplace during debates around immigration issues, the term 'non' imparting a negative image of a non being. The idea of national and non-national groups implies two sets of people, a contradictory practice and counterproductive to social cohesion. There were a number of other State interventions associated with stereotyping distinct groups of people that again, were sources of contradiction. The Citizenship

Referendum (2004) automatically removed the birthright from children born in Ireland whose parents were not Irish. Yet the 1937 Irish Constitution (1937) claimed to protect all children of the nation. This is contradictory legislation (Fanning 2007b). Other examples of contradictory regulations infringe on citizenship rights. The Citizenship Act (2004) infers Irish citizenship on individuals who, although they are legally permitted to apply for social welfare in policy, in practice, are considered a drain on the social welfare services so, citizenship status will be refused. Policies that threaten the position of economic migrants are in danger of creating long-term marginalization and jeopardizing the long term future of 'integration'.

Asylum seekers are frequently considered a threat to society and are habitually regarded with suspicion, but initially they are identified as temporary migrants and are not considered eligible for full social rights and entitlements. Fanning (2011), argues that the asylum crisis was deemed a major risk and therefore justified the introduction of Direct Provision and the attached restrictive policies and practices (Fanning, 2011). Guest workers also encounter restrictive rights and entitlements, because they are considered temporary and will leave when the work is done, and are also viewed with suspicion. It is essential that economic and social rights are conferred on everyone inclusively as common basic rights (Mac Éinrí, 2007b). Polices that marginalise significant numbers of migrants from mainstream society are a real cause of concern; these are failed social policies (Fanning, 2011). One of the more serious challenges that Ireland may encounter is the practice of workplace discrimination and exploitation, which is frequently the result of policy implementation (Fanning, 2011). This is completely counterproductive. There is evidence to suggest that public opinion and attitudes towards migrants have become more negative since the onset of the recession (Grene & Bourke, 2014).

The lack of opportunities creates many divisions in individual people's lives, because it impacts and converges in all elements of a person's life. The lack of financial security is a common but major factor of inequality (Barry, 2005). The financial gap between the rich and the poor in this country is at its widest in thirty years (Murphy, 2012). Poverty is a major social justice issue, because it negatively impacts human development. Human development, human potential and education form the central core of the 'Capabilities Approach' developed by Martha Nussbaum (2011). Education

greatly enhances employment opportunities, political participation and civic interaction at a local and national level. Education and human development are basic fundamental rights grounded in human dignity (Nussbaum, 2011). Another important argument is that far too many migrants remain unsure about their status and future in Irish society, because of the 'permanent sense of the temporary' which arises from the resident and employment status that has been bestowed on different migrant groups. Some groups end up with few or no rights and entitlements (Houses of Oireachtas Integration Policy Statement, 1 December 2007; Employment Law Compliance Bill, 18 February 2009). Ethnic minority groups need access to similar opportunities as the host population; otherwise groups of people will feel displaced with little sense of belonging.

Ireland can learn from the experience of other countries. France and Britain have experienced civil unrest because ethnic minorities in both countries have felt isolated. Riots occurred among the Algerian community in the French district of Abbeville in Paris and in Britain, the words 'Brixton and riots are nearly synonymous' (Houses of Oireachtas Integration Policy Statement, 13 December 2007). It is essential that this kind of unrest is not experienced in this country. Social rights are frequently tied to immigration regulations and therefore many groups of migrants in Ireland are denied full social rights. These include workers in the unregulated domestic sector, work-permit holders and illegal workers. These specific groups of workers are even more vulnerable and exposed to exploitation than other migrant groups (Hill, 2006). The denial of social rights is an extreme form of the denial of social citizenship (Hill, 2006). There are far too many challenges for ethnic minority groups in the social justice arena yet migrants are welcomed into the host country because they commit to the jobs that the host population find dirty, dangerous and degrading. These migrants are similar to servants (Walzer, 1983) and they are recruited under strict policies and practices and regarded as temporary workers. They have no political rights and their positions always remain precarious. Residency is strongly connected to employment, albeit low paid employment. Politically, the temporary worker is tightly constrained, exploited and oppressed; they are 'outcasts in a society that has no caste norms' (Walzer, 1983, 59); this is a social justice issue.

5.10. 1.1 An analysis of relevancy of the rights and entitlements

It is a well validated fact that different ethnic minority groups acquire different rights and entitlements, dependent on their country of origin, legal status, residency and conditions of employment. Some groups have access to all types of public services, while other groups have little or no access to services. This is a leading source of inequality that marginalizes numerous groups in Irish society; in effect they become outsider groups (Walzer, 1983). To further complicate matters, a migrant's legal status is not static but highly changeable, due to policy regulations (MRCI, 2007a), thus creating a major source of confusion and uncertainty for both migrants and service providers. There has been very limited research into the impact of this lack of rights and entitlements on these groups of migrants and very little literature on post-migration education in terms of economic activity of migrants (van Tubergen & van De Werfhorst, 2007). Complex issues around the provision of education opportunities for migrants is an emerging key challenge (National Plan for Equity of Access (NPEA), 2008), even more complex than the diverse rights and entitlements bestowed on various ethnic groups. People who are financially actively contributing to society are being treated unequally, which in effect could create a status of third class citizen (Mac Éinrí, 2004) or a non-member of society (Walzer, 1983). Regressive policy that undermines members of the community will eventually result in a detrimental impact on that community. In theory, equality of opportunity is associated with education, where all members of society are given a similar chance to access educational opportunities. However, there is a major difference between equality of opportunity and fair opportunity, and between equality of participation and equality of outcome (Condisine & Dukelow, 2009). Education remains flawed, as the wealthier will always be able to buy into education. Access to higher education is unequally divided in this regard (Fullick, 2009) and this is creating an unequal and divided society. The State's failure to address social exclusion issues risks increasing social tension among the most disadvantaged people in Irish society, where groups may attempt to struggle against one another for scarce resources (Mac Éinrí, 2004). The State's failure to address social exclusion is State policy failure because it discriminates against the most disadvantaged groups in Irish society. In effect, it is discriminatory policy.

Lack of access to equality of opportunity constitutes a major barrier, particularly in accessing higher education opportunities; this is a social justice barrier. The barriers are individual, structural and institutional (Moser, 2012). Individual barriers may relate to social and financial responsibilities, such as family obligations and employment commitments. Generally, ethnic minority groups are under-represented in mainstream adult education, which is another institutional barrier (Moser 2012). Barriers to higher education are complex and multidimensional. Institutional barriers are created through policies and practices that have become the norm. One such example barrier is that of the children of migrants from outside the EU who encounter excessively high fees in the third level sector. This is a human rights issue. Institutional barriers are similar in nature to structural barriers. Structural barriers employ a whole range of legislative policy and practice, such as the policy around residential status that is assigned to different ethnic groups, dependent on where they come from. Policies that legally prevent numerous ethnic minority groups from accessing education opportunities in particular, consequently impact possible employment, which in turn has other implications. Policies that are legally designed to confer differences in rights and entitlements resulting in negative treatment between groups of people is racist policy and practice and a denial of fundamental human rights. Migrants are in competition with the indigenous workforce in the current labour market (Mac Éinrí, 2004), and jobs are very scarce so there is a very real risk that ethnic minority groups are excluded in society as a result of the lack of the opportunity to access employment, leaving them more susceptible to poverty (Greif, 2009; McGinnity *et al*, 2012). Ethnic minorities at risk from exclusion in Irish society are encountering a major social injustice. They are being forced to live as outsiders, with no sense of belonging (Walzer, 1983) and of very little human worth (Nussbaum, 2001).

There are blatant contradictions between what the State envisions as 'integration', and what the reality is for different groups of migrants. The State promotes anti-racist policy and practice, but at the same time, the strategy and objectives of numerous State policies, when applied in practical terms, actually discriminate against and marginalize many groups of migrants, because of assigning different rights and entitlements to different groups. This results in widening the gap between rich and poor, not only between migrants and the indigenous population but also between different migrant groups. State policy needs to close this gap between the rights, statuses and

opportunities of both the indigenous and the migrant population (OECD, 2007). The impact of the policies is particularly prevalent in two areas, education and employment, which as a result has a deeply detrimental impact on equality of opportunity for separate migrant groups (OECD, 2007). These social inequalities have been institutionalised by the State system as the norm, which in effect is racist practice (Fanning 2007b). Fanning (2011) calls this practice 'paper politics' because the policies are on paper only; they are not put into practice (Fanning, 2011). Policies that treat migrants solely as economic migrants in the long term marginalize these groups from mainstream society and therefore represent policy failure (Fanning, 2007b). Policy-makers, politicians and key gatekeepers have normalized social inequalities to the point that it is the expected reality for migrant groups. Any State policy that excludes groups of people from mainstream society confers non-member status on these groups (Walzer, 1983). It also confronts people's individual fundamental rights (European Convention on Human Rights, 1950) and the Common Basic Principles of Integration. The various State departments have developed numerous policies in an attempt to address issues, but these approaches are largely aspirational because they lack the resources to make them effective. To date, for example, the anticipated plan of action by the State to address the unemployment crisis has failed to materialize (Burke-Kennedy, 2013; Kenny, 2012).

Certain sections of migration policy remain discriminatory toward migrant workers as they favour, albeit unintentionally, the indigenous worker. For example, the standard labour policy regulations in both EU and Irish policy, are discriminatory; this is a current issue that requires on-going attention. Ireland as an EU Member State is guided by the umbrella of EU policy on migration. As there are frequent changes in the migration process it is important that separate strands of migration policy are evaluated regularly for enhancement and progression purposes, to develop a greater understanding of the needs of migrants. It is equally important that the necessary measures are put in place to enable migrants and the indigenous population to make contributions to Ireland's economic recovery (Power & Szlovak, 2012).

Irish 'integration' policy has been *ad hoc,* because major legislative and administrative barriers in the employment and educational sectors have seriously hindered the migration management process (European Intercultural Workplace: Republic of

Ireland, 2007). The migration management policy and legislation framework in Ireland is not transparent, accountable or fair. Migrants' rights are not established or clarified in law (One Foundation, 2014). There is a strong onus on the migrant to settle into Irish society with little assistance from the State whereas the mutual adjustment between host country and migrant should be a paramount process where interaction between the two becomes the norm, that is, the host country accepts diversity, while the migrant forms a sense of belonging (Healy, 2007). A sense of belonging and membership is an essential part of the 'integration' process (Walzer, 1983).

Current evidence suggests that the migration management policy development is not seriously on the political agenda. First of all, the funding for the Integration Office has always been poor and successive government Ministers have made damaging statements on the meaning of 'integration'. These comments are contradictory and have continually weakened the standing of the Integration Office. Lentin (2006) calls this 'biopolitics', while Crowley (2010) states that it provides hidden or false messages, for example, the idea that policy is there, but is not fully implemented, which contradicts itself. The recession is also having a further impact on funding and resources (Integration Centre, 2012d), and the Office has been downgraded since the recession began. When the last Government went into power, the Integration Centre in 2010 called for the appointment of a new Minister for Integration but this has not happened (Integration Centre, 2012d). The Integration Office is now called the Office for the Promotion of Migrant Integration (McGinnity *et al*, 2012). The NCCRI, a national watchdog against racism, was closed in 2008, sending the message that 'integration' was not important. The current government has dropped the 'integration' process (Forde, 2012d). There is a strong link between the Office of Integration and the Department of Justice, yet as Killian Forde (2012d) has pointed out, the Minister for Justice has twice denied in parliamentary questions being responsible for integration (Forde, 2012a). The Department of Justice has been described as notoriously heavy handed (O'Carroll, 2013, 20) on migration issues. The question remains for politicians and policy-makers to consider, how far is migration management policy as it stands going to undermine the migration management process? (Saggar & Somerville, 2012).

