A SOCIAL PORTRAIT OF
COMMUNITIES IN IRELAND

SOCIAL
INCLUSION
Building an Inclusive Society

A SOCIAL PORTRAIT OF COMMUNITIES IN IRELAND

Brian Nolan* and Bertrand Maitre**

*School of Applied Social Science, UCD,
**The Economic and Social Research Institute

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD FROM THE MINISTER

This social portrait of communities in Ireland is one of a series commissioned by the Office for Social Inclusion from the Economic and Social Research Institute. These social portraits relate to the lifecycle approach, which underpins the social partnership agreement, *Towards 2016*, and the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion 2007-2016 (NAPinclusion).

This portrait provides data and information on smaller communities in Ireland that are particularly vulnerable to poverty and social exclusion. It deals with the position of migrants and ethnic minorities, the Traveller community, the homeless, and the type of disadvantage experienced in urban and rural areas. It illustrates the importance of having clear and comprehensive data for devising appropriate policies to meet the varying needs of people experiencing poverty, and for helping to ensure effective implementation of those policies.

The information is also important not just for policymakers and administrators, but also for the public generally in working to create a more informed understanding of the nature and causes of poverty and social exclusion, and of the challenges to be met in working for their progressive elimination.

Because of the particular and varying circumstances faced by vulnerable groups and by those living in areas of urban and rural disadvantage, gathering the information required can be difficult. Nevertheless, the information made available in this portrait and the others provides a clear picture overall of the often multiple disadvantages that lead to poverty and social exclusion. This information and analysis greatly helps in developing policies and monitoring the effectiveness of their implementation.

A key aim of the lifecycle approach is to promote more integrated policies and their implementation to address, in particular, multiple disadvantages. The goal is to achieve a better balance between individual policies such as social welfare, education and health and improving overall welfare and well-being. A further key aim is to ensure that Government resources are used to best effect in achieving social inclusion.

A key priority of the NAPinclusion is to improve the lives of people living in disadvantaged areas through programmes designed to build viable and sustainable communities and social capital. Specially tailored supports, in addition to the normal social welfare, employment and other supports and services, are provided to meet the particular needs of the other groups described in this report.

The objectives of the NAPinclusion have been prioritised in the commitments contained in the Programme for Government, which underlines the Government's fundamental commitment to protect the vulnerable and less well-off in society, particularly in these difficult economic times. The information in this and the other portraits make a valuable contribution to this strategic process.

I would like to thank the ESRI and, especially the authors, Bertrand Maitre and Brian Nolan, who prepared this social portrait, and the Office for Social Inclusion who commissioned it. Thanks are also due to the National Adult Literacy Agency who provided guidance on plain English standards for the production of the portrait.

Mary Hanafin

Mary Hanafin TD
Minister for Social and Family Affairs

6

BROLLACH ÓN AIRE

Baineann an phortráid seo le sraith portráidí arna gcoimisiúnú ag an Oifig um Chuimsiú Sóisialta ón Institiúid um Thaighde Eacnamaíochta agus Sóisialta. Baineann na portráidí sóisialta seo leis an gcur chuige saolré is bonn do chomhaontaú páirtíochta *I dTreo 2016*, agus don Phlean Gníomhaíochta Náisiúnta um Chuimsiú Sóisialta 2007-2016 (cuimsitheacht PGN)

Soláthraítear sa phortráid seo sonraí agus eolas faoi na pobail níos lú in Éirinn is leochailí maidir le bochtaineacht agus le heisiamh sóisialta. Pléitear sa phortráid seo le staid na n-imirceach agus na mionlach eitneacha, leis an lucht siúil, le daoine gan áitreabh agus leis an saghas míbhuntaiste a chastar le lucht cónaithe uirbeacha agus tuaithe. Léiríonn sé a thábhachtaí is atá sé sonraí cuimsitheacha soiléire a bheith ar fáil chun polasaithe iomchuí chun freastal ar riachtanais éagsúla daoine i mbochtanas agus chun féachaint chuige go gcuirfear na polasaithe sin i bhfeidhm go héifeachtach.

Ní hamháin go bhfuil an t-eolas sin tábhachtach do lucht déanta polasaithe agus do lucht riartha, ach don phobal i gcoitinne maidir leis an obair a bhaineann le tuiscint níos fearr ar cad is bochtaineacht agus eisiamh sóisialta ann agus cad is bun leo, mar aon leis na dúshláin atá roimh dhaoine a bhíonn ag obair chun deireadh a chur leo, diaidh ar ndiaidh.

I ngeall ar na dálaí áirithe éagsúla a gcaithfidh grúpaí leochaileacha agus daoine a chónaíonn i gceantair uirbeacha agus tuaithe faoi mhíbhuntáiste dul i ngleic leo, ní héasca an t-eolas a theastaíonn a bhailiú. Ina dhiaidh sin agus uile, soláthraíonn an fhaisnéis a chuirtear ar fáil sa phortráid seo agus eile ollphictiúr soiléir de na míbhuntáistí sin ar il-mhíbhuntáistí iad, go minic, a thugann ann don bhochtaineacht agus don eisiamh sóisialta. Is mór an chabhair an fhaisnéis sin agus an anailís sin chun polasaithe a fhorbairt agus chun monatóireacht a dhéanamh ar cé chomh héifeachtach is a chuirtear i bhfeidhm iad.

Ceann de phríomhaidhmeanna an chur chuige saolré is ea é polasaithe níos comhtháite a chur chun cinn agus a chur i bhfeidhm chun aghaidh a thabhairt ar il-mhíbhuntáistí, ach go háirithe. Is é an sprioc ná cothromaíocht níos fearr a bhaint amach idir polasaithe aonair, mar shampla, polasaithe leasa shóisialaigh, oideachais agus sláinte, agus leas sóisialach agus leas an phobail i gcoitinne a chur chun cinn. Ceann eile de na príomhaidhmeanna is ea é féachaint chuige go mbaintear an leas is fearr as acmhainní Rialtais chun cuimsiú sóisialta a thabhairt i gcrích.

Ceann de phríomhthosaíochtaí a bhaineann le cuimsitheacht PGN is ea é feabhas a chur ar shaol daoine a chónaíonn i gceantair faoi mhíbhuntáiste, trí chláir arna ndearadh chun pobail inmharthanacha agus inbhuanaithe a thógáil, mar aon le caipiteal sóisialta. Soláthraítear tacaíochtaí speisialta saincheaptha, mar aon lena mbíonn de thacaíochtaí leasa shóisialaigh, fostaíochta agus eile ann de ghnáth, chun freastal ar na riachtanais ar leith atá ag na grúpaí eile ar a bhfuil cur síos sa tuarascáil seo.

Tá na cuspóirí a bhaineann le cuimsitheacht PGN rangaithe in ord tosaíochta de réir na ngealltanas i gClár an Rialtais, ina leagtar béim ar ghealltanas bunúsach an Rialtais cosaint a thabhairt do leochaileach agus do dhaibhir na sochaí, i laethanta deacra seo an gheilleagair, ach go háirithe. Cuireann an fhaisnéis sa phortráid seo agus sna portráidí eile go mór leis an bpróiseas straitéiseach seo.

Is mian liom mo bhuíochas a chur in iúl don ESRI agus do Bertrand Maitre agus Brian Nolan, na húdair a d'ullmhaigh an phortráid shóisialta seo, agus leis an Oifig um Chuimsiú Sóisialta a dhein a choimisiúnú. Tá buíochas ag dul, chomh maith, don Áisíneacht Náisiúnta Litearthachta do Aosaigh, a chuir treoir ar fáil maidir le caighdeáin ghlan-Bhéarla i dtáirgeadh na portráide seo.

Mary Hanafin

Mary Hanafin TD
Aire Gnóthaí Sóisialacha agus Teaghlaigh

DIRECTOR'S STATEMENT

Social inclusion is about working to ensure that people who are marginalised have, at a minimum, the standards of living, access to services and social life that are the norm for the majority of people in Ireland. Government policies and programmes make an enormous contribution to social well-being, but we need to constantly evaluate their effectiveness in relation to the outcomes being achieved.

The series of social portraits make an important contribution to this process. They not only provide information on how each of the groups at various stages of the lifecycle are faring, but assist us in monitoring the extent to which progress is being made in achieving the goals and targets under the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion 2007-2016 (NAPinclusion) and its related strategies, as set out in the social partnership agreement *Towards 2016*, and the social inclusion chapter of the National Development Plan, 2007 – 2013.

People experiencing poverty are not a homogenous group, as is evident from the varying circumstances of the groups described in this social portrait and their vulnerability to poverty and social exclusion. The accompanying analysis in the portrait also explains the multifaceted and deep seated nature of poverty and the need for special targeted support if vulnerable groups are to overcome poverty and disadvantage. The integrated and targeted approach needed, being further facilitated and promoted through the lifecycle approach, is now embedded in the governance structures in the form of the NAPinclusion and its related social inclusion strategies.

We need to apply indicators in measuring progress and, in particular, for inputs, outputs and most importantly outcomes. The effectiveness of indicators depends on the adequacy of data, which is also necessary for the development of evidence based policy. This social portrait illustrates how available data can be compiled and analysed to provide a good understanding of the circumstances of the groups covered. However, it also highlights the existence of data and information gaps that may hinder a fuller understanding of their position. This is particularly the case for smaller groups, such as those covered in this portrait, who are too small to have details of their particular situation captured in the key sample surveys such as the EU Survey on Income and Living Conditions, which measures poverty levels, and the Quarterly National Household Survey, which measures participation in the labour market.

Improving our understanding of the characteristics of these groups will, therefore, require innovative use of administrative data. This has the potential to help produce a more in-depth picture. The issues of data gaps and data availability are being addressed by the Technical Advisory Group, which advises the Office for Social Inclusion on data provision and related matters. This Group meets on a regular basis and provides a forum for stakeholders, including the social partners, to exchange information on developments in the area of data and indicators. The data strategies of Government departments also focus on data availability and collection, and their importance and value for policy development and evaluation. The development of these data strategies form part of the work programme, undertaken across Government, to improve the quality and range of social and equality statistics available to support policy.