A common language (often inflammatory in nature) has now become associated in communications with the public or media on migratory issues. The terms 'national'

and 'non-national' became commonplace, during debates around immigration issues particularly in 2004, but the term 'non' imparts a negative image of a non being. The concept of national and non-national groups implies two sets of people, a concept which is contradictory and counterproductive to social cohesion. A number of other State interventions associated with stereotyping distinct groups of people have been further sources of contradiction. The Citizenship Referendum (2004) automatically removed the birthright from children born in Ireland whose parents were not Irish. Yet the 1937 Irish Constitution (1937) claimed to protect all children of the nation. This is contradictory legislation (Fanning 2007b) and major legislation failure, and again, can only be interpreted as institutional racism. Other examples of contradictory regulations infringe on citizenship rights. The Citizenship Act (2004) confers Irish citizenship on individuals who, although they are legally permitted to apply for social welfare, have been refused citizenship status because they accessed social welfare services. This policy can only be identified as discriminatory. There are several cases where migrants have chosen to remain in extreme poverty rather than apply for social welfare, to ensure that it does not negatively impact their citizenship application (Crosscare *et al*, 2012). There have also been occasions where women have had to stay in an abusive relationship, because they were refused access to social welfare; one woman with a young baby was made homeless (Crosscare *et al,* 2012). Policies that threaten the position of economic migrants are in danger of creating long-term marginalization and jeopardizing the long-term future of 'integration'. Again, policy which not only marginalizes groups of people but threatens the long-term future of 'integration' is institutionally racist policy and highly discriminatory. Segregating groups from mainstream society is not only a denial of rights but ensures that these groups are non-members of society; they are treated as outsiders and they become stateless people who do not belong (Walzer, 1983). Such policies can only be interpreted as exclusionary because they treat people as mere objects and having second-class status worthy of little regard (Nussbaum, 2011a).

Reports and accounts have surfaced over the years that ethnic minority groups get generous State handouts and own luxuries such as cars. When the media report such stories, the public outcry is huge and frequently individual members of the public approach politicians in response to such reports (Houses of Oireachtas Racism and Intercultural Presentation, 4 July 2003). This a major source of contention for the

general population and this myth seems to be so well believed that front line public servants in social welfare offices have made decisions and refused social welfare payments on the grounds of 'non- disclosure of means' (Crosscare *et al*, 2012). One example of this 'non-disclosure of means' related to an unused, untaxed, uninsured second hand car given to someone by a friend and parked in the driveway because he could not afford to use it (Crosscare *et al,* 2012). Asylum seekers are one of the main groups allegedly bestowed with luxury State handouts, yet their financial position is extremely poor; their social welfare entitlement amounts to €19.10 per week. This State payment has not increased since its inception in 2000. A number of organisations have raised this issue with numerous politicians, making the point that the direct provision system takes away dignity and respect. Asylum seekers are not considered eligible for full social rights and entitlements because they are temporary migrants in the asylum process. They are also deemed a high security risk, which allegedly justifies Direct Provision and its very restrictive policies and practices (Fanning, 2011). Direct Provision ensures that they remain as outsiders, with no sense of belonging. According to Nussbaum (2001), their lives have been accorded so little human dignity that they are almost regarded as non-human (Nussbaum, 2001). Contrary to the protections outlined in the various international treaties (UN Convention on the Rights of Migrants, 1990), Asylum Seekers are treated as mere objects in Irish society (Nussbaum, 2001). The initial negative attention applied to them has transferred to other minority groups who are not deemed eligible for full citizenship rights and entitlements. The assumption is that economic migrants will leave once the work is complete. Workplace exploitation is frequently the result of policy implementation. Any form of exploitation dehumanizes the individual (Nussbaum, 2001). 'Integration' policy that does not address inequalities and social injustices is a completely wasted policy.

Another area of contention for Irish politicians is the prevention of the creation of ethnic minority ghettos and future social unrest (Houses of Oireachtas Integration Policy Statement, 13 December 2007). This subject is constantly on the political agenda. It has been well validated that France and Britain have experienced civil unrest because ethnic minority groups have felt isolated and marginalised and lacked equality of opportunities to education and employment prospects. Politicians and Ministers of State have repeatedly acknowledged publicly how essential it is that social unrest does

not occur in this country. A main objective of the *Migration Nation on the Integration Strategy and Diversity Management* (2008) Report was to prevent creating ghettos (OMI, 2008) and to prevent social unrest (Mac Éinrí & Coakley, 2006). The overall concept of mainstreaming 'integration' has merit, but the fact that different ethnic minority groups are conferred different rights and entitlements is contradictory to the concept of inclusive 'integration' (MRCI, 2008). It is also institutionally racist policy and an international human rights issue (United Nations General Assembly, 1948). Migrants in low-paid employment remain at risk from poverty; segregation is already occurring. People are being forced to live on the outside of society as non-members (Walzer, 1983); this is a critical social injustice. The dominant migrant groups denied full social rights include workers in the unregulated domestic sector, work-permit holders, undocumented workers, asylum seekers and the children and young people of these groups. These specific groups of workers are more vulnerable and exposed to exploitation (Hill, 2006). It is essential that economic and social rights are conferred on everyone inclusively, as common basic rights (Mac Éinrí, 2007b). Workplace discrimination and exploitation is frequently the result of policy implementation and a serious challenge (Fanning 2011). This is an equality issue in Ireland today. Fanning (2011) has quoted extensively on migrants' experience of exploitation in Irish society, frequently due to policy implementation which seriously hinders successful management of the migration process and vastly impacts ethnic minority communities (Fanning, 2011). The act of exploitation dehumanizes the human being because it treats the human as a mere object (Nussbaum, 2001). The Irish model of 'integration' has poor regard for social justice, social rights or equality issues (Considine & Dukelow, 2009). Recent EU research combines 'human rights and economic argument', to draw attention to and raise awareness of the positive benefits that migrants give to society. They 'participate in essential work, both paid and unpaid. They fill essential labour market gaps; they fill positions that natives often refuse'; we need to validate the substantial contributions of migrants if we want to develop a cohesive society (Lynch & Pfohman, 2013).

The lack of opportunities creates all sorts of divisions in people's lives because it impacts and converges in all elements of their lives. The lack of financial security is a common, but major, factor of inequality (Barry, 2005). This is a social justice issue because it negatively impacts personal human development and personal growth,

which is inherently grounded in human dignity. Human development, human potential and education are strongly interlinked and form the central core of the 'Capabilities Approach', where the quality of life is of utmost important (Nussbaum, 2011b). Education for human development begins with 'equal respect for all human beings and equal entitlement of all to a range of central human opportunities' (Nussbaum, 2009, 8). The Capabilities Approach is wholly concerned with ingrained inequality and social injustice (Nussbaum, 2009). Education greatly enhances employment opportunities, political participation and civic interaction (Nussbaum, 2011) and is a basic fundamental right grounded in human dignity and a basic international right. Education allows each human being to flourish, to be all they can be, to develop as full human beings. This approach is designed to support each person's full potential (Nussbaum, 2011a).

The lack of work-based skills and opportunities to address the skills deficit has an overall impact on quality of life issues and can also undermine social inclusion. It can undermine social and political trust in the community and create an ever growing divide between different groups of people (Janmaat & Green, 2013). Successful 'integration' strategies have the potential to ensure that civil society is more resilient and adaptive. One of the most fundamental threats contrary to human dignity is racism, which is very much a dominant feature of life for ethnic minority groups in all three countries examined.

5.10.2 Impact of racism in real terms

Robbie McVeigh (1992) is a well-known authority on Irish racism. He argues that Irish racism is unique to Ireland, because it has been based on a moral high ground and on a denial that it exists. Irish racism is influenced by five main characteristics. The first is the fact that the Irish population observes role models, particularly the British model. The second is the experience of British imperialism and the role that it played in shaping our beliefs. The third is the Irish diaspora. Sectarianism is the four while the fifth is an overwhelmingly negative attitude to Travellers, an attitude which is unique to Ireland according to McVeigh (1992). Travellers are regarded as a symbolic other, outside the Irish sense of a community of belonging. Jews and Blacks in particular are also classed as outsiders and are seen as a presumed threat to the community; they

represent a threat to the social order because it is believed that they bring social chaos. The sense of community is portrayed as good and on the inside, while these deviant groups are portrayed as bad and on the outside of the community. McVeigh (1992) argues that in reality, the bad elements within the community are symbolically transferred to the outsiders; this justifies keeping them on the outside. Traditionally Travellers travel, so they are regarded as deviant because they do not comply with the rules of society. There is a strong 'White versus Black' element within Irish society. The Irish were regarded as Black in America and Britain, yet at the same time they have regarded Travellers as Black. As a result, the Irish have been both 'outsiders' and 'insiders' (McVeigh, 1992). Only when this concept and its roots are widely understood, can racism be addressed. Ture and Hamilton, (1992) speak about racism from a Black perspective of American life, but institutional racism presents itself in a different format than individual racism. Institutional racism is grounded in a persuasive anti-Black attitude and general discrimination and it is grounded in the prevailing sense that whites are better than Blacks (Ture & Hamilton, 1992). Memmi (2000) argues that difference is the main component of racism in that one group sees itself as the superior group. The difference between groups is portrayed as wholly negative, and this negative value (whether real or imagined) applies to the whole group which can in turn legally justify hostility and aggression towards that group (Martinot, 2000). This difference of superiority forms the basis of racist theory (Memmi, 2000).

Institutional racism, according to Lentin (2004), came to attention in Britain in light of the MacPherson report on the inquiry into the death of black teenager, Stephen Lawrence, in 1993 (Lentin, 2004). Judge MacPherson overturned the conclusion drawn by Lord Scarman after the 1981 Brixton riots, that institutional racism does not exist. MacPherson found that the investigation into the Lawrence murder was marred by institutional racism (Lentin, 2004). According to Lentin, racism is a political system that is embedded in and controls Government bodies and State agencies (Lentin, 2006). The impact of institutional racism on policy and practice is an area that the media tends to ignore. Institutional racism is the failure to provide an appropriate professional service to all, regardless of their ethnicity and it manifests in the attitudes, behaviour and general practices of the organisation or the people within that organisation (McPherson, 1999). It is deeply ingrained in a cultural attitude which makes it the most difficult form of racism to address, because of its covert nature (Beire and Jaichand,

2006). It is also a major equality issue, because of the unwillingness of the State to investigate the existence of hidden or unhidden barriers to equality (Beire & Jaichand, 2006, 21).

Racism is still a very serious issue in all three countries examined here and it continues to blight many lives. There is evidence of racial discrimination in every aspect of daily life in Britain and the situation is similar in the Netherlands. The evidence shows that ethnic minorities remain specifically vulnerable in times of economic recessions (Collett, 2011). Unemployment has been, and continues to be, particularly high in the Netherlands among non-Western minority groups and there are ethnic tensions in education and employment (ENAR, 2005). The Dutch acknowledge that discrimination is a threat to social cohesion (Hamidi, 2013). To complicate matters, all the perceived national models of migration management policy are deemed to be at crisis point, whether this is real or imagined, any model has a greater chance of success if it is chosen, rather than imposed onto an individual or group (Modood, 2012). There are alarming high levels of distrust against some elements of the Muslim community (de Kroon, 2014). Muslims are regarded as a threat to society and therefore the onus of blame for this threat rests on the shoulders of multicultural policy; policy is the scape-goat. Liberal society does not bode well with extremist culture.

5.10.2.1 An analysis of racism in real terms

McVeigh (1992) is not the only critic to point out the Irish denial that racism is a reality (McVeigh, 1992). Farrell and Watt, (2001) also say that it has been well established that there has been an overarching denial that racism is a fact of life in Ireland (Farrell & Watt, 2001). There are various forms of racism and numerous theories on racism, as outlined above. Racism can be subtle or hidden in legislative policy and practice. This is called institutional racism and the following critiques and evaluates its impact among ethnic minority communities. There is evidence that institutional racism is embedded in policies and practices in Ireland. In many instances, policy does not marry practice; policy is very contradictory. The very fact that numerous ethnic minority groups are contributing to the Irish tax system, yet are not entitled to use public services is exclusionary. Being excluded from education opportunities prevents them from flourishing to their full potential (Nussbaum, 2011a).

The fact that they contribute their taxes in support of these public services yet are excluded from accessing them effectively means that they are being treated as non-members of society (Walzer, 1983), as outcasts. The tiered college fee is another source of institutional racism because it is discriminatory towards various groups of ethnic minority communities, yet education is a fundamental human right and is strongly interlinked with human development and human potential. Children and babies have also been treated as outcasts that do not belong even though they were born in this country as a result of the Citizenship Referendum in 2004; another example of double politics, yet the Irish Constitution (1937) stated that it would protect all the children of the nation equally. This can only be construed as institutional racism and a great social injustice against the youngest people in society. Furthermore, policies of detention and deportation violate human rights treaties (Lentin & Lentin, 2006). These are major social justice and rights-based issues. International agreements have been violated in this respect.

Current social welfare policy is discriminatory against groups of tax contributors who are legally entitled to access social welfare services, but are highly aware that to do so would negatively impact on their citizenship. Again, this is an example of contradictory and discriminatory social practice that can only be construed as institutional racism. People who are undocumented, and their children, are in an extremely vulnerable position. The *National Plan Against Racism* (2005) did not take into account the assigned rights and entitlements levelled at different ethnic groups, which created inequalities and social injustices institutionalised by State practice. Policy decision-makers need to be aware of the problems Ireland is currently creating. Current legislation and policy is not transparent or accountable (One Foundation, 2014). As Forde (2012d) states, 'Ireland is sleeping itself into a colossal mess over integration' (Forde, 2012, 1d).