The Office for Social Inclusion is fully engaged in all aspects of monitoring and evaluating the progress being made in achieving social inclusion under the various strategies. The Office reports regularly on the outcomes being achieved to all stakeholders and the general public at national level, and to the European Union. The social portraits greatly assist in providing a context for this work and the background information needed to evaluate progress and identify priorities for future development.

Finally, I wish to join with the Minister in thanking the ESRI authors for producing this portrait, and the staff of this Office working on the project.

Gerry Mangan

Gerry Mangan
Director
Office for Social Inclusion

RÁITEAS AN STIÚRTHÓRA

Baineann cuimsiú sóisialta leis an obair is gá a dhéanamh chun féachaint chuige go mbíonn, ar an gcuid is lú de, fáil ag daoine imeallaithe ar na caighdeáin mhaireachtála, rochtain ar sheirbhísí agus an saol sóisialta acu a áirítear mar an norm do thromlach na ndaoine in Éirinn. Cuireann polasaithe agus cláir an Rialtais go mór le leas an phobail, ach is gá dúinn a bheith de shíor ag measúnú a n-éifeachta ó thaobh torthaí de.

Cuid thábhachtach den phróiseas sin is ea an tsraith pórtráidí sóisialta seo. Ní hamháin go soláthraítear faisnéis iontu maidir le conas atá ag éirí leis na grúpaí sin ag céimeanna éagsúla saolré, ach cabhraíonn siad linn monatóireacht a dhéanamh ar dhul chun cinn maidir leis na spriocanna agus na cuspóirí a leagtar síos sa Phlean Gníomhaíochta Náisiúnta um Chuimsiú Sóisialta 2007-2016 (cuimsitheacht PGN) agus na straitéisí a ghabann leis, mar a leagtar amach sa chomhaontú páirtíochta sóisialta, *I dTreo 2016*, agus san alt a bhaineann le cuimsiú sóisialta sa Phlean Forbartha Náisiúnta, 2007-2013.

Ní dream aonchineálach daoine a mbíonn an bhochtaineacht ag cur orthu, mar is léir ach breathnú ar dhálaí éagsúla na ngrúpaí ar a bhfuil cur síos sa phortráid seo agus ar a leochailí is atá siad maidir le bochtaineacht agus le heisiamh sóisialta. Míníonn an anailís a ghabann leis na cúrsaí sin sa phortráid seo a riachtanaí is atá tacaíocht speisialta shaindírithe, chun go mbeidh grúpaí leochailleacha i gcumas teacht slán as bochtaineacht agus as míbhuntáiste. Tá an cur chuige comhtháite saindírithe is gá anois ina chuid de na struchtúir rialála i bhfoirm cuimsitheacht PGN agus na straitéisí um chuimsiú sóisialta a bhaineann leis.

Is gá dúinn táscairí a chur i bhfeidhm maidir le dul chun cinn agus ó thaobh ionchur agus aschur de agus ó thaobh torthaí de, thar aon ní eile. Braitheann éifeacht na dtáscairí ar leordhóthain sonraí a bheith ar fáil, rud is gá chun polasaí bunaithe ar fhianaise a fhorbairt, chomh maith. Léiríonn an phortráid shóisialta conas is féidir na sonraí a bhíonn ar fáil a thiomsú agus anailís a dhéanamh orthu chun tuiscint mhaith a fháil ar dhálaí na ngrúpaí a chlúdaítear.

Ina theannta sin, áfach, léiríonn sé bearnaí sonraí agus faisnéise a chuireann bac ar thuiscint níos iomláine maidir leis an riocht ina bhfuil siad. Is fíor sin, ach go háirithe, i gcás grúpaí níos lú, ar a n-áirítear na grúpaí a chlúdaítear sa phortráid seo, atá róbheag chun go ngabhfaí sonraí a ndálaí ar leith i suirbhéanna eochairshamplaí mar an Suirbhé AE ar Ioncam agus Dhálaí Maireachtála (EU-SILC); agus an Suirbhé Buiséid Teaghlaigh gach ráithe, a ghlacann miosúr na rannpháirtíochta sa mhargadh saothair.

Ar an ábhar sin, caithfear úsáid nuálach a bhaint as sonraí riaracháin chun ár dtuiscint ar shainghnéithe na ngrúpaí a fheabhsú. Ba chúnamh é sin chun pictiúr níos doimhne a sholáthar. Tá an Grúpa Comhairleach Teicniúil, a chuireann comhairle ar an Oifig um Chuimsiú Sóisialta maidir le soláthar sonraí agus cúrsaí gaolmhara, ag dul i ngleic le ceist na mbearnaí sonraí agus na sonraí a bhíonn ar fáil. Tagann an Grúpa le chéile go tráthrialta agus soláthraíonn sé fóram do lucht leasmhara, ar a n-áirítear na comhpáirtithe sóisialta, chun eolas a mhalartú maidir le forbairtí a bhaineann le sonraí agus le táscairí. Leagtar béim, chomh maith, i straitéisí sonraí na Ranna Rialtais ar an saghas sonraí a bhíonn ar fáil agus á mbailiú, agus ar an tábhacht a bhaineann leo maidir le polasaithe a fhorbairt agus a mheasúnú. Tá forbairt na straitéisí sonraí mar chuid den chlár oibre Rialtais i gcoitinne, chun feabhas a chur ar cháilíocht agus ar réimse na staitisticí sóisialta agus comhionannais a bhíonn ar fáil mar thaca le polasaí.

Tá an Oifig um Chuimsiú Sóisialta lánghafa le gach gné de mhonatóireacht agus de mheasúnú ar an dul chun cinn a bhíonn á dhéanamh i dtreo sóisialta a chur i gcrích faoi na straitéisí éagsúla. Déanann an Oifig tuairisciú rialta ar na haschuir don lucht leasmhara ar fad agus don phobal ar an leibhéal náisiúnta agus don Aontas Eorpach. Is mór an chabhair na portráidí sóisialta chun comhthéacs a sholáthar i gcomhair na hoibre sin, mar aon leis an eolas cúlra a theastaíonn chun dul chun cinn a mheas agus tosaíochtaí a aithint le forbairt amach anseo.

Mar fhocal scoir, is mian liom mo bhuíochas féin a chur leis an mbuíochas a ghaibh an tAire leis na húdair ESRI as an phortráid seo a sholáthar, agus le baill na hOifige seo atá ag obair ar an tionscadal seo.

Gerry Mangon

Gerry Mangan
Stiúrthóir
An Oifig um Chuimsiú Sóisialta

INTRODUCTION

This is the fourth report in the series of social portraits of the lifecycle of groups as set out in the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion, 2007 – 2016. In this report we aim to make key facts and figures about several particularly vulnerable groups in Ireland in an accessible way. These groups are:

- people living in areas of urban and rural disadvantage;

- migrants and ethnic minorities;

- the Traveller community; and

- the homeless.

This information is particularly relevant to policy, including the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion (NAPinclusion).
Some of the NAPinclusion's aims are to:

- build viable and sustainable communities; and

- to improve the lives of those people living in areas or situations of poverty.

These groups face a particularly high risk of poverty and exclusion and it is difficult to gather the information to draw accurate social portraits of them. This report will show that the features of these groups mean that getting a reliable picture of them through conventional information sources, such as household surveys, is very difficult.

Among other things, this means that unlike other social portraits in the series, we cannot present figures for these groups using the widely-used measures of living standards and poverty. An example of one of these is the consistent poverty measure used in target-setting in the NAPinclusion. However, the information available does allow us to say a good deal about the circumstances of these groups, and we can also identify the key gaps in that information.

CHAPTER 1.
URBAN AND RURAL DISADVANTAGE

The aims of the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion (NAPinclusion) include:

- building viable and sustainable communities;
- improving the lives of people living in disadvantaged areas;
- building social capital; and
- tackling disadvantage in urban and rural areas.

Urban and rural poverty can manifest themselves in different ways. While poverty is spatially widely spread throughout the country (Nolan, Whelan and Williams 1998, 1999; Watson et al 2005), some poor households in urban areas live in communities where there are high levels of unemployment, concentrations of poverty, and poor environmental and social infrastructures. Rural disadvantage on the other hand can be associated with limited employment opportunities, lack of transport and other services, high dependency levels and isolation. This section of the social portrait provides relevant information on the urban and rural population that puts their different situations in context. It also draws attention to distinctive features of urban and rural disadvantage.

The Census of Population is the key source available to assess and compare levels of disadvantage in specific urban or rural geographical areas. This is because (unlike household surveys) it provides information on each household in the country and thus can be used to compare the characteristics of the households in one small area (notably District Electoral Divisions) with another. However, because the Census does not provide direct information on income or poverty, we must use other indicators that may be associated with poverty and deprivation as "proxies". The most important of these proxies are unemployment and dependency, the age structure and the social class profile of areas. Each of these indicators can be looked at separately, or they can be combined to show a composite measure of multiple deprivation. Combining these indicators has been done in Ireland and elsewhere to rank areas on a summary deprivation index (see for example SARU, 1999; Haase, 2005).

In Ireland, as well as there being general methodological issues when looking at these vulnerable groups, we have to interpret some indicators differently in urban areas to those of rural areas. For example, small-scale farming means that unemployment is a less accurate proxy for levels of generalised deprivation in rural areas than it is in urban areas. Previous research focused on specific indicators. Watson *et al* (2005), using results from the 2002 Census, distinguished between counties and county boroughs and presented three key indicators, namely unemployment, economic dependency and absence of educational qualifications. Various researchers are currently analysing similar results from the 2006 Census. We can identify very specific areas or pockets of concentrated disadvantage using these indicators. However, it is useful to set these pockets in a broader comparison between urban and rural populations; as well as across towns of various sizes.