Currently, policy dictates that there are two groups of people in Ireland, national and non-national. Non-national is a state-generated term that replaced the unacceptable 'alien' (Lentin, 2007) but it is a term that is inflammatory because it implies a non-being. Another important argument is that far too many migrants remain unsure about their status and future in Irish society because of the 'permanent sense of the temporary' which arises from the resident and employment status of different migrant

groups. Groups who end up with few or no rights and entitlements have no sense of belonging (Walzer, 1983). Migration management is undoubtedly one of the most important social issues that the country will encounter over the coming decades (Houses of Oireachtas Integration Policy Statement, 13 December 2007). That is why issues such as racism, social exclusion, intolerance and social cohesion are critical to the management process. Policies that marginalise significant numbers of migrants from mainstream society are disturbing (Fanning, 2011) and can only interpreted as institutional racism. As Mac Éinrí (2007) substantiates, the fact that Ireland has yet to engage pro-actively with the fundamental question of what we mean by policies of 'integration'. The issues around the whole process of 'integration' are intense and would require in-depth debates in public and political discussion (Mac Éinrí, 2007). There are so many different strands to 'integration' and the issues are complex, multifaceted and interwoven.

Racism has increased in Ireland (Integration Centre, 2011a; 2011c). Recent research conducted among TDs in 2011 and 2012 revealed an increase in racist attitudes; 45% of the TDs in the 2012 study considered that racism was on the increase, compared to 28% in 2011 (Integration Centre, 2012b). Over half the TDs who participated in this research think that the Government needs to take a stronger role in 'integration' strategies (Integration Centre, 2012a) because political leadership has an important role to play in tackling racism in Irish society (Mutwarasibo, 2012). Racism also impacts the surrounding community (NASC, 2012) and it is seriously under-reported. Research undertaken in Cork shows that 82.8% of participants who had experienced racism did not report it (NASC 2012), as over half of them believed that nothing would come from reporting it. It would appear that racism is becoming more acceptable (Mutwarasibo, 2012). Evidence also suggests that Irish public opinion and attitudes towards migrants have become more negative since the onset of the recession, which is a serious concern (Grene & Bourke, 2014).

There is evidence of racial discrimination in every aspect of daily life in Britain and ethnic minorities remain specifically vulnerable in times of economic recessions (Collett, 2011). There is ongoing debate on what citizenship means in Britain, and this debate will continue as the topic is very much a live issue (Anderson, 2011). Negative public attitudes have proven to be a barrier to social and economic 'integration' for

migrants in Britain. The situation is similar in the Netherlands. Unemployment has been and continues to be particularly high among non-Western minority groups and there are ethnic tensions in education and employment (ENAR, 2005). The Dutch acknowledge that discrimination is a threat to social cohesion (Hamidi, 2013).

In Ireland, the idea of insider and outsider groups is used to justify restrictive rules and regulations, such as the regulations attached to Direct Provision. One of the fundamental social goods distributed among people is a sense of belonging to the community (Walzer, 1983). This means that people become members of that community but at the same time there are also non-members or outsiders. Refugees are the only group that is accepted by the insider group to a certain extent, because they are victims of persecution, but only as long as their numbers remain small (Walzer, 1983). In addition to this, it could be said that migrants are only welcomed into the host country as servants to attend to '3D' jobs. These workers are recruited under strict policies and practices and are regarded as temporary workers. They have no political rights and their positions always remain precarious. These precarious employment positions added to a 'permanent sense of the temporary' present exploitative practice. Policy that exploits groups of people is racist State policy and dehumanizes people because it treats them as objects (Nussbaum, 2001). Politically, temporary workers are tightly constrained, exploited and oppressed, working in areas of high insecurity; they are 'outcasts in a society that has no caste norms' (Walzer, 1983, 59). Walzer (1983) states that there will always be groups of people who remain on the outside which is a major social justice issue. The current legislation to protect ethnic minority groups in Ireland is weak and there is a lack of political will. There is no national migration management strategy and the current policy is not transparent or fair (One Foundation, 2014). Not only has the recession had an impact on ethnic minorities but attitudes towards ethnic minority groups have worsened in recent years (Smyth, 2009; McGinnity *et al*, 2011; 2012). It has become quite evident that a number of State policies create barriers for different migrant groups (Crosscare *et al,* 2012) which can only be identified as institutional racism. The following section presents the data on the challenges of migration management.

5.10.3 Migration management policy challenges

Migration management policy has been a working series of documents that have been developed over time. Numerous policies have been in place and designed to address the various issues around migration. However, far too frequently there has been a significant difference between policy and legislative practice, because there were too many incidents when legislation was not in place to allow the policy to be fully implemented. This impacts the lives of migrants to varying degrees, and makes life even more challenging for them.

The overall model of 'integration' as it stands, lacks any real blueprint for the future of the 'design' of Irish integration. The existing guidelines associated with the term 'integration' are weak and there is very limited direction from any source. There are no real outcomes and no concrete projections of what 'integration' should entail. This lack of clarity fuels the concerns of those who fear change, because there is a real uncertainty for many people as to where 'integration' will eventually lead Irish society. The Irish model of 'integration' has poor regard for the concepts of social justice, equality or social rights (Considine & Dukelow, 2009).

The economic recession has had obvious implications on rights-based organisations in Ireland, as reduced funding to a number of organisations has resulted in total closures and/or reduced services at a time when minority groups already encounter difficulties. Human and civil rights are an integral part of the democratic process in this country, *the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism,* the democratic watch dog for racism has been abolished as a direct result of lack of funding, sending out a very public message that the 'integration' process is of little importance as is combating racism.

Even policy that is methodically designed to address the needs of ethnic minority groups may still fail; this has been the case with Dutch ethnic minority policy, which was considered a failure, because ethnic minority groups still encountered either very high levels of unemployment or employed in low-skilled, low-paid employment. Many ethnic minority groups remained seriously disadvantaged both in employment and in education (Michalowski, 2005). Equality of opportunity failed. Migrants were seldom

viewed as equal partners. The unemployment rate among the migrant community was four times higher than that of the indigenous Dutch. In addition, there were high levels of delinquency among certain minority groups, which was further evidence indicating that 'integration' was not working and it was clear that minority groups had fewer opportunities than people in mainstream Dutch society. Segregation had also increased (Entzinger, 2006). The statistics showed that 40% of first and second generation migrants of non-western origin were social welfare recipients (Entzinger, 2006). This high dependency rate on social welfare has been evident for many years. The Dutch Government reformulated their ethnic minority policy in relation to education and employment, while simultaneously placing a greater onus on the migrant to become part of the full citizenship process.

In Britain, 'integration' was regarded as a policy area, attracting very little civil society support (Spencer, 2011b). The practice in Britain has resulted in labour market discrimination that is frequently cast in a light which portrays the migrant taking the job from the British worker (Sims, 2014). By 2010, the British public made it clear that no more migrants were welcome in Britain, even though there has been a major demand for migrant workers (Consterdine, 2014). Undocumented migrants are generally denied basic social rights; this is the experience of the undocumented in all three countries (Geddes, 2003). Policy and legislation was, and continues to be, very restrictive around work-permits migrants or guest worker migrants. Media reporting has also had a negative impact, particularly when statements serve to increase public anxiety that migrants are a problem (Crawley, 2009).

5.10.3.1 An analysis of migration management policy challenges

Migration management policy consists of a working series of documents that have been developed over time but far too frequently legislation is not in place to allow the policy to be fully implemented. This criticism has been highly debated in parliamentary sessions (Houses of Oireachtas Integration Policy Statement, 13 December 2007). Legislation around migration policy practice has been described as 'weak'. These criticisms are very valid, and make life more challenging for new ethnic minority communities. An example of Irish policy that disadvantages migrants is the Irish born child Administrative Scheme for Immigrant Residency 2005 (IBC/05),

which bestows different legal status, rights and entitlements on individual family members and thus reinforces inequality within the single family unit (Coakley, 2012). This is a major source of tension within migrant families of Irish born children (Coakley, 2012) and it is a serious human rights issue. Policies that disadvantage different groups of people in Irish society may result in high levels of social exclusion and promote marginalization, which is a principle source of social injustice. Policy that is in effect racist and discriminatory results in different groups of migrants being treated differently. This is State policy failure. Kitching & Curtin (2012) state how the concept of racism itself undergoes a normalisation process; it becomes the norm. This process of normalisation risks increasing social exclusion. The State's failure to address social exclusion issues 'risks increasing social tension', as the most disadvantaged groups may attempt to struggle against each other (Mac Éinrí, 2004, 15) in competing for scarce resources, particularly in a recession. Policies that create inequalities among young students within the school system are racist policies and a core human rights issue.

Public perception is not the only contradictory influence around racism. State officials have a major role to play in swaying public opinion. Lentin (2006) uses the term, 'biopolitics'. The practice of biopolitics is based on discriminatory thinking and discriminatory policy practice. Changes in Irish legislation and policy mean that in practice certain groups of ethnic minorities are prevented from accessing public services, yet they may contribute to these services through their tax contributions. Numerous legislative policies have been changed, such as the Citizens Referendum. Hostility towards ethnic minorities swayed a large percentage of the indigenous population to vote 'yes' in the Citizenship Referendum in 2004 (Lentin, 2006) which was a source of high tension in some counties. In the 2002 census, Longford had a population of 30,919 including 66 asylum seekers. Despite such small numbers, a level of unrest had been documented in Longford more than twelve months prior to the Citizenship Referendum (Moriarty, 2006).

Terminology such as the use of the word 'swamped' leads to a public perception that the country is overrun by migrants. The media influence on public discourse on racism is often authoritative and strongly influential. The media especially (newspapers) often report on issues around migrants with is a 'second hand' analysis of information (Mac

Éinrí, 2006a). Politicians and journalists are frequently careless about how they use language (Haughey, 2001). Labelling is another example of how ethnic minorities come to be less favourably perceived in the public eye (Farrell & Watt, 2001). Terms used like 'flooded' to describe asylum seekers and refugees arriving result in further negative perceptions, such as the idea that people are defrauding the welfare system, 'over-running' the maternity hospitals and generally 'robbing' everyone. This sensationalises and encourages anti-racist attitudes and behaviour (Guerin, 2002). There is a general but prominent belief, for example, that asylum seekers' applications are in fact 'bogus' and that the sole intentions of asylum seekers are to defraud the welfare system; this is the view disseminated by the print media (Guerin, 2002). Successive Government Ministers frequently trivialized their statements during the referendum. 'There is plenty of evidence of it. Anyone who has two eyes in their head can see it' (Hennessy 2004, 1). Minister McDowell was referring to Nigerian children born in this country who are in fact Irish citizens. He normalised the claim by his common sense appeal of "anyone with eyes in their head", and reinforced the idea that the Irish citizenship system is being abused (Moriarty, 2006, 303). Racism is frequently media orientated by public figures. One typical example was Councillor Seamus Treanor, who stated that 80% of the people he meets walking down the street are Eastern Europeans yet the statistics show that 9.3% of the population of Monaghan are migrants from outside Europe (Integration Centre, 2012i). These comments are false and unwarranted.

The Irish model of 'integration' lacks any real blueprint for the future of the 'design' of migration management policy and the final outcomes or objectives of 'integration' or migration management policy are unclear. In-depth debate and discussion both at civic and State level is needed. Human and civil rights are an integral part of the democratic process in this country, yet national human rights organisations and public bodies have been either closed or received massive cuts to their budgets with the on-set of the recession. These decisions send out a very public message that migration management, racism, equality and ethnic minority groups are not important (Crowley, 2010). Mac Éinrí (2007) substantiates the fact that Ireland has yet to engage pro-actively with purposeful and fundamental questions about what we mean by policies of 'integration', in the most comprehensive sense of the term. These are issues of great depth and complexity which require great debate (Mac Éinrí, 2007). Issues of social

exclusion, marginalization and racism urgently need to be addressed, if any form of 'integration' policy is to succeed.

The experience of a 'permanent sense of the temporary' imparts a huge sense of insecurity among migrant groups, particularly since some groups have almost no rights and entitlements (Houses of Oireachtas Integration Policy Statement, 13 December 2007). Policy that excludes groups of people is forcing these groups outside mainstream society (Walzer, 1983). Even policy that is methodically designed to address the needs of ethnic minority groups may fail, particularly if they still encounter high levels of unemployment, or are engaged in higher levels of low-skilled, low-paid employment which was the experience among the Dutch migrant groups. Migrants were seldom viewed as equal partners (Michalowski, 2005) and research shows that they were four times more likely to be unemployed. This is a good indicator that 'integration' policy was failing. As one research participant states, there was a high social welfare dependency rate among ethnic minority groups (IPR) in the Netherlands and Ireland could learn some lesson in this respect. The statistics showed that 40% of first and second generation migrants of non-western origin were social welfare recipients (Entzinger, 2006). The high dependency rate on social welfare has been evident for many years. The population in the Netherlands is over sixteen and a half million; over 1.7 million are first generation and just under 1.7 million are second generation migrants (Hamidi, 2013). In addition, 6% of the total population is Muslim, who report very high levels of discrimination. There has been an increasing number of racist incidents against the Muslim community in recent years (Hamidi, 2013) and furthermore, the Dutch have a much lower opinion of Muslims than do other EU countries; for example, 50% of Dutch have a low opinion of Muslims whereas in the UK it is 14% and in the US 22% (Hamidi, 2013, 15). Around 70% of the Turks and Moroccans expect tensions in the future between various groups in the Netherlands (Hamidi, 2013, 22).

Initially, 'integration' policy was designed primarily to assimilate commonwealth migrants in Britain (Spencer, 2011b) and this mode of thinking remains dominant. Originality, both Conservative and Labour governments continuously debated how to control the numbers arriving into Britain; the tone at that time was overwhelmingly how to control black and Asian colonial migrant groups (Hampshire, 2010). More

recently, there appears to be a greater onus on security and surveillance (Williams, 2013). In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks in the USA and urban unrest in a number of British inner cities, Britain placed further restrictions around migration policy (Geddes, 2003). This practice in Britain has resulted in labour market discrimination which coexists with a belief that migrants are taking jobs from the British workers (Sims, 2014). By 2010, the British public made it clear that no more migrants were welcome in Britain, even though there has been a major demand for migrant workers (Consterdine, 2014). Similar to ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands, some ethnic groups in Britain (refugees, Black Africans, Bangladeshi and Pakistani) have higher unemployment rates than others (de, Haas, 1997). The employment rate in Britain was 5.6% in December 2014; it was 13.5% for people with Black ethnic backgrounds (Dar & Mirza-Davies, 2015, 1). Dutch policy was deemed a failure because ethnic minority groups still encountered high levels of disadvantage both in employment and in education. This is something policy-makers and State representatives need to remain aware of, that is, policy will fail if it does not address the needs and or the problems that ethnic minority groups encounter. The following section presents the data on the topic of multiculturalism.

5.10.4 Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is based on the idea of accommodating ethnic diversity in a political and legal sense; this concept has replaced the older form of racial hierarchy (Kymlicka, 2012). There has been substantial evidence according to Kymlicka (2012), that these policies are progressing, although a significant number of political leaders have pronounced them a failure, even stating that multiculturalism is dead (Kymlicka, 2012). A number of influential factors promote the successful implementation of multicultural policies and include the argument that it is a social and human rights issue (Kymlicka, 2012). Recent research has taken a new approach in an innovative attempt to address the combination of economic and social factors and to raise awareness of the positive contributions of migrants in society. These positive contributions include talents, skills, entrepreneurship, energy, commitment and drive (Lynch & Pfohman, 2013). There is also an economic factor, that is on the one hand that migrants contribute to society, while on the other hand they are perceived to be a

drain on the economy (Kymlicka, 2012). Also the host country may feel swamped if large numbers migrate from one particular country (Kymlicka, 2012).

One of the dominant backlashes against multiculturalism is the anxiety about Muslims, in particular, because they are conceived as unwilling to embrace the democratic norms of liberal societies (Kymlicka, 2012). This is a major argument in the multicultural debate and cannot be dismissed, particularly in the Netherlands. There is a combination of reasons for this backlash. First of all, there is a growing fear of Islam and secondly an increase in the intolerance of Muslims. Furthermore, the economic recession has obliterated people's tolerance levels (Torres, 2013). In fact, the two most dominant responses to anti-multiculturalism in the current climate are anger and hate (Torres, 2013). Torres rightly critiques multiculturalism as the struggle to accommodate diversity and argues that it has not failed, but that current multicultural policy and practice is contradictory and needs to incorporate an education system grounded in social justice, to address these deficits (Torres, 2013). Evans (2010) states that world leaders such as Angela Merkel, who maintain that multiculturalism is dead, tend to follow their argument with a second one which acknowledges that migrants are needed in the host country, but the general onus is on the migrant to 'fit' in (Evans, 2010). World leaders chorus the death of multiculturalism, yet the corresponding statement argues that migrant workers are needed, but on the host country's terms (Evans, 2010). An alternative argument often voiced is that that multiculturalism has gone too far and is threatening the host country's way of life (Kymlicka, 2012). Multiculturalism is often scapegoated for creating segregation, extremism and terrorism (Hasan, 2011). The anxieties and fear associated with Muslims are exaggerated to a certain extent. The civil unrest in Britain was twice as likely to be race-related than Muslim based (Parekh, 2009). Muslims, particularly young people, are hugely disadvantaged in both Britain and the Netherlands with regard to equality of opportunity in education and employment (Parekh, 2009). The unemployment rate is twice the national average in Britain (Parekh, 2009). The unemployment rate for the Afro-Caribbean population for example, is twice the national average since the economic recession began (Hasan, 2011). Some groups are prominent; in other words, they stand alone as a solid group and this actually reinforces their identity (Modood, 2012b). This is one side of the argument while the other side shows that many groups

do interact with each other in their community, proving the point that multiculturalism is gaining ground towards its main objective (Modood, 2012a).

There are several different concepts to multiculturalism and there are many different views of it; this makes it such a challenge to interpret and understand. Nevertheless, we need to come to terms with the idea of a multicultural society as all Western democratic societies, are multicultural (Parekh, 2006). On examining the basics of multiculturalism, we see that its foundation is grounded in a common sense of belonging and a shared sense of citizenship from a political perspective (Parekh, 2006). Politicians and world leaders repeatedly argue that multiculturalism is dead, because it has never been defined in its entirety and no one fully understands the concept, so State public figures and the media have constructed a mythical version of it (Hasan, 2011) or a 'card-board cut-out', as described by the British Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg (Hasan, 2011).

5.10.4.1 An analysis of multiculturalism

There is substantial evidence to suggest that policies are progressing, according to Kymlicka (2012), yet a significant number of political leaders have pronounced them a failure (Kymlicka (2012). Policy had not been designed to address the expected outcomes that high ranking politicians have come to assume, so to state that multicultural policy is failing is somewhat unfounded (Kymlicka, 2010). Furthermore, the idea that multicultural policies and approaches have been abandoned has been greatly exaggerated. There are a number of different arguments here. There is a strong tendency and expectation that multicultural policy will solve all the problems encountered in the migration management process, but this is not the case. Some sections of multicultural policy are stronger than others or deemed more successful; it depends on what policy is aiming to achieve. There are social, economic, civic and political aspects to multiculturalism. Torres rightly critiques it as the struggle to accommodate diversity and argues that it has not failed, but that current multicultural policy and practice is contradictory and it needs to incorporate an education system grounded in social justice to address the multitude of deficits (Torres, 2013).

There is an ever increasing fear and intolerance of Muslim communities, because of their perceived unwillingness to embrace the democratic norms of liberal societies and this is one of the dominant backlashes against multicultural policy (Kymlicka, 2012). There is a strong climate of anger and an outpouring of hate from those in the anti-multicultural camp who are arguing this point of view (Torres, 2013). World leaders frequently state that multiculturalism is dead. They simultaneously acknowledge that the host country needs migrants but imply that migrants must 'fit' into the host country (Evans, 2010). Some camps would argue that multiculturalism has gone too far. Furthermore, it is often scapegoated for creating segregation, extremism and terrorism (Hasan, 2011). This is a powerful argument and one that carries a high level of fear among the general population. Another point of view is that multiculturalism does support diversity but equally provides no sense of belonging in society, and, at the same time, can increase segregation (Virk and Singh, 2004). Multicultural policy does support diversity but there is a downside. This is the lack of 'promotion of a shared sense of belonging' (Healy, 2007, 31). There may be a certain amount of segregation but sometimes this is a result of geography and where people reside (Hatton & Wheatley, 1999).

In Britain, the issues of migration, crime and anti-terrorism are spoken of together (Virk and Singh, 2004). In the overall scheme of things, all categories of ethnic minority groups are more likely to be unemployed when compared to their 'white' counterparts (Hatton & Wheatley, 1999). Muslims, particularly young people, are hugely disadvantaged in both Britain and the Netherlands with regard to equality of opportunity in education and employment (Parekh, 2009). The unemployment rate is twice the national average in Britain (Parekh, 2009), particularly in the Afro-Caribbean population (Hasan, 2011). A research study undertaken in 2007 found that 68% of Britons felt there were too many migrants in Britain (Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007, 31). The government has a major role to play in promoting 'integration', firstly, by being seen to be doing something, such as employing a diverse workforce, thus leading by example and being a role model for the private sector to follow (CIC, 2007). It can still be argued that multiculturalism is gaining ground towards its main objective (Modood, 2012a) but it is the concept of multicultural policy that requires clarity. The idea that multiculturalism is regarded as a mythical

version of policy or a card-board cut-out sums up this perception beautifully; there is no real depth to the understanding of the meaning of multiculturalism (Hasan, 2011).

Ethnic minority groups in Ireland, Britain and the Netherlands encounter barriers in higher education and in accessing higher education that are ethnically and culturally constructed. They encounter major social issues, including racism and social exclusion, in all three countries. The evidence is readily available to suggest that policies and practices are institutionally racist. There are different aspects to multicultural policy in Britain and the Netherlands but the essential ingredient is equality; otherwise multiculturalism will fail (Modood, 2012b). The most successful approach is one that is chosen by the minority group rather than forced upon them. The essential choice has to be given to the migrants (Modood, 2012b). All approaches to multicultural practice have potential elements to offer society as a whole and to each individual group. Whatever approach or model is chosen, society at large must respect difference (Modood, 2012b). Cultural diversity is inescapable and the reality of modern life (Parekh, 2005). The following section presents the conclusion of this chapter.

5.11 Conclusion

Migrants encounter many barriers to higher education and to accessing it. The barriers are exceedingly interconnected and interdependent and it is quite a difficult challenge to separate them. For example, lack of English language proficiency negatively impacts the opportunity to access education and employment and, at the same time, is a barrier to immersing oneself in social and civil society. It is also a major barrier to 'integration'. There are numerous barriers in accessing higher education opportunities. The most prominent are the excessive and differential HEI fee structures that different groups of migrants encounter, the lack of recognition of qualifications and prior learning and lack of the relevant knowledge around issues related to education concerns. There are countless other barriers that migrants encounter and are insurmountable for different groups. The recession has resulted in a major increase in unemployment (CSO, 2012g) and migrants are one of the groups that are most at risk from poverty (McGinnity *et al*, 2012). Currently migrants are ill-equipped with the relevant employable skills to be re-employed or prepared for the economic up-turn.

Residency status has a major influence on individual rights and entitlements. Some ethnic minority groups have little or no access to the rights and entitlements experienced by the general population. This in effect marginalises and excludes them from mainstream society. This can only be interpreted as institutional racism. There are a number of different policies designed to address the diverse needs of migrants, as these needs are not well understood. Such policies need continual attention and up-dating, as migrants remain one of the more vulnerable groups in Irish society. This is a core social justice issue and a human rights issue too. Migration management policy is *ad hoc,* as inward migration is a relatively new phenomenon, but progressive 'integration' policy is crucial for maintaining social cohesion (Mac Éinrí, 2004). The migration experience of other countries confirms that it is the second and subsequent generations that feel marginalized because of the lack of opportunities, which results in tension and social unrest. The topic of 'integration' remains a debatable concept and requires future political and public discussion (Mac Éinrí, 2007). It has been well established that the overall migration management process is undeniably one of the most important social issues facing the country in the coming decades (Houses of Oireachtas Integration Policy Statement, 13 December 2007). As part of this process, it is vital to address social issues such as racism and social exclusion. Social cohesion is a vital part of successful 'integration'. The onus of the responsibility for 'integration' lies with policy makers, and education is also crucial. Future economic prosperity depends on the population having employable skills so public investment in education is vital. Finally, 'integration' policy needs to be realistic and *'not the nonsense that is currently there, we are sitting on a time bomb'* (IPR).