In this portrait, we use the 2006 Census and the EU-SILC household survey as sources to:

- describe the overall profile of these pockets of concentrated disadvantage in terms of age, education and employment;

- discuss the nature and extent of poverty and deprivation; and

- compare and contrast the distinctive nature of poverty and exclusion in urban areas to that of rural areas.

Population composition

The 2006 Census shows that 60.7% of the population live in what the Central Statistics Office calls "aggregate town areas", that is, cities or towns with a population of at least 1,500; while the remaining 39.3% live in "aggregate rural areas". From this point forward we describe "aggregate town areas" here as urban, while we simply call "aggregate rural areas" rural.

The percentage living in urban areas ranges from:

- 75% in Leinster;

- 52% in Munster;

- 34% in Connacht; to
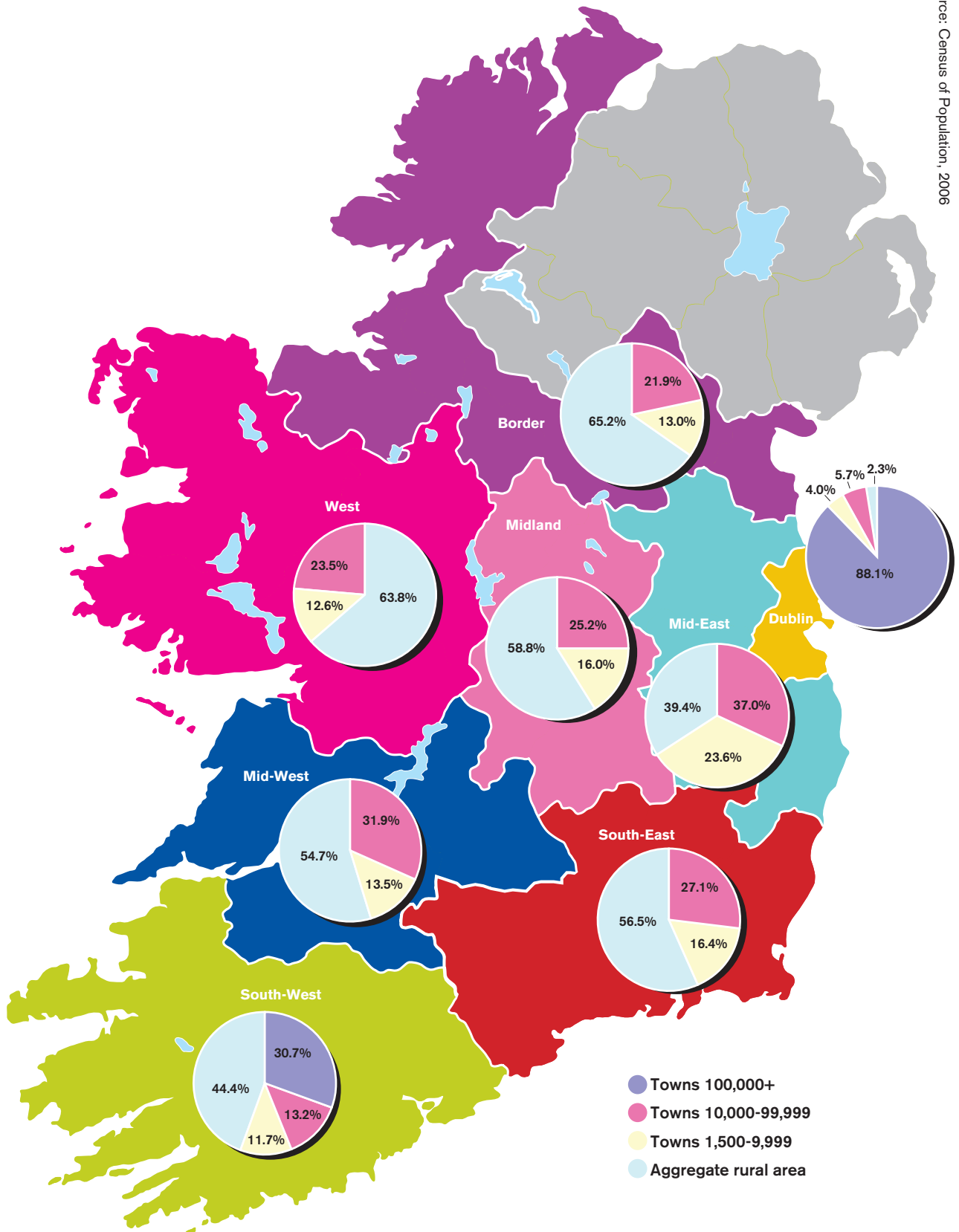
- only 26% in the three Ulster counties.[1]

In comparison, over half the population of the enlarged European Union live in rural areas. The State is divided into eight regional authorities.

Figure 1.1 compares the percentage of the population of each regional authority area living in towns of various sizes (from 1,500 upwards), with those living in rural areas. Only Dublin and Cork cities exceed 100,000 in population, while Galway city has a population of about 72,000, Limerick city has 53,000 and Waterford city has 46,000. (In each case this refers to those living within the official town boundaries only.) We see that most of the population of the Dublin region is categorised as living in towns. By contrast, almost two-thirds of the population of the border region and 64% of the West live in rural areas.
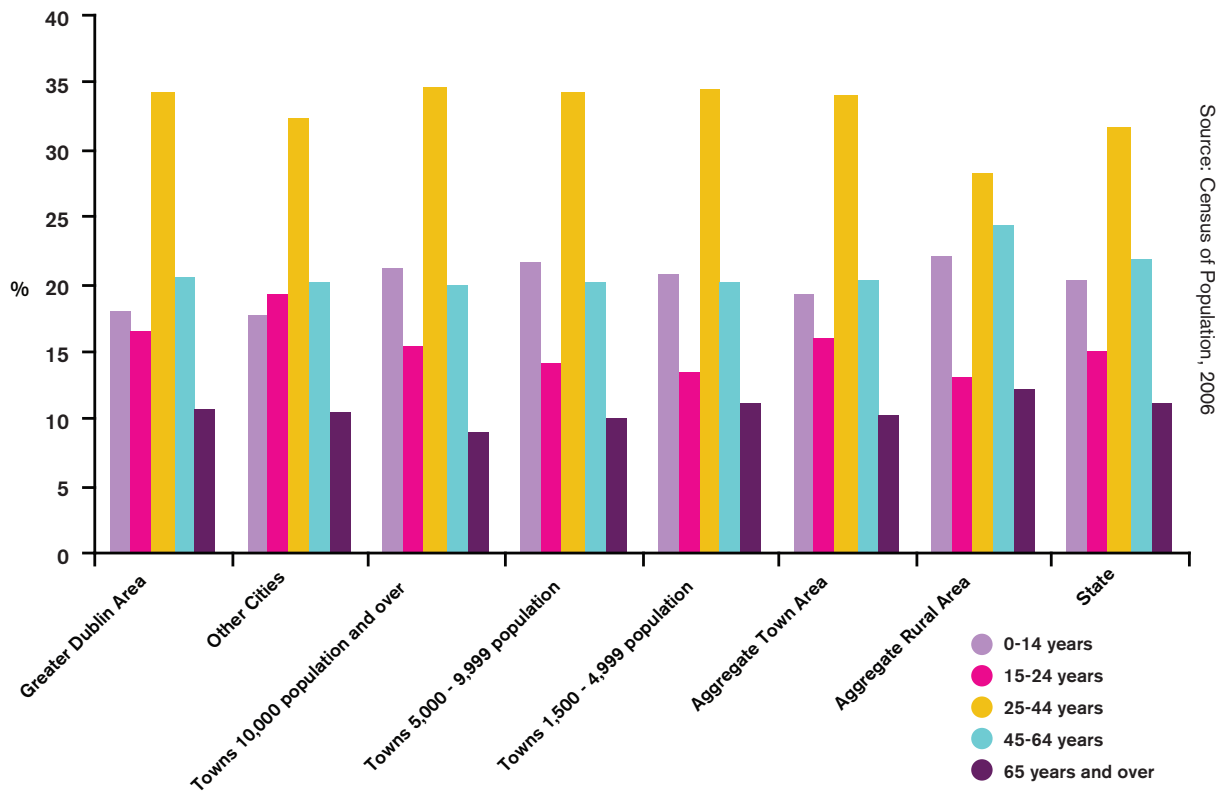
---

1   1 For census purposes towns fall into two types. 1. Towns with legally defined boundaries, comprising five cities, five boroughs, and 75 towns. 2. Towns without legally defined boundaries, identified for census purposes by the Central Statistics Office as a cluster of 50 or more occupied dwellings in which, within a distance of 800 metres, there is a nucleus of either 30 occupied houses on both sides of the road or 20 occupied houses on one side of the road. This more generous interpretation of a "town" would include towns with a population of fewer than 1,500. Using these criteria, 68% of the population of the State live in towns.

Figure 1.1: Population in towns of various size by region, 2006

Border
21.9%
65.2%
13.0%

West
23.5%
12.6%
63.8%

Midland
25.2%
58.8%
16.0%

Mid-East
37.0%
39.4%
23.6%

Dublin
5.7% 2.3%
4.0%
88.1%

Mid-West
31.9%
54.7%
13.5%

South-East
27.1%
56.5%
16.4%

South-West
30.7%
44.4%
11.7%
13.2%

Towns 100,000+
Towns 10,000-99,999
Towns 1,500-9,999
Aggregate rural area

Figure 1.2: Age profile, cities, towns and rural areas, 2006

Source: Census of Population, 2006

Legend:
- 0-14 years
- 15-24 years
- 25-44 years
- 45-64 years
- 65 years and over

Categories (x-axis): Greater Dublin Area, Other Cities, Towns 10,000 population and over, Towns 5,000 - 9,999 population, Towns 1,500 - 4,999 population, Aggregate Town Area, Aggregate Rural Area, State

The census shows that the age profile of rural areas is older than that of urban areas. Those aged 65 or more comprise 12% of those living in rural areas compared with 10% of those in urban areas. Rural areas also have a higher proportion of children, with those aged below 14 making up 22% of rural populations compared with 19% in urban areas. Figure 1.2 shows that the proportion of children is particularly low in Dublin and the other cities. This age profile means that the average dependency rate – the ratio of children and older persons to the working age population – is 34% in rural areas but 30% in urban ones. This reflects a complex variety of factors, including: employment, migration and fertility patterns. For example, greater labour market opportunities in urban areas attract people of working age, who come from rural areas as well as those who immigrate from abroad. Higher fertility rates in rural areas reflect cultural and economic factors and why children form a higher percentage of the population in these areas.