Social exclusion, racism and institutional racism are evident. Institutional racism is associated with the different rights and entitlements conferred on different groups of ethnic minorities which effectively excludes certain groups of them from full participation in Irish society. This is counterproductive to social cohesion and is grounded in racist practice. Racism is very much alive in all three countries. Institutional racism is very active and persuasive in policy and practice in Ireland, as it dictates which ethnic minority groups are entitled to access higher education opportunities, which then has an impact on employment opportunities. Any form of exclusion is a denial of basic human rights, a denial of social justice, and a denial of human development and the ability to flourish (Nussbaum, 2001). Racism comes in

many forms but it is crucial that migrants feel that they have a place in Irish society and that they are accorded a sense of belonging. Multicultural policy is progressing albeit at a different pace and in a number of different ways for different countries. It does encounter challenges and sometime, it appears to be failing, but it can be argued that it is still making advances. Evidence frequently outlines the fact that policy does not marry practice in all instances; at times they are contradictory. A multicultural policy approach has been used in both Britain and the Netherlands, albeit from slightly different angles and perspectives. Both countries have a long history of managing migration and both countries have had a certain degree of success, but at the same time, both have had to continuously address certain issues, namely social unrest in Britain and the high profile murders in the Netherlands. In response to these issues, 'integration' policy became more restrictive, particularly in the Netherlands and there were increasing levels of social unrest, because second generation ethnic minority groups felt excluded from mainstream society. The most important ingredients of multicultural policy are equality, choice and mutual partnership between the majority and the minority group (Kallas & Kaldur, 2007).

To conclude, the purpose of this chapter has been to evaluate the barriers that confront migrants through presenting and discussing the research findings and interpreting the primary research in relation to the secondary findings. By integrating the primary findings into the original purpose of the research and the parameters of the literature review, this chapter has provided a detailed analysis and critique of the barriers that migrants encounter in higher education and in accessing higher education. The following chapter is the conclusion and recommendations and includes a brief summary of the main issues raised by the findings.

Chapter Six

Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction: original purpose of the research

Migrants are the newest group of residents in Ireland today. Labour shortages during the boom years of the Celtic Tiger contributed to the significant increase in migrants coming into the country. Ireland is now in recession and unemployment is at an all-time high but many of these migrants are currently still residing here. A large percentage are in low paid employment, despite the fact that many are highly skilled. This means that they are in danger of losing their skills or their skills may become outdated. Very little is known or understood about the needs of migrants, particularly their education needs, so an understanding of these needs is central to this research. The following is a brief layout of the chapter.

Section 6.2 provides a general introduction. Section 6.3 focuses on the original idea of the research and how it developed, followed by section 6.4, which validates the significance and purpose of the research. Section 6.5 discusses the methodology and the merit of a qualitative approach and validates the research interviews. This is followed by section 6.6, which presents the concept of content analysis and shows how the research has been analysed. Section 6.7 focuses on the main issues raised by the findings. The themes include language proficiency, barriers of access to education and employment, and the various financial constraints around education and up-learning. This is followed by the lack of qualification recognition and lack of prior learning, and the specific policies and supports migrants need to successfully access education and employment. The following two themes are 'integration' and racist policy and the final theme discusses future employment needs and role of higher education in the advancement of future labour skills needs. Section 6.8 provides a synopsis of the higher education system and the barriers ethnic minority groups encounter in Ireland, in comparison to the experiences of ethnic minority communities in Britain and the Netherlands, along with the experience of migration management from the perspective of both countries. Section 6.9 provides a number of recommendations.

6.2 Introduction to the conclusion

The majority of migrants came to Ireland during the 'Celtic Tiger' period when jobs were plentiful. Large numbers of migrants were employed in the construction industry and when this collapsed, it signalled the beginning of the recession. All groups of migrants are more vulnerable to unemployment in a recession and unemployment reached an all-time high of 14.8% during June and July 2012 (CSO, 2012f). This was the highest percentage since the 'Celtic Tiger' went into decline. The current unemployment rate is 10% (CSO, 2015a). There has been a decrease in overall inward migration, but unemployment among migrant groups has reached higher levels than among the indigenous population (Smyth, 2011a) and migrants are three times more likely to encounter discrimination when looking for employment than are the indigenous population (Smyth, 2011b). Migrants need access to higher education courses to further their education and skills and to ensure they are fully employable. Migration policy is still important as migrants will be required to meet the future labour market needs in the economic recovery, OMI, 2009). Issues around migration policies and practices still remain an urgent area of concern.

Migrant groups have to 'fit' education into the other roles and responsibilities, such as financial and social, which they encounter on a day-to-day basis. Research conducted in 2008 compiled by Linehan and Hogan shows that migrants encounter barriers in higher education and in accessing it. These include the lack of English language proficiency, which impacts everything (education, employment, 'integration') and financial barriers, including the excessive fee structure. The overall cost of returning to education is a major issue of concern, as many migrants are employed in the low paid sector (Hogan, 2008; Smyth, 2011a, Coakley, 2012). Such low earnings would make it almost impossible to finance and succeed on college courses.

The research examines the experience that different ethnic minority groups encounter in the process of accessing the higher education system in contemporary Ireland. It also looks at the experience of migrant groups in accessing the higher education system in Britain and the Netherlands and examines the migration management policy and practice in both these countries which have an extensive history in the migration management process.

6.3 Origin of research idea

Since inward migration is a relatively new occurrence, it is not understood what the long-term impact may be on Irish society on what are the current and future education needs of migrants; this is the focus here. Research shows that migrants are more vulnerable to becoming unemployed in the current economic climate than are the indigenous population. Having engaged with the Linehan and Hogan (2008) research at the Northwest level, it became apparent through qualitative research based activity that a number of important themes and issues concerned migrants; they encountered four main barriers in accessing higher education:

- English language difficulties,
- the lack of qualification and prior learning recognition,
- a lack of knowledge of education rights and entitlements and a general lack of information on accessing higher education;
- the excessive fee structure that certain categories of migrants encounter.

The Linehan and Hogan (2008) research study, although a comprehensive piece of work, has revealed a number of limitations, namely, the lack of focus on the humanistic perspective. Education is a basic fundamental right (UN Declaration of Human Rights, 1948), and it greatly enhances no just employment opportunities but also political, social and civic engagement within society. Education is a goal in itself but it is also a goal in realising all other human rights (Sandkull, 2005), whilst having the potential to allow the individual to flourish as a fully developed human being (Nussbaum, 2001). Access to education is therefore a social justice issue. On an international level, a rights-based approach to education advocates an absolute right of the individual to education (UNICEF, 2008), an approach which promotes a strategy of empowerment (Sandkull, 2005). The World Conference on Human Rights recommended that education should develop the full personality and character of the individual (UN General Assembly (A/51/506), (1996).

6.4 Significance of research

Research shows that migrants are living in every county of Ireland, and intend to make Ireland their home, despite the economic downturn (Irish Rural Link, 2009), and despite confronting the prospect of becoming unemployed. Unemployment statistics for migrants has varied over the past few years, but when compared with the statistics for the indigenous population, migrants are more likely to face unemployment. Research shows that 74,319 migrants were on the Live Register in September 2012 (CSO, 2012, 3c), which was a substantial figure. Kingston *et al,* (2015) report that ethnic minority groups encounter multiple disadvantages in the Irish labour market, including lower levels of employment, higher levels of unemployment and lower wages than the indigenous Irish. In addition, there have been consistently high rates of discrimination reported between 2004 and 2010 by Black Africans and non-White EU groups, when looking for employment, and in the working environment. These groups are particularly vulnerable in the Irish labour market (Kingston *et al*, 2015).

Racism presents itself in all forms in Irish society. It is common in the workplace and is particularly prevalent in low-paid employment. The work permit system has been described as a 'modern form of slavery' (Middleton & Mitchell, 2006, 70). It has been recognised among politicians that some conditions of employment are 'horrific' (Houses of Oireachtas Immigration, Residence and Protection Bill 2008, 15 May 2008). The United Arab Emirates Ambassador to Ireland treated three domestic workers in his employment as slaves (McGreevy, 2014). The three Filipino women worked fifteen hours each day, seven days per week for two euro an hour. The Employment Appeals Tribunal awarded each of the women €80,000 (McGreevy, 2014). GAMA was another politically and publically documented example of employment exploitation. Over 800 workers were overworked and underpaid (Loyal & Allen, 2006; Krings, 2009). Any form of exploitation reduces the human being to a mere object; exploitation is dehumanising (Nussbaum, 2001). Racism and racist practice in Ireland are very real issues, particularly the covert racism embedded at an institutional level. Different ethnic minority groups are conferred different rights and entitlements, which are dependent on residency status, and country of origin. Numerous groups have little or no access to rights and entitlements and no access to higher education opportunities. Not only is this a restriction on their fundamental

human rights, but it has a major impact on their individual human development and full potential (Nussbaum, 2001). In a Dáil debate on the development of a new action plan against racism in April 2015, Deputy Mac Lochlainn stated that everyone in the Oireachtas is fully aware that to advocate on behalf of ethnic minorities is politically unpopular; the Deputy concluded that this is racism (Houses of Oireachtas Anti-Racist Measures, 2015).

Fanning (2011) has written extensively on migrants' experience of exploitation in Irish society, frequently due to policy implementation. Fanning (2011) argues that workplace exploitation seriously hinders any commitment by Irish society to integrate migrants since labour market participation is one of the most important aspects of full integration (Kallas & Kaldur, 2007) and social inclusion incorporates economic and social rights as entitlements (Fanning, 2011). The foundational principles for successful migration management policy approaches comprise a sense of a shared future and a rights and responsibilities approach that includes mutual respect and understanding between the majority and minority groups. This is a social justice approach to 'integration' or migration management (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008).

Education is another area of contention. The right to education is restricted for numerous groups of ethnic minorities (Lynch, 2012). Policy that prevents certain groups from accessing higher education opportunities is institutionally racist policy. The right to education is non-negotiable; it is an international fundamental right laid down in international treaties (European Convention of Human Rights 1950). Groups that are seriously impacted by the high fee structure include asylum seekers, refugees, individuals on work permits and the young people of work permit holders, parents of Irish born children and 'aged out' young people. These groups of people are denied basic social rights; they are treated like outsiders or non-members of this society (Walzer, 1983). Policies that cause exclusion and leave ethnic minority groups living on the edge of society as outsiders cannot be socially justified in any society. This is a major social justice issue, because it is a deterrent to social inclusion and human dignity. The Capabilities Approach is concerned with ingrained inequality and issues of social injustice (Nussbaum, 2011a), and can be described as a holistic framework designed to develop one's full potential and human worth, where each individual is

'treated with dignity and equal self-worth by all' (Nussbaum, 2011, 34a). Groups of people who are denied certain opportunities that other groups have access to, can quickly feel like second class citizens with low self-worth (Nussbaum, 2011a). They do not flourish as fully developed human beings and be all they can be (Nussbaum, 2001). Education is the key to solving a number of difficulties and has the promise and capacity to develop full human worth and potential.

6. 5 Methodology: a qualitative process

The initial research in 2008 laid the foundation for further in-depth research which involved qualitative research-based activity. Semi-structured one-to-one interviews are one of main qualitative methods considered to be a most efficient approach to explore the issues that migrants encounter in higher education. The semi-structured interview is 'possibly the most commonly used qualitative method and [has] become almost the 'gold standard' approach, against which other data are frequently compared and found wanting' (Barbour, 2008, 128). An interview is an adaptable approach; along with following up ideas, and probing responses, the interviewer can observe the way the response is made, which provides additional information on the importance of what is being said (Bell, 2005). There are disadvantages also, such as the fact that interviews are often quite time consuming (Bell, 2005), and qualitative research is more difficult to 'generalise'; what is occurring in one area may not necessarily be occurring in another (Bryman, 2008). The following looks at the importance of 'content analyses', the chosen approach to the analysis of data.

6.6 Concept of content analysis

There is no codification structure for qualitative data analysis, but 'many writers would argue that this is not necessarily desirable anyway' (Bryman, 2008, 538). There are broad guidelines to qualitative data analysis. All the research data here has been analysed and evaluated through a content analysis method. Coding is a form of 'analytic scaffolding' on which the research is built (Charmaz, 2005), in order to be able to develop themes and patterns that will form the foundation for interpretations of the research. It is also important to ensure responsibility that the coding system critically analyses the data but also is the researcher's own scheme (Rapley, 2011).

Content analysis allows for the categorisation of the data into themes and similarities and subsequently a system of coding.

> Content analysis is a very transparent research method. The coding scheme and the sampling procedures can be clearly set out so that replications and follow–up studies are feasible. It is this transparency that often causes content analysis to be referred to as an objective method of analysis
> (Bryman, 2004, 195).

It is important that the method of analysis permits the researcher to 'maximise the potential for a full and reflective analysis...and allow emergent ideas, concepts, patterns etc. to remain rooted within original data' (Spencer *et al*, 2003, 217). The researcher needs to be aware of how valid the categories and themes are. One common criticism of coding is the possibility of losing the context of the discussion (Bryman, 2004). A researcher must be particular and exact about this part of the process of content analysis, as it is important to retain the voice of the research participants, because it is their voice that lays the foundation of the research. The following section presents a brief conclusion of the main issues raised by the findings.

6.7 Main issues raised by the research findings

The whole purpose of education is to improve people's lives, socially, economically and academically, but access to higher education is a 'necessity, not a privilege in a knowledge-driven society' (Lynch, 2004, 19). Education and learning are the driving forces in economic growth and employment but they also have great potential in personal learning and individual growth. 'A knowledge-based economy is dependent on a society of people whose skills and flexibility are maintained throughout life'. This is the underlying concept of Lifelong Learning (Ottersten & Jennett, 2004, 141). Adults need to be adaptable, in line with contemporary unpredictable employment patterns (Expert Group on Future Skills Needs 2008). In addition, every adult should be presented with the opportunity to flourish. People are society's greatest assets and ultimately individual human development is important (Nussbaum, 2011a).

Migrants are the newest group of workers currently in Ireland and without their contribution, Ireland could not function as well as it did in recent years (Mac Éinrí,

2008). Despite the recession, migrants will continue to be required in the Irish labour market, as Ireland has a developed economy, therefore 'integration' policy is of growing importance in Government (Employers Diversity Network, 2009). Central to the research is creating an understanding of the barriers migrants encounter in higher education. The central themes that came to the forefront in the research began with proficiency in language.

6.7.1 English language proficiency

All the research participants agreed that lack of proficiency in language is a major issue for migrants. It is central to accessing and progressing in education and in employment. Proficiency in language is indispensable in the process of 'integration' and in immerging oneself in civil society; otherwise migrants are in danger of becoming marginalised. *'Their lack of proficiency in English seems to be a huge barrier (ISR).* Given the current employment state of affairs, migrants need to be proficient in English language if they want to up-learn or re-skill. Finance is another contentious issue for migrants which is briefly summarised next.

6.7.2 Financial barriers

Finance is a major barrier for migrants to accessing higher education. Certain groups encounter even greater barriers because of the excessive fee structure which often renders access to education impossible, *'our costs are so prohibited that there is no way that they are going to be able to go to college'* (AR). This is a fundamental issue of human rights. It is a barrier that effectively excludes groups of people from accessing services that are available to other groups in society. This is exclusionary policy, and it is institutionally racist practice. It is also marginalises groups of people from mainstream society (Walzer, 1983). The economic downturn has created severe budget cuts in education impacting language supports, education resources, funding and State grants. Students on grants often find the grant is insufficient to cover the basic cost of living (Ryle, 2010). Further barriers to education and employment are the lack of qualification recognition and recognition of prior learning.

6.7.3 Qualification recognition, recognition of prior learning

Qualification recognition and recognition of prior learning (RPL) are two relatively new developments, which are very important for migrants wishing to attend higher education courses. The evaluation processes are time consuming as it is difficult to evaluate qualifications from education systems that are not similar to the Irish one. The whole process of QR and RPL presents a number of difficulties and adds to the problems that numerous migrant groups encounter. It deepens their sense of non-membership of the community because it leads to a lack of progression in society (Walzer, 1983). The next section briefly validates the barriers in accessing employment.

6.7.4 Barriers to employment

There are many barriers in accessing employment, including the impact of the economic recession, which has resulted in a major increase in unemployment leaving migrants particularly vulnerable. Many migrants are or were in low-paid, low skilled employment (Hogan, 2008; Smyth, 2011c; Coakley, 2012) and are not equipped with the relevant employable skills to be re-employed, nor are they equipped to prepare for the upturn in the economy. In many cases, equality of opportunity is non-existent (Considine & Dukelow, 2009). This lack of opportunity is an institutional barrier that prevents migrant groups from fully immersing themselves in Irish society and marginalises groups of people. It is a denial of basic human rights; it is a denial of the opportunity to flourish holistically (Nussbaum, 2011a) and finally, it is the denial of a sense of belonging (Walzer, 1983). There is a risk that migrants are being isolated and socially excluded, which may cause social tension; this is a major social justice issue. The high level of poverty is also a concern, as migrants are left in a vulnerable position (Deneyer & Dunbar, 2008; Forde, 2012c). Finally, childcare is often quite expensive and problematic, especially for female migrants in low paid employment (AR). The next section looks at the specific policies that migrants require to address their needs.

6.7.5 Specific policies and supports

There are a number of different policies designed to address the diverse needs of migrants and address distinct issues, so policies are at a number of different stages and need to be continuously updated. Policies that exclude and isolate groups of people are

failed social policies (Fanning, 2007b). Migrants are one of the vulnerable groups who face greater inequalities as a result of the economic recession. With regard to higher level fees, migrants in direct provision are unable to pay even the reduced college fee (Arnold, 2012). Even if they could afford the reduced fee, their living conditions are very poor and are not commensurate with a study environment; Asylum Seekers remain one of the most disempowered groups in Irish society. Migrant students need specific practical supports such as language support and information provision and the lack of relevant information on education is a major barrier for them, yet no additional services are likely to be implemented to support them at this current time (Linehan & Hogan, 2008). 'Integration' policy is another area that is under developed.

6.7.6 'Integration' policy

The rapid demographic changes in Ireland resulted in *ad hoc* 'integration' measures, but progressive 'integration' policy is crucial for maintaining social cohesion. The migration experience of other countries confirms that it is the second and subsequent generations that feel marginalised because of the lack of opportunities available which results in tension and social unrest (IPR). People seeking asylum in this country face a very tough challenge in the application process and in direct provision (AR). There is an immediate urgency for progressive 'integration' policy development. The main principles or ingredients of 'integration' or migration management policy are that ethnic minorities are provided with social and economic opportunities similar to those of the host population and that the freedom of choice is with the minority group, with a partnership approach of mutual understanding between the majority and the minority group (Kallas & Kaldur, 2007). 'Integration' is a debatable concept; what arguably should 'integration' aim to entail? (Mac Éinrí, 2007). The responsibility of 'integration' lies with policy makers, but migrants need to be presented with the opportunity to communicate and network with the policy-makers, to ensure that their needs are identified and addressed. The 'one size fits all' approach' is not applicable; mutual understanding and respect between the majority and minority groups is of utmost importance (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008). Education is a powerful tool, critical to successful and progressive 'integration' policy and practice. Racist and discriminatory policy is another problematic area.

6.7.7 Racist and discriminatory policy

Racism has been increasing as a direct result of the economic recession. There are several Irish policies that basically disadvantage migrants, for example, the tiered college fee system which is a good example of discriminatory policy and a form of institutional racism. It is the most difficult form of racism to address because of its covert nature (Beire & Jaichand, 2006) and it is embedded at all levels of the State's departments and agencies that manage and implement migration policy and practice. Recently there have been a number of very serious racist attacks with an official denial that they are not racist (AR). The State's failure to address social exclusion issues risks increasing tensions (IPR), and employers continue to exploit migrants (IPR). Any act of exploitation against a human being turns that human being into a mere object, a non-being (Nussbaum, 2011a). Migrants need to feel that they are afforded similar opportunities as the indigenous population. Institutional racism and discriminatory policy implementation around migration issues is a major concern of this research. The next section presents the importance of future employment needs and the role of higher education.

6.7.8 Future employment needs and the role of higher education

Employment and skills needs are very important areas for the potential development of the country. It is vital that higher education focuses on producing a skilled, knowledge-based work force tailored for future labour markets, and for the recovery of the economy. It is crucial to develop labour market tools are to measure skill shortages, skill gaps and areas where education is under developed. Future economic prosperity depends on a population with employable skills, and it is essential to sustain public investment in education. The role of higher education is vitally. The following section presents an analysis of the interlinking themes that have emerged from chapters two and three.

6.8 Emerging dominant themes

Chapter two set out to explore the wider experiences of ethnic minority groups in Ireland in accessing higher education opportunities. Chapter three looked at the experiences of ethnic minority groups in the higher education system in Britain and the

Netherlands and conducted an evaluation of 'integration' or the migration management process, of both countries, as both have an extended history of managing migration. The emerging dominant themes are grounded in social justice issues and concerns:

- the relevancy of rights and entitlements in the 'integration' process;
- the impact of racism in real terms;
- the migration management process;
- the challenge of multiculturalism.

Two of the most dominant themes are proficiency in language and financial concerns, both of which have been well documented throughout the research. Various groups of ethnic minority groups are conferred different rights and entitlements as a result of their legal and residency status. This has resulted in some groups with very few rights and entitlements, which effectively excludes them. This outcome is socially unjust and is a discriminatory and institutionally racist practice and a denial of human flourishing (Nussbaum, 2001), a denial of membership (Walzer, 1983), and a denial of fundamental human rights (UN Declaration of Human Rights, 1948). Significant numbers of migrants are denied social justice as a direct result of the different rights and entitlements conferred on different groups.

6.8.1 Relevancy of rights and entitlements in the 'integration' process

Different ethnic minorities acquire different rights and entitlements, dependent on their country of origin, legal status, residency and conditions of employment. The allocated rights and entitlements define what each group of migrants is entitled to access. A migrant's legal status is not static, but highly changeable, due to the different entitlements and regulations allocated to individual groups (MRCI, 2007a), which is a major source of confusion and uncertainty. The fact that various groups of migrants are conferred different rights and entitlements creates a whole host of social, legislative and institutional problems. A framework of denial exists, a denial of educational rights and basic human rights (UN Declaration of Human Rights, 1948), a denial of a sense of belonging (Walzer, 1983) and a denial of human potential and development (Nussbaum, 2001). Groups of people are being excluded and marginalised. People who are actively contributing to society, are being treated unequally, which in effect could

create a third class citizen status (Mac Éinrí, 2004). Regressive policy that undermines members of the community will eventually result in a detrimental impact on that community. The State's failure to address social exclusion issues risks increasing social tension among the most disadvantaged people in Irish society, where groups may attempt to struggle against one another for scarce resources (Mac Éinrí, 2004). The migration management policy and legislation framework in Ireland is not transparent, accountable or fair. Migrants' rights are not established or clarified in law (One Foundation, 2014).

There are blatant contradictions between what the State envisions as its idea of 'integration', and what the reality is for different groups of migrants on the ground. The State promotes anti-racist policy and practice but at the same time, the strategy and objectives of numerous State policies, when applied in practical terms, actually discriminate and marginalise. This can only be construed as institutional racism. The impact of these policies is particularly prevalent in two contentious areas, education and employment and this has a deeply detrimental impact on equality of opportunity for separate migrant groups (OECD, 2007). These social inequalities have been institutionalised by the State system as the norm, which in effect is racist practice (Fanning 2007b). Policies that treat migrants solely as economic migrants in the long term, marginalize these groups from mainstream society and can therefore be described as policy failure (Fanning, 2007b). The Irish model of 'integration' has poor regard for social justice, social rights or equality issues (Considine & Dukelow, 2009). The lack of opportunities creates all sorts of divisions in individual people's lives because it impacts and converges in all elements of their life. Policy that effectively excludes groups of people dehumanizes them; they have no sense of belonging (Walzer, 1983). Human development, human potential and education are strongly interlinked and form the central core of the 'Capabilities Approach' (Nussbaum, 2011). Education greatly enhances the employment opportunities, political participation and civic interaction (Nussbaum, 2011) and is a basic fundamental right grounded in human dignity.

There is a strong onus on the migrant to settle into Irish society with little assistance from the State. The mutual adjustment between both parties (host country and migrant) should be a paramount process where interaction between the two becomes the norm, that is, the host country accepts diversity while the migrant forms a sense of belonging

(Healy, 2007). The current evidence suggests that migration management policy development is not seriously on the political agenda. Successive government Ministers have made damaging statements on the meaning of 'integration', comments which are contradictory and which have continually weakened the standing of the Integration Office. Lentin (2006) calls this contradictory process 'biopolitics', while Crowley (2010) sees it as providing hidden or false messages. Closing the NCCRI, the national watchdog against racism, sent a serious message that 'integration' or migration management was not important. The overall concept of mainstreaming 'integration' has merit, but the fact that different ethnic minority groups are conferred different rights and entitlements, is contradictory to the concept of inclusive 'integration' (MRCI, 2008). Equality of opportunity is not present or obtainable for all groups (Considine & Dukelow, 2009); this is discriminatory practice. The main principles of integration or migration management policy need to comprise a sense of a shared future, and social and economic rights for all groups, with mutual respect and understanding between the groups and is grounded in a social justice concept of fairness (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008). Choice is the fundamental key to successful integration policy (Kallas & Kaldur, 2007). The lack of skills and the lack of opportunities to address the skills deficit can also undermine social inclusion and undermine social and political trust in the community, creating an ever-growing divide between different groups of people (Janmaat & Green, 2013).