The 2006 Census also shows that households have different profiles in urban and rural areas. Whereas 31% of urban households are made up of a couple with children, the corresponding figure for rural areas is 42%. Lone parent households are more common in urban areas, where they comprise 11% of the total, compared with 8% in rural areas. Average household size is slightly higher in rural areas, where it is 2.95 persons per household, compared with urban areas where it is 2.72.

Between the Census of 2002 and 2006 the overall population of the State grew by 8.2%. The growth in urban and rural areas was substantially different. Population growth was 10.3% in urban areas and 5.2% in rural areas. The most rapid growth, of more than 20%, was in urban areas in the Mid-East and Midland regions.

Figure 1.3: Education profile, Cities, Towns and rural areas, 2006

Legend: Primary | Lower Secondary | Upper Secondary | Third level, non-degree | Third level, degree

Categories: Greater Dublin Area | Other Cities | Towns 10,000 population and over | Towns 5,000-9,999 population | Towns 1,500-4,999 population | Rural Areas
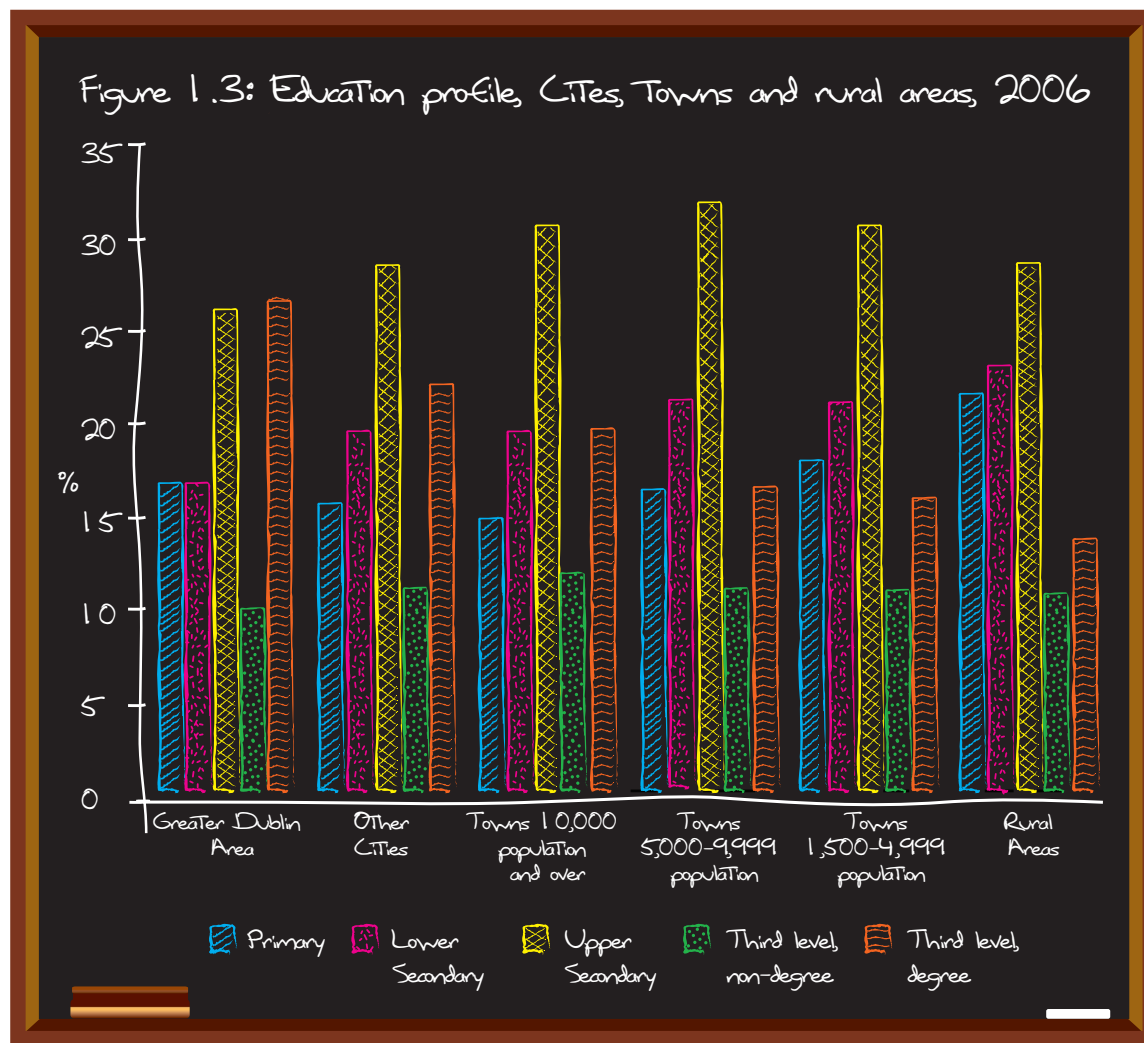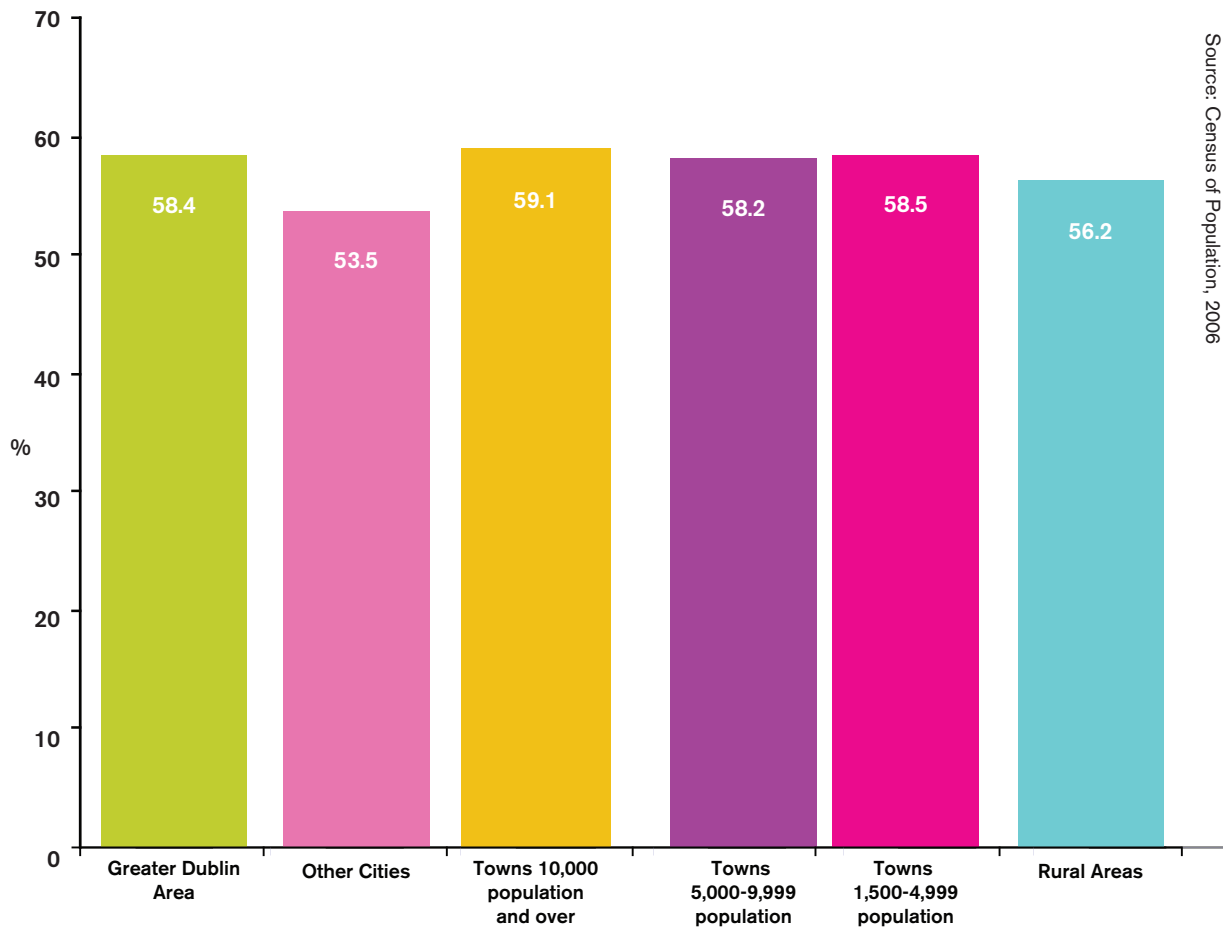
Access to services

Access to services can play a crucial role in people's quality of life. Problems in relation to access, as might happen more in rural areas, could undermine that quality of life. In the following sections, we look at access in relation to:

• education;

• employment;

• health services;

• transport and communication; and

• housing.

Education in urban and rural areas

The educational level attained by those living in cities and towns of various sizes versus rural areas is shown in Figure 1.3. The proportion having only primary education is highest in rural areas. This is linked to the age structure of the population in rural areas, but also to the reliance on farming as a source of employment, particularly in the past. By contrast the proportion with university education is a good deal higher in Dublin than in other urban areas, and is lowest in rural areas. This reflects the concentration of jobs requiring that level of education in urban areas, and in the Dublin area in particular.

Figure 1.4: Percentage of population aged 15+ at work in cities, towns and rural areas, 2006

Category	Percentage
Greater Dublin Area	58.4
Other Cities	53.5
Towns 10,000 population and over	59.1
Towns 5,000-9,999 population	58.2
Towns 1,500-4,999 population	58.5
Rural Areas	56.2

While schools are generally larger in urban areas, the average class size at primary level in cities is below the national average of 24 children in a primary school class (2005/06 school year). In 2006, the school transport scheme carried about 140,000 pupils each school day on approximately 5,000 bus routes.

They included:

- 55,000 post-primary pupils;
- 76,000 primary pupils; and
- 9,000 pupils with special needs.

The Census 2006 shows that 67% of the children and student population aged five to 18 who travelled to school by bus or coach were from rural areas.

Employment

Patterns of employment and non-employment also vary across urban and rural areas. In the State as a whole, 57% of those aged 15 or over are in work. The corresponding figures are 58% for urban areas and 56% in rural areas. Figure 1.4 shows that the proportion at work is higher in Dublin and other town areas than it is in the cities of Cork, Limerick, Galway and Waterford. The slightly below-average proportion in work in rural areas reflects the high proportion of retired people and those working in the home. This in turn is affected by the older age profile in rural compared with urban areas.

Figure 1.5: Percentage of population aged 15+ unemployed, in the home, retired, ill/disabled and students in cities, towns and rural areas, 2006
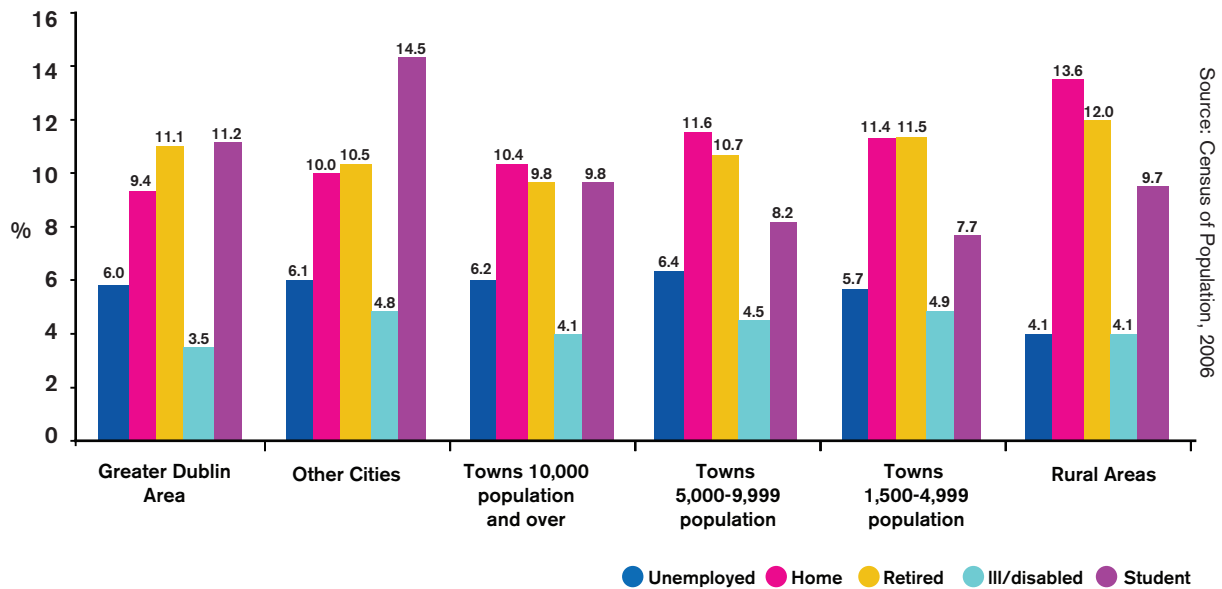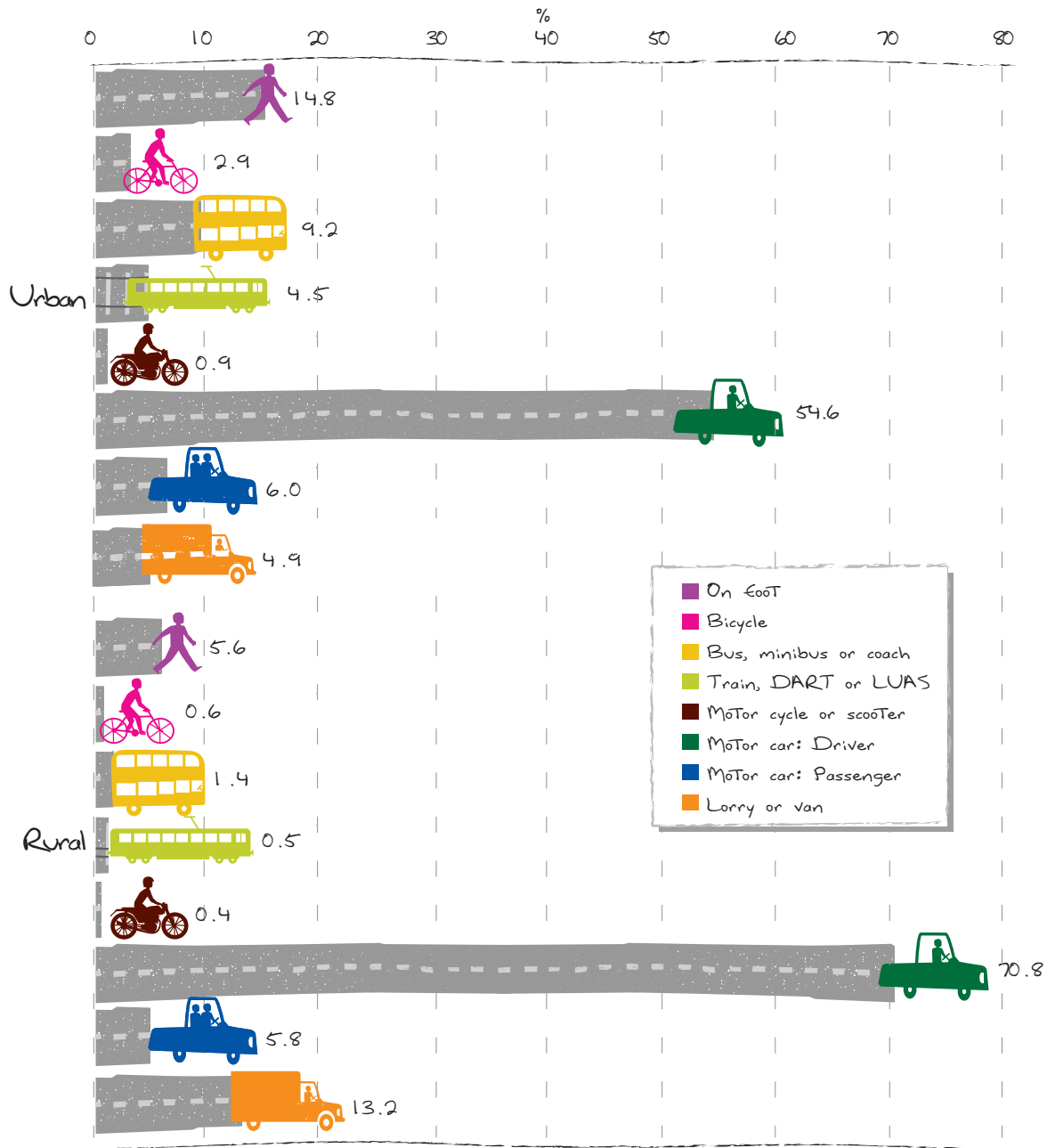
As far as the nature of non-employment is concerned, Figure 1.5 shows that the proportion of unemployed is lower in rural areas than elsewhere. This is partly because of the role of small-scale farming. There is little variation in unemployment across different types of urban areas. Later in this social portrait we discuss the extent to which urban unemployment is concentrated in certain areas within cities and towns. The proportion of those working full-time in the home is relatively high in rural areas, 95% of those involved being female. This reflects factors such as limited opportunities for taking up paid work, including part-time work, as well as their older age profile. In comparison, the location of third-level institutions in urban areas explains the higher proportion of students found in Dublin and other cities. In rural areas, a higher proportion of those at work are self-employed (including farming) than in urban areas. Some 16% of the rural population at work in the State are self-employed, whereas in Dublin, Cork or Galway, for example, that figure is only about 10%.

Health services

People living in urban and rural areas have different levels of access to health services. This may arise for a variety of reasons. Hospital-based services are generally concentrated in urban areas and lack of transport in rural areas may affect access to health services. This potential "urban bias" is a common concern in other countries, as well as in Ireland. This concern may grow as the health service moves towards greater concentration of services aimed at promoting improvements in the quality of specialised care. The evidence about how people use health services, suggests that those living in a rural area may, for example, visit their GP less often than similar individuals in urban areas. However, it is difficult to make this comparison fully, taking other factors such as the person's health status into account. This is something that requires in-depth investigation in relation to the whole range of in-patient and out-patient services. Putting the Department of Health and Children's Primary Care strategy in place to establish team-based delivery of primary care services across the country is particularly important in the context of "urban bias" and the different use of GP services between urban and rural areas.