A common language (often negative in nature) has now become associated in communications with the public or media on migratory issues; this has occurred regularly over a number of years. The terms 'national' and 'non-national' became commonplace during debates around immigration issues, particularly in 2004, but the term 'non' imparts a negative image of a non being and implies two sets of people, a concept which is contradictory and counterproductive to social cohesion. A number of other State interventions were sources of contradiction. Fanning (2011) has written extensively about migrants' experience of exploitation in Irish. Exploitation itself acts as a dehumanizer, it dehumanizes the human (Nussbaum, 2011a). One of the most fundamental aspects contrary to human dignity is racism, as presented in the next section.

6.8.2 Racism and a sense of belonging

The origin of Irish racism is unique and very specific to Ireland. Racism is grounded in five specific influences according to McVeigh (1992): it mirrors the British role model of racism; it is the result of British imperialism; it is influenced by the Irish diaspora; by sectarianism and by the Irish attitude to Travellers Symbolically Travellers are regarded as outsiders who do not belong to the community. Two other groups follow suit – Jews and Blacks are also classed as outsiders. Further to this, two groups of people have been identified within these shores – national and non-national. The non-national is regarded as an outsider. Migrants are welcomed into the host country as servants to attend to '3D' jobs. These workers are recruited under strict policies and practices and are regarded as temporary workers. They have no political rights and their positions always remain precarious. Politically these workers are tightly constrained, exploited and oppressed; they are 'outcasts in a society that has no caste norms' (Walzer, 1983, 59). This is a major social justice issue.

Current legislation to protect ethnic minority groups in Ireland is weak, while current migration management policy is neither transparent nor fair (One Foundation, 2014). There is evidence that institutional racism is embedded in policies and practices in Ireland. There are many examples where migration management policy does not marry practice, as documented throughout this research thesis. Policy decision-makers should be aware of the problems Ireland is currently creating and as Forde (2012d) states, 'Ireland is sleep walking itself into a colossal mess over integration' (Forde, 2012, 1d) but there is a major lack of political will. Attitudes towards ethnic minority groups have worsened in recent years (Smyth, 2009; McGinnity *et al*, 2011; 2012) and racism has increased (Integration Centre, 2011a; 2011c). It has become evident that a number of State polices create barriers for different migrant groups (Crosscare *et al,* 2012).

6.8.3 Migration management policy challenges

Migration management policy in Ireland consists of a combined working series of documents that have been developed over time to try to address the various issues around migration. However, far too frequently, there has been a significant difference between policy and legislative practice, because there have been too many incidents where legislation is too weak to allow the policy to be fully implemented. This has

been highly debated in parliamentary sessions (Houses of Oireachtas Integration Policy Statement, 13 December 2007).

Racism warrants careful consideration. It is important to recognise that discrimination affects people in a variety of ways (Beirne & Jaichand, 2006). There are several State policies that disadvantage various groups of migrants because they impart different rights and entitlements on the different groups (MRCI, 2007). One example is the Irish Born Child Administrative Scheme for Immigrant Residency 2005 (IBC/05), which bestows different legal status, rights and entitlements on individual family members, and thus reinforces inequality within the single family unit (Coakley, 2012). This is a major source of tension within migrant families of Irish born children (Coakley, 2012) and positions these groups of people in a unique position where the State can imply who is entitled to what within the single family unit. This is a great injustice. Policies that disadvantage different groups of people in Irish society are discriminatory and are a crucial source of social exclusion.

Racist practice is normalised by institutional racism (Kitching & Curtin, 2012). The normalisation of racism risks increasing social exclusion and is a State failure, and a source of social tension (Mac Éinrí, 2004). Public perception is not the only contradictory influence around racism. State officials have a major role to play in swaying public opinion. The Citizens Referendum in 2004 effectively endorsed a divided society, where children were separated into citizens and aliens (Binchy, 2004). This effectively conferred non-membership status on these children; they were born in this country and the Constitution (1937) promised to protect all children of the nation; this can only be construed as contradictory politics.

The overall model of 'integration' as it stands, lacks any real blueprint for the future of the 'design' of Irish integration. The existing guidelines associated with the term 'integration' are weak and this lack of clarity fuels the concerns of those who fear change. There has been little depth of engagement on the policies of 'integration' in the most comprehensive sense of the term which is disconcerting (Mac Éinrí, 2007). These are issues of major complexity and require in-depth debate around the whole process (Mac Éinrí, 2007). Migration management is undoubtedly one of the most important social issues that the country will encounter over the coming decades and

issues such as racism, diversity and intolerance are vital components of migration policy.

Even policy that is methodically designed to address the needs of ethnic minority groups may still fail; this has been the experience of Dutch ethnic minority policy. Policy was deemed a failure because ethnic minority groups still encountered either very high levels of unemployment, or low-skilled low-paid employment, which left them disadvantaged both in employment and in education. This is something Irish policy-makers and gate keepers, need to remain aware of, that is policy can fail if it does not address the needs or the problems that ethnic minority groups encounter. The government has a major role to play in promoting 'integration'. Migration management policy or 'integration' should be implemented, in conjunction with an active consultation process with participating groups (Kallas & Kaldur 2007). Addressing the needs of ethnic minority groups and the problems they encounter is a major part of mainstreaming the migration management process (Kallas & Kaldur, 2007). This is best policy practice.

6.8.4 Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is based on the idea of accommodating ethnic diversity from a legal and political framework (Kymlicka, 2012). There is substantial evidence that multicultural policy is progressing, yet political leaders have pronounced it a failure (Kymlicka (2012); there is no real depth to their understanding of the meaning of multiculturalism (Hasan, 2011). There are social, economic, civic and political aspects to multiculturalism. Torres describes it as the struggle to accommodate diversity, and argues that is has not failed, but that current multicultural policy and practice is contradictory (Torres, 2013). It can still be argued however, that multiculturalism is gaining ground towards its main objective (Modood, 2012a). The basics of multiculturalism are grounded in a common sense of belonging and a shared sense of citizenship from a political perspective (Parekh, 2006). This common sense of belonging promotes the idea of membership and belonging within the community (Walzer, 1983). There are different aspects to multicultural policy in Britain and the Netherlands, but the essential ingredient is equality and choice (Modood, 2012b). The

final section offers a number of recommendations that may challenge the Irish education system and the Irish political system.

6.9 Recommendations

It has been established that migrants encounter barriers to higher education such as the financial cost. As a result, they encounter barriers to employment. Migrants lack the relevant information around education courses and their different afforded rights and entitlements and some groups have very little access to higher education opportunities, which in turn impacts employment prospects. Ethnic minorities from outside the EEA encounter greater difficulties in attempting to access higher education opportunities. They encounter the high fee structure, which makes it almost impossible to finance education, which is complicated further by the fact that they are in low-paid employment. Many policies are still in the developing stages, and this includes 'integration' policy, which is impacting on the lives of migrants residing in this country. Migrants need to be presented with the opportunity of involvement in developing the policies and strategies that will impact them. There is a need to recognize migrants' unique position in Irish society; significant numbers of ethnic minorities are denied social justice in regard to access to higher education compounded by the excessive fee structure and the lack of language provision and qualification recognition. The following are a number of recommendations:

- It is absolutely vital that migrants have relevant access to consistent English language courses. Higher education institutions need to have language supports in place for migrants.

- It is crucial to develop transparent and consistent guidelines on qualification recognition and recognition of prior learning and to continually network with other education institutions, Quality and Qualifications Ireland, and other international qualifications networks, to continuously update the system.

- Migrants are or were in low-paid, low skilled employment and are not equipped with the relevant employable skills to be re-employed, nor are they equipped to

prepare for the upturn in the economy. Migrants need immediate access to higher level courses in order to up-learn or re-skill.

- There is an immediate need to provide transparent and consistent information regarding education courses, the fee structure, course outline, entitlements, and other issues directly related to access for migrants and the service providers.

- There is an immediate need for progressive migration management policy development. Education is also critical to successful and progressive 'integration'. 'Integration' or migration management policy must not be designed to marginalise groups of migrants. Policies that marginalise groups of people are a major human rights issue. Any deficiency in this regard needs to be addressed by key gatekeepers and policy makers. It is vital that policy addresses the argument that there are different multicultural models and approaches which suit different ethnic minority groups. Some groups may wish to assimilate, some might wish to have similar rights and entitlements as the host country, other groups may wish to retain their cultural identity while some wish to choose the cosmopolitan model of a diverse society. The essential ingredient is that the choice should remain with the migrant themselves (Modood, 2012b). The ultimate goal to target is that the migrant feels a sense of belonging and acceptance in the new community and they are presented with similar opportunities as the rest of the population.

- Current migration policy and practice assign separate rights and entitlements to different groups of migrants. This is in major conflict with the concept of inclusive 'integration' and is in effect discriminatory and institutionally racist. There is an urgent need for the State to address this major issue, as it could potentially lead to social unrest in Irish society. The Higher Education Authority of Ireland needs to develop policies that tackle institutional racism among higher education institutions (Universities and the IoTs) using individual gatekeepers, access officers, and admission specialists within higher education to set up raising awareness programmes, workshops and seminars to create intercultural sensitization in the sector. An Anti-Racist Toolkit has been

developed in Britain in response to the *Stephen Laurence Inquiry,* that is designed to address racism and institutional racism in the higher education sector. The toolkit is titled: *Institutional Racism in Higher Education. Building the Anti-Racist University: A Toolkit* complied by Turney *et al,* (2002) and it provides excellent best practice examples for the Higher Education Authority and higher education institutions in Ireland.

- It is vital that the issue of racism is urgently addressed; racism is on the increase and needs to be officially and unofficially targeted at a local and national level. There is an urgent need for greater public debate on these serious issues. The public need to be aware of the numerous benefits that migrants bring with them.

- It is critical that higher education focuses on producing a skilled, knowledge-based work force tailored for future labour markets and the recovery of the economy. The role of higher education is absolutely important and meeting the skills needs is crucial for the economy. Higher education has a very important role to play in meeting the demands of the future skills needs.

Finance is a major issue for all migrants but it has a particular impact for migrants from outside the EEA. Migrants who reside in Ireland and are required to pay the excessive fee face an impossible challenge. It is crucial that the fee is reduced. Higher education institutions urgently need to address these issues. There needs to be consistent information regarding the fee structure, the grant system and social protection entitlements that different groups are entitled to. This information needs to be widely disseminated in different formats.

- The provision of 'Tax Credits' is another financial incentive for migrants working full-time, and would encourage a return to further and higher education courses to increase their employable status.

Employers should be encouraged to promote education and re-training, by providing opportunities for their employees to up-learn and re-skill and by financing the

educational costs, as the employer directly benefits from a highly skilled workforce. A highly skilled workforce benefits the State, the economy and the individual.

Finally, the National Development Plan stated that it would facilitate the development of a system of Lifelong Learning including accessible and flexible routes of progression (1999). It has been failing to do this. The Government should finance a National Lifelong Learning Campaigning Agency to promote and protect the rights of Lifelong Learners. This agency would give legitimacy to Lifelong Learning, along with advocacy rights and powers. This has the potential to modernise Lifelong Learning through the further development of provincial networks and organisations, where tailor-made course design can be successfully implemented at local levels, were targeted actions are needed the most. Students in the higher education sector would benefit greatly from a similar type of organisation as the Office of the Independent Adjudicator (OIA), which investigates grievances on behalf of students in the higher education system in England and Wales. This would present students with the opportunity to address any grievances they have.

In conclusion, this research has analyzed and evaluated policies and practices around migrants' education rights and entitlements and the barriers that ethnic minority groups encounter in attempting to access the higher education system. It is critical that progressive migration management or 'integration' policy sets out to address the key essential areas of successful inclusive multicultural policy and to understand the powerful influences of inherently racist policy and practice and its long-term impact on migrants and the fabric of Irish society. As inward migration is a relatively new phenomenon, Irish 'integration' policy and practice is still in the developing stages. It is crucial to understand how migration management policies should be further developed, with a core emphasis on the design of the policy and it is crucial to understand the role of education in the 'integration' process. Migrants have contributed to Irish society but 'policy developments that are extremely hard…have a damaging impact on the lives of migrant workers and their families' (O' Donoghue, 2010, i). Finally, this thesis has articulated the fact that migrants encounter many barriers in accessing higher education to up-learn and re-skill. They have unique needs that are not addressed by the Irish higher education system. Failure to address these issues may

result in marginalisation and social exclusion, which could potentially lead to social unrest in Irish society.