Figure 1.6: Mode of travel to work by urban versus rural location, 2006

Urban

- On foot — 14.8
- Bicycle — 2.9
- Bus, minibus or coach — 9.2
- Train, DART or LUAS — 4.5
- Motor cycle or scooter — 0.9
- Motor car: Driver — 54.6
- Motor car: Passenger — 6.0
- Lorry or van — 4.9

Rural

- On foot — 5.6
- Bicycle — 0.6
- Bus, minibus or coach — 1.4
- Train, DART or LUAS — 0.5
- Motor cycle or scooter — 0.4
- Motor car: Driver — 70.8
- Motor car: Passenger — 5.8
- Lorry or van — 13.2

Legend:
- On foot
- Bicycle
- Bus, minibus or coach
- Train, DART or LUAS
- Motor cycle or scooter
- Motor car: Driver
- Motor car: Passenger
- Lorry or van

Transport and communication

The need for and availability of transport is different in rural and urban areas. In 2005, it was estimated that 380,000 people living in rural areas did not have access to the transport they needed. These estimates were based on CSO population data and the National Rural Transport Survey (Department of Transport, 2006). Using Census 2006 data, Figure 1.6 compares how people in urban and rural areas get to work. The major difference is that walking, cycling and public transport are much more common in urban than in rural areas, while in rural areas 90% travel by car, van or lorry.

The availability of suitable transport is key for travelling to work, and for accessing a range of services and so people can take part in a social life. While it is difficult to capture statistically, concern has been expressed in a NAPinclusion context about the impact of limited access to public transport in rural areas, as well as in certain urban areas. This could, for example, be making it difficult for people to access services and lead to social isolation in more remote rural areas.

Figure 1.7: PC ownership and internet connection, Town and rural locations, 2006
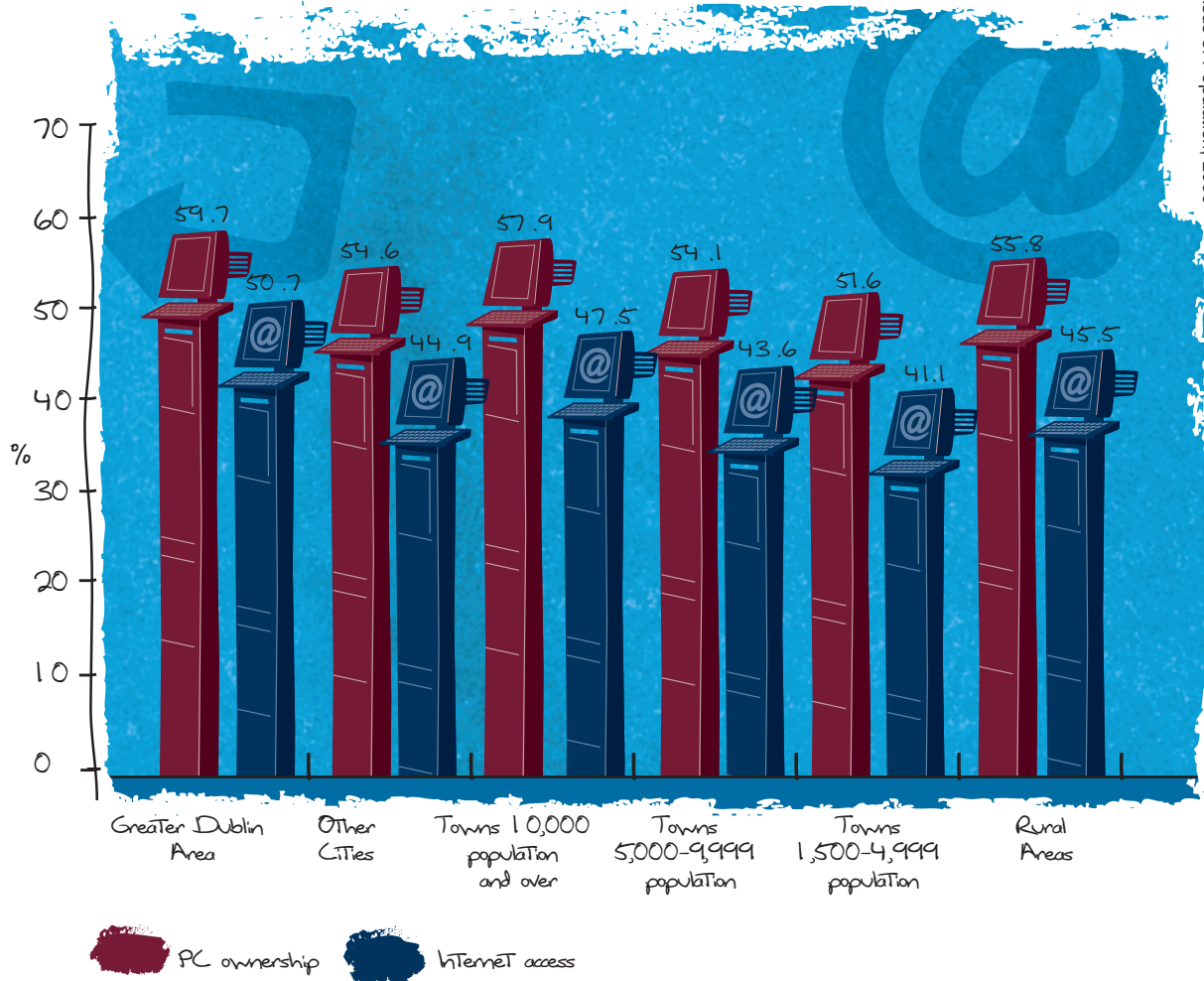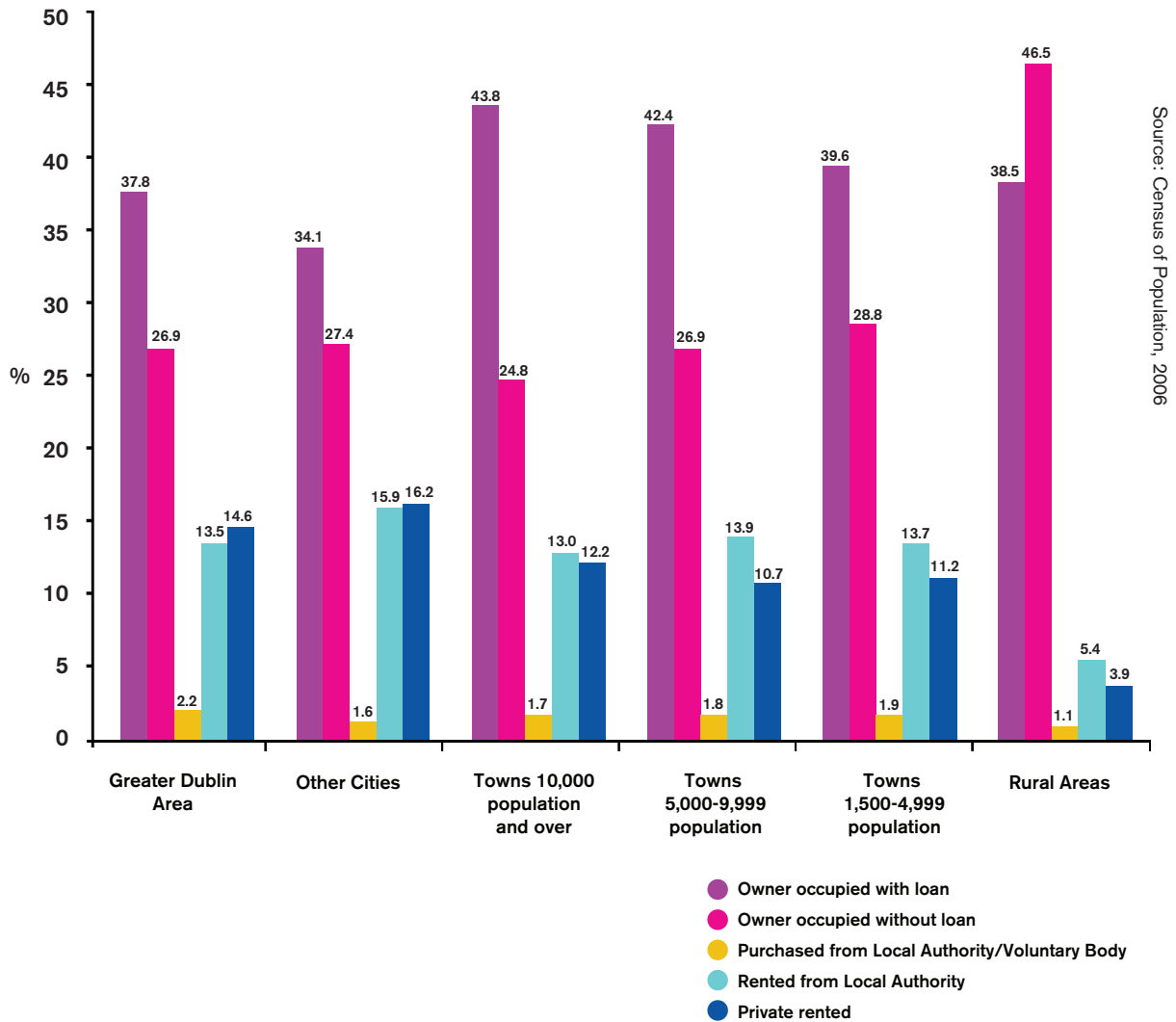
	Greater Dublin Area	Other Cities	Towns 10,000 population and over	Towns 5,000-9,999 population	Towns 1,500-4,999 population	Rural Areas
PC ownership	59.7	54.6	57.9	54.1	51.6	55.8
Internet access	50.7	44.9	47.5	43.6	41.1	45.5

PC ownership   Internet access

Figure 1.7 uses information from the Census to compare personal computer ownership and internet access in cities, towns and rural areas. It shows that personal computer ownership is highest in Dublin at about 60%, but is not particularly low in rural areas, where about 56% of households have a computer, which is similar to other cities and towns. Very much the same pattern, at a slightly lower level, is seen for internet access where about 51% of households in Dublin versus 45.5% in rural areas have such access. The figure is lowest in small towns, where it is about 41%.

The 2006 Census showed that 27% of households in urban areas had broadband access compared with only 8% in rural areas. These figures may be out-of-date already since the CSO's statistics on broadband access in their Information Society publications suggest a higher level. However, these statistics do not distinguish between urban and rural areas.

Figure 1.8 Housing tenure by town/rural location, 2006

Source: Census of Population, 2006

Legend:
- Owner occupied with loan
- Owner occupied without loan
- Purchased from Local Authority/Voluntary Body
- Rented from Local Authority
- Private rented

Housing

The nature of housing occupancy differs between urban and rural areas, as seen most recently in the 2006 Census. Figure 1.8 shows that the proportion of households in owner-occupied housing with no loan or mortgage attached is particularly high in rural areas at 46%, compared with about 28% in the cities and towns. Owner-occupied housing with a mortgage is also common in rural areas. Almost 40% of houses in rural areas are owner-occupied with a mortgage, though it is higher in towns (compared with cities), where it approaches 45%.

Renting accommodation from local authorities is much less common in rural than in urban areas. It accounts for only 5% of houses in rural areas compared with that of 13% to 16% in urban areas. The difference in the private rented sector is similar. It accounts for only 4% of rural housing, but for 16% in cities other than Dublin.

Figure 1.9: Percentage without central heating by town/rural location, 2006
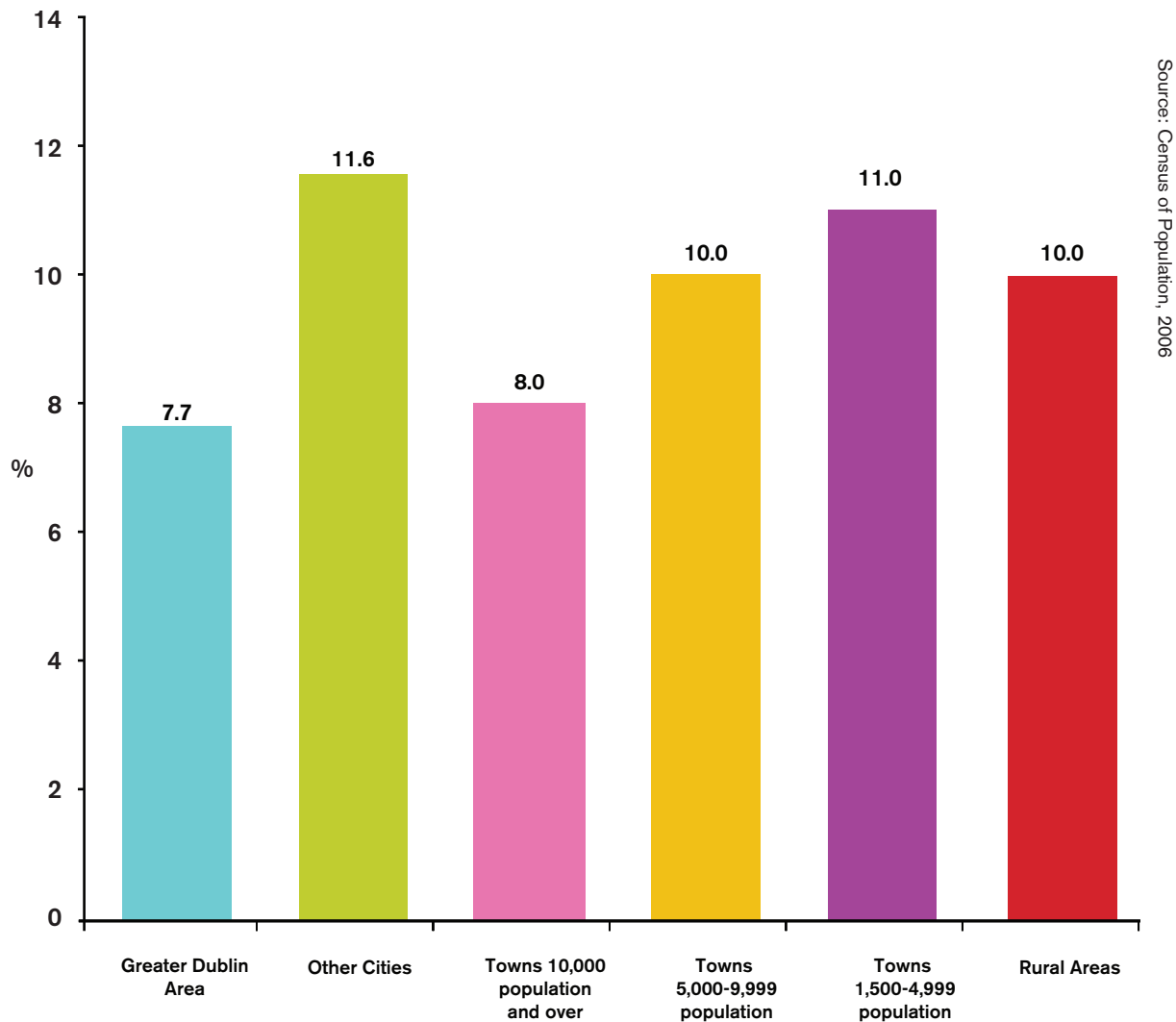
The Census also has information about the types of housing and the facilities available to households in different areas. This information includes whether or not they have hot and cold running water, central heating and what type of sewage system they have. Nearly all houses now have hot and cold running water. The number without central heating is now down to about 9%. Figure 1.9 shows that the proportion without central heating is lowest in Dublin, but is no higher in rural areas than in other cities or in small towns.

Figure 1.10: Mean score on housing deprivation index by town/rural location, 2006
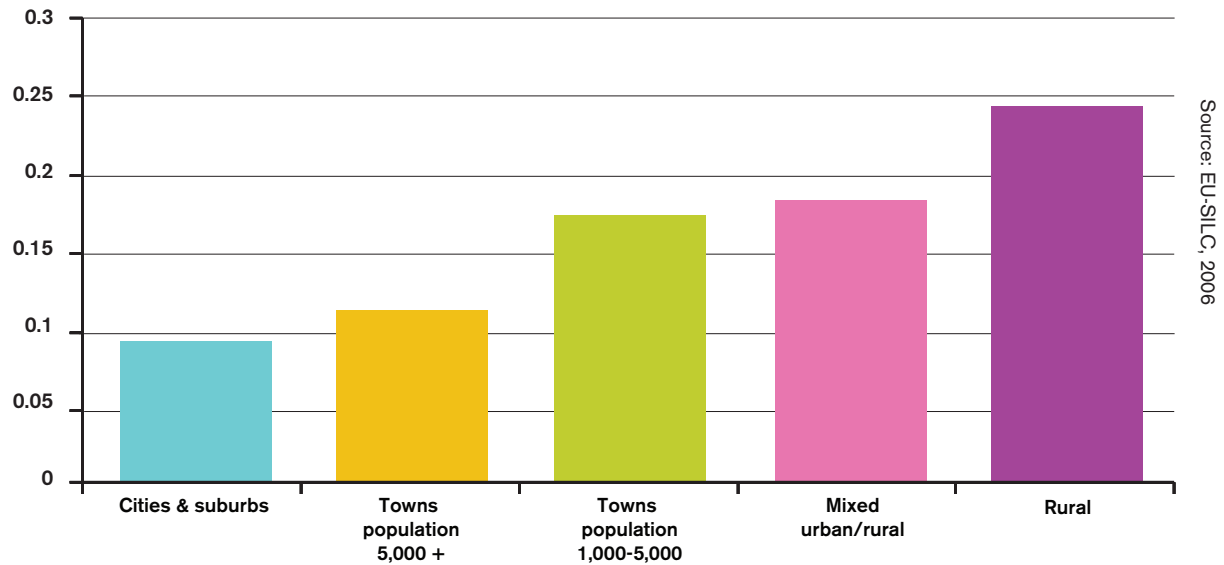
The EU-SILC survey gives information on housing-related deprivation in urban versus rural areas. This information allows us to create an index of deprivation from items relating to housing and housing-related facilities. The index gives each household a score and measures the number doing without:

- a bath or shower;
- an internal toilet;
- hot running water; or
- central heating.

Figure 1.10 shows that housing-related deprivation is highest in rural areas, with cities in particular having a much lower average deprivation score. On the other hand, focusing on deprivation in terms of the local environment shows that rural areas have by far the lowest levels of deprivation. This type of deprivation includes crime, vandalism and graffiti in the neighbourhood. This index measures how many of these households are exposed to environmental deprivation. Figure 1.11, using data, also from EU-SILC, shows that cities in particular and larger towns have much higher levels of this type of deprivation than rural areas.