> *One key question for policymakers is whether, or how far, immigration policy or immigration itself undermines integration*
> (Saggar & Somerville, 2012. 20).

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Appendices

Appendix A

<u>Policy Questions for representatives of Irish Politics, and MEPs</u>

1. Migrants are a group of individuals whose needs are not well known, is there any specific policy that addresses these needs?

2. Access to education and training is vital if migrants are to enhance their employability skills, is there a policy that addresses education needs?

3. What are the main policies that may hinder access to education and training for migrants?

4. What are the main policies that may hinder access to employment for migrants?

5. English language proficiency is a requirement if migrants are to be successful in employment, yet resources have been targeted, what is your opinion on this?

6. Migrants need access to technological or academic language programmes in order to prepare for upskilling, funding to higher education has also been cut, what is your opinion on this?

7. Migrants are more vulnerable to becoming unemployed in the current economic climate, is there a policy that addresses the current needs of migrants who have become unemployed?

8. Migrants need to have similar skills to the indigenous population if they are to survive, do you think this is an urgent issue for the State to address?

9. Migrants from lower socio-economic backgrounds need additional supports if they are to be successful in returning to upskill, will there be specific supports for vulnerable migrants?

10. What general skills do you think would enhance the employability of migrants?

11. Is it important to address the future skills needs of Irish society?

12. Is it important to address the future employment patterns of Irish society?

13. Do you think third level colleges have a role to play in shaping the future demands of education and training?

14. Qualification recognition is problematic for employers and educational institutions, do you think it is important to have qualifications from outside Ireland recognised?

15. Recognition of prior learning is also problematic; do you think it is important to document recognition of prior learning?

16. Additional barriers in the Northwest include poor transport and infrastructure, higher levels of unemployment, brain drain, isolation, marginalisation and lower educational attainment, all of which compound the experience of migrants, is there a policy to address the specific requirements of this region?

17. Inward migration has seen rapid changes occurring in Ireland over a very short period, and integration policy is relatively new, how important do you think integration policy is?

18. The general public tend to overlook the fact that without the labour input of migrant workers, Ireland's economic growth would not have been as successful, why is this never acknowledged?

19. Stakeholders have stated that incidents of racism are on the increase because the attitude 'they're taking our jobs' is becoming quite common, if incidents of racism increase what policy or action will be taken to address this?

20. When talk arises about the needs of migrants, one educational stakeholder stated that 'there is almost a resurgence around being Irish', why is this a common response?

Appendix B

1. Migrants are a group of individuals whose needs are not well known, is there any specific EU policy that addresses these needs?

2. Access to education and training is important if migrants are to enhance their employability skills, is there an EU policy that addresses the education needs of migrant workers?

3. Are there any EU policies that may hinder access to education and training for migrants?

4. Are there any EU policies that may hinder access to employment for migrants?

5. Proficiency in the host's language is a requirement if migrants are to be successful in employment. As a representative of the EU Commission, what is your opinion on this?

6. Migrants need access to technological and/or academic language programmes in order to prepare for upskilling. Funding to the Irish higher education system has been cut. What is your opinion on this issue?

7. Migrants are more vulnerable to becoming unemployed in the current economic climate. Is there an EU policy that addresses the current needs of migrants who have become unemployed?

8. Migrants need to have similar skills to the indigenous population if they are to survive in the recession. Do you think this is an urgent issue for the Irish Government to address?

9. Migrants from lower socio-economic backgrounds need additional supports if they are to be successful in availing of training opportunities and returning to up-skill. What is your opinion on this?

10. What general skills do you think would enhance the employability of migrants?

11. Is it important to address the future skills needs of an EU country (particularly Ireland in the current economic recession)?

12. Is it important to address the future employment patterns of an EU country in the current economic recession?

13. Do you think third level colleges have a role to play in shaping the future demands of education and training? If so, please provide examples.

14. Qualification recognition is problematic for employers and educational institutions. Do you think it is important to have qualifications from outside one's country of origin recognised?

15. Recognition of prior learning is also problematic: do you think it is important to document recognition of prior learning?

16. Regional barriers often include poor transport and infrastructure, higher levels of unemployment, *brain drain*, isolation, marginalisation and lower educational attainment. All of these compound the experience of migrants. Is there a designated EU policy or proposal to address education and training deficits in specific regions such as the Northwest corner of Ireland?

17. Inward migration has seen rapid changes occurring in Ireland over a very short period and *integration* policy is relatively new. How important do you think *integration* policy is from the EU Commission's perspective?

18. The general public tend to overlook the fact that without the labour input of migrant workers, the country's economic growth would not have been as successful. Why is this rarely acknowledged?

19. Research participants have stated that incidents of racism are on the increase because the attitude 'they're taking our jobs' is becoming quite common. If incidents of racism increase what policy or action ought to be taken to address this issue?

20. Do you see the role of the Commission developing further policies around the above issues?

21. Is there anything else you would like to add that you deem important on this subject that I may not have covered?

Appendix C

1. How do migrants get the relevant information regarding the courses?

2. Who do you think should be first point of contact for potential migrant students?

3. How would you evaluate the level of English language skills of migrants, both verbal and written?

4. Do you have specific policies designed to meet the requirements of migrant students?

5. What barriers do you perceive migrant students may encounter in education?

6. Are any of your organisation's policies and procedures translated into other languages?

7. What are the main barriers of access to education and training for migrants?

8. What are the main barriers or obstacles to employment for migrants?

9. What are the main barriers for migrants' who have become unemployed in the current economic climate?

10. Do you offer any cultural or induction of integration training programmes for migrants.

11. Is it important for migrants to have a third level qualification?

12. Would you support migrant workers in their pursuit of a third-level qualification?

13. If so, in what way would you support a migrant worker to pursue a third-level qualification?

14. Does your organisation recognise qualifications from outside Ireland?

15. How are these accessed?

16. Does your organisation have any policy on recognition of prior learning?
17. Do you consider qualifications from outside Ireland generally on a similar level, or below or above the Irish third level qualification?

18. What general skills and competencies would enhance the employability of migrants?

19. What additional support or services could third-level colleges provide to enhance the employability of migrants?

20. Migrants are more vulnerable to being unemployed in the current economic climate in comparison to the indigenous population, is there a greater need to address this?

21. Is there a greater need for migrants to access third level education in light of changing labour market demands?

22. What additional barriers are present in the northwest region that further impede a migrant worker's progress?

23. What additional student services may be necessary to support migrants in and through third level education?

24. Is it important to investigate the future skills needs of migrants?

25. Is it important to investigate future employment patterns?

26. How can third-level institutes direct or shape the future demands of third-level education?

Appendix D

1. How do migrants get the relevant information regarding your services?

2. How would you evaluate the level of English language skills, both verbal and written of migrants?

3. Do you have specific policies designed to meet the requirements of migrants?

4. Are any of your organisation's policies and procedures translated into other languages?

5. What are the main barriers of access to education and training for migrants?

6. What are the main barriers or obstacles to employment for migrants?

7. What are the main barriers for migrants' who have become unemployed in the current economic climate?

8. Does your organisation have any policy on recognition of prior learning?

9. Do you offer any cultural or induction of integration training programmes for migrants.

10. Is it important for migrants to have a third level qualification?

11. Would you support migrant workers in their pursuit of a third-level qualification?

12. If so, in what way would you support a migrant worker to pursue a third-level qualification?

13. Does your organisation recognise qualifications from outside Ireland?

14. Do you consider qualifications from outside Ireland generally on a similar level, or below or above the Irish third level qualification?

15. What general skills and competencies would enhance the employability of migrants?
16. What additional support or services could third-level colleges provide to enhance the employability of migrants?

17. Migrants are more vulnerable to being unemployed in the current economic climate in comparison to the indigenous population, is there a greater need to address this?

18. Is there a greater need for migrants to access third level education in light of changing labour market demands?

19. What are the main groups of migrants in the northwest region?

20. What additional barriers are present in the northwest region that further impede a migrant worker's progress?

21. What additional student services may be necessary to support migrants in and through third level education?

22. Is it important to investigate the future skills needs of migrants?

23. Is it important to investigate future employment patterns?

24. How can third-level institutes direct or shape the future demands of third-level education?

Appendix E

1. Where are migrant students directed to when they first contact your college?

2. Who advises migrant students on courses most suited to their needs?

3. Who do you think should be first point of contact for potential migrant students?

4. Where do migrant students generally obtain the information on courses on offer?

5. Does your college have specific policies designed to suit the needs of migrant students?

6. What barriers do you perceive migrant students may encounter in education?

7. Has your college any additional resources or support services designed to facilitate migrant students?

8. How would you evaluate the level of English language skills, both verbal and written?

9. What are the main barriers of access to education and training for migrants?

10. Do you offer any cultural or induction of integration training programmes for migrant students.

11. Do you offer any induction or integration training programmes for staff with regard to the needs of migrant students?

12. Is it important for migrants to have a third level qualification?

13. Does your college recognise qualifications from outside Ireland?

14. How are these qualifications assessed?

15. Do you consider qualifications from outside Ireland generally on a similar level, or below or above the Irish third level qualification?

16. Does your college recognise prior learning?

17. What additional support or services could third-level colleges provide to enhance the employability of migrants?

18. Is there a greater need for migrants to access third level education in light of changing labour market demands?

19. What additional student services may be necessary to support migrants in and through third level education?

20. Is it important to investigate the future skills needs of migrants?

21. Is it important to investigate future employment patterns?

22. How can third-level institutes direct or shape the future demands of third-level education?

Appendix F

<u>Interviewee Letter</u>

Date:

Dear

I am currently undertaking a PhD at the Institute of Technology, Sligo, researching migrants and the barriers they encounter in higher education and in accessing higher education. In recent years, Ireland has been unable to meet contemporary labour market demands without the additional labour input of migrant workers.

As exogenous migration is a relatively new phenomenon, national policy and practice is continually being developed, nevertheless migrants are a specific group of individuals whose needs are not well understood. The economic downturn has had a certain impact on the migrant population who have settled here, and as a result many migrants are currently unemployed while others may face this prospect in the near future particularly in the Northwest of Ireland. A major part of the research process includes conducting a series of recorded telephone interviews with relevant representatives. In addition to the topics I am currently exploring as listed, I need to develop an understanding of the policies designed to meet the needs of migrants that may impacted the designated topics.

- An evaluation of the level of English language skills;
- Specific policies designed to meet the needs of migrants;
- The main barriers in accessing higher education, employment, and in the current situation - unemployment;
- Qualification recognition, and policy on prior learning;
- The enhancement of employability skills for migrants;
- Additional helpful 3rd level supports;
- Additional preventive barriers relevant in the NW;
- Recent changing labour market needs and their impact; and the
- Importance of investigating future employment patterns.

To this end, I would greatly welcome your insight and expertise. I am hoping to conduct a telephone interview in the near future and will be in contact soon. Thanking you for taking the time to read my letter.

Kind Regards,

Marie McGloin,
Department of Humanities,
Institute of Technology, Sligo.
Mobile:
Email:

Appendix G

Gender, Age, Nationality.

Why Ireland?

Relevant information - what was available and suitable?

<u>College Supports</u>

Did you receive guidance and support at the beginning of your college life?

If so, in what way were you supported?

Do you think the college could improve the supports?

If you were offered another support, what would it be?

How accommodating are college services – library, canteen, administration etc.

<u>Irish Cultural Norms / Differences</u>

Do we do different things in Ireland in comparison to where you live?

Does this affect you in any way?

Have you encountered any difficulties with the Irish accent or language?

Do you have Irish friends?

<u>Employment</u>

Do you work outside of college?

Do you need to work to support yourself?

If so, have you had any difficulties getting employment?

Does this have any impact on your study?

Irish Education

Have you had any difficulties settling in, in college?

Is the Irish education system similar to your own education system?

How do you find interacting with lecturers?

What are your expectations and outcomes by attending college?

Is coming to college expensive?

How do you finance college?

What's good /not so good about Ireland?

Would you recommend Irish education to others?

Is there anything else you would like to add that I have not addressed?

Appendix H

<u>Focus Group Volunteer Form</u>

I volunteer to take part in this research and I am aware that any information/material I contribute to the discussion may be used anonymously for research purposes.

Sign_____

Date_____