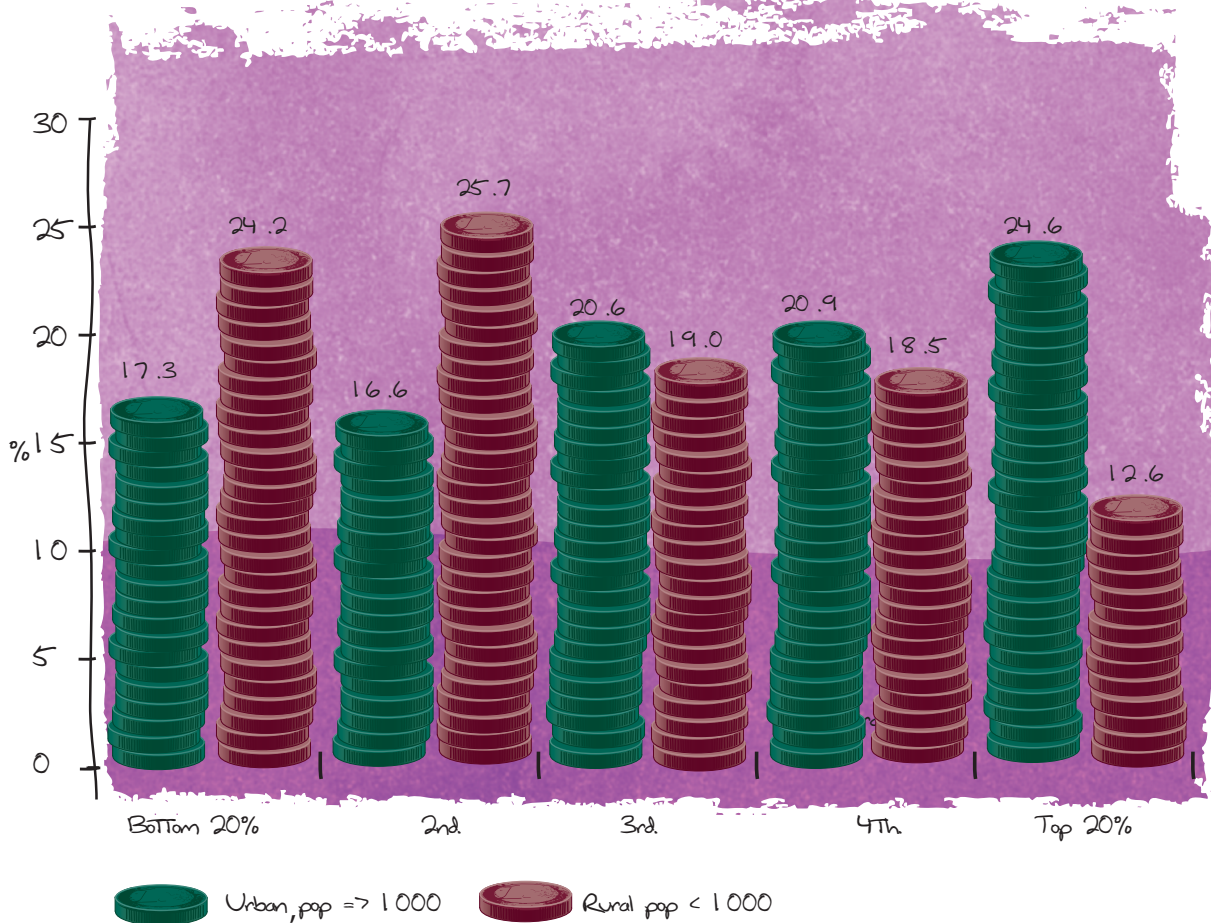## Figure 1.11: Mean score on local environment deprivation index by town/rural location, 2006
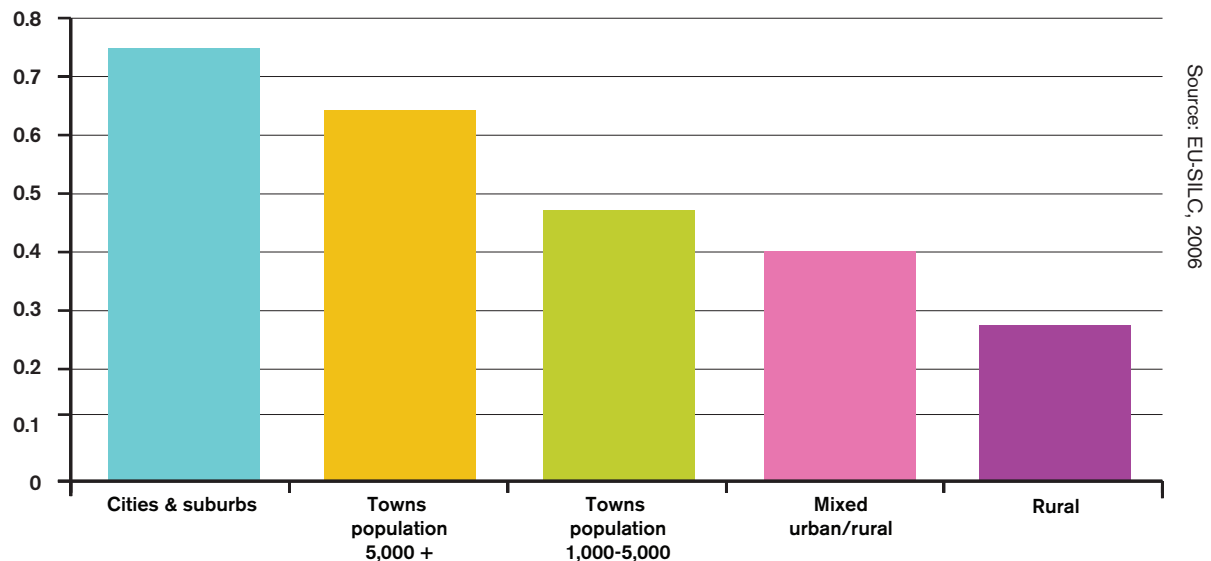
Figure 1.12: Location in the income distribution,
urban versus rural population, 2005
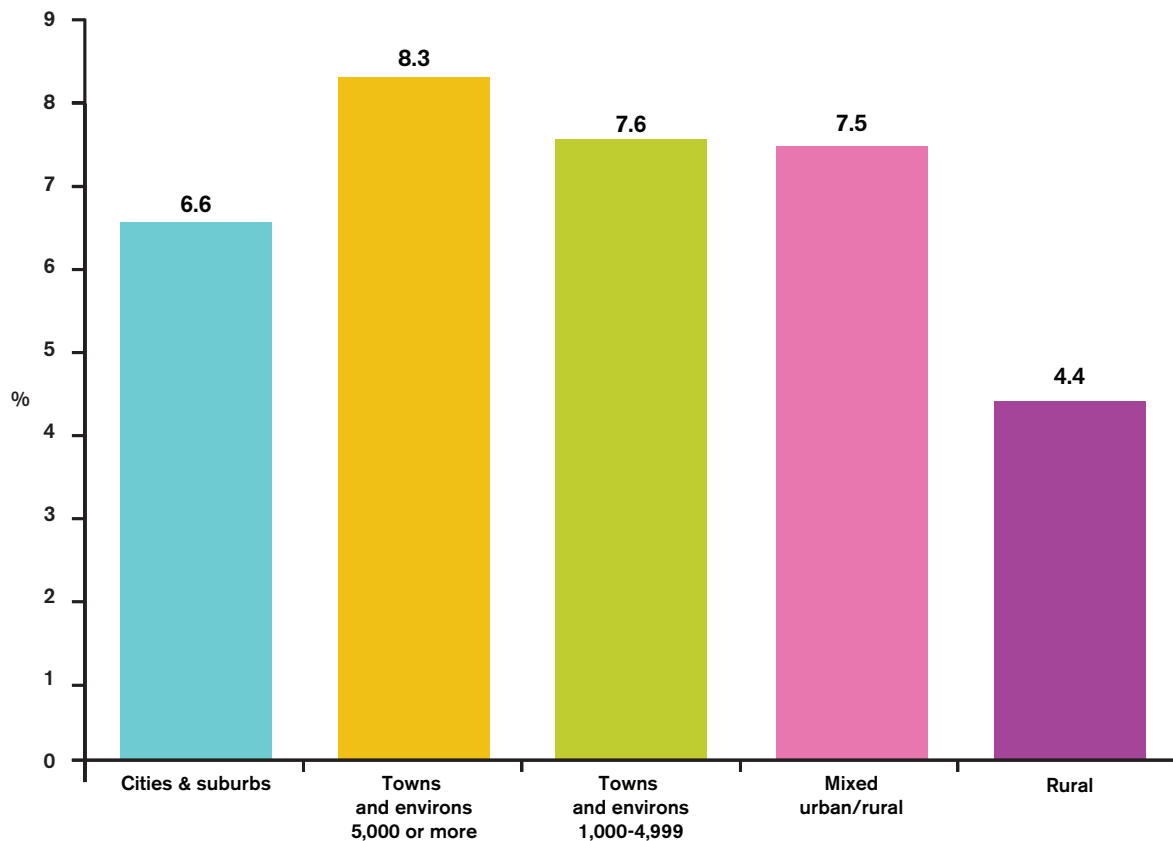
Legend: Urban, pop => 1000 / Rural pop < 1000

Income, poverty and deprivation

As already noted, the Census of Population does not provide data on income. When comparing urban and rural areas in terms of income and poverty levels, we will draw on data from household surveys, most recently the EU-SILC survey carried out by the CSO. Overall, this survey shows that the average income of households in urban areas is about 24% higher than in rural areas.[2] When differences in household size are taken into account in calculating average income, the variation is greater at about 29%. This reflects the general tendency for higher-paid employment to be mainly in urban areas, and the higher proportion of retired people living in rural areas.

The higher income in urban areas is also reflected in their overall position in the income distribution. If we divide that distribution into income quintiles, Figure 1.12 shows that about 50% of the rural population are in the bottom two-fifths of the distribution, compared to only 34% of the urban population. By contrast, 24.6% of the urban population is in the top one-fifth of the distribution, compared with only 12.6% of the rural population.

2   Note that a threshold of 1,000 population is used to distinguish urban versus rural in this case, whereas in the Census it is 1,500.

Figure 1.13: Percentage in consistent poverty by town/rural location, 2005

Consistent poverty

We now shift our focus to the consistent poverty measure, which is the principal measure used by the Irish Government in setting targets to reduce poverty. This measure focuses on people who are on low incomes and also experiencing deprivation in terms of a set of basic items they cannot afford to have or do.[3] The consistent poverty measure was revised in the NAPinclusion and is now defined as those who earn below the 60% median income threshold[4] and are deprived of two or more items from an 11-item deprivation index devised by the ESRI.[5] (The 11-item index is set out under 'Consistent poverty' in the glossary.) Figure 1.13 shows that the lowest level of consistent poverty is seen in rural areas, where 4.4% were consistently poor. The highest level of 8.3% was found in towns with populations greater than 5,000. But the variation in consistent poverty rates across urban areas of different sizes is rather modest.

---

3   It is important to note that the surveys generally aim to record where a person or household lacks an item because they say they cannot afford it rather than because they do not want it.

4   The median income is the amount of income that is the middle of the overall income distribution if each person's income is listed in order from the smallest to the largest.

5   See Whelan (2007) for a discussion of the consistent poverty index incorporating this index and a comparison with the original measure that used an eight-item deprivation index.

THE OFFICE FOR **SOCIAL INCLUSION**

Figure 1.14: Percentage 'at risk of poverty' by town/rural location, 2005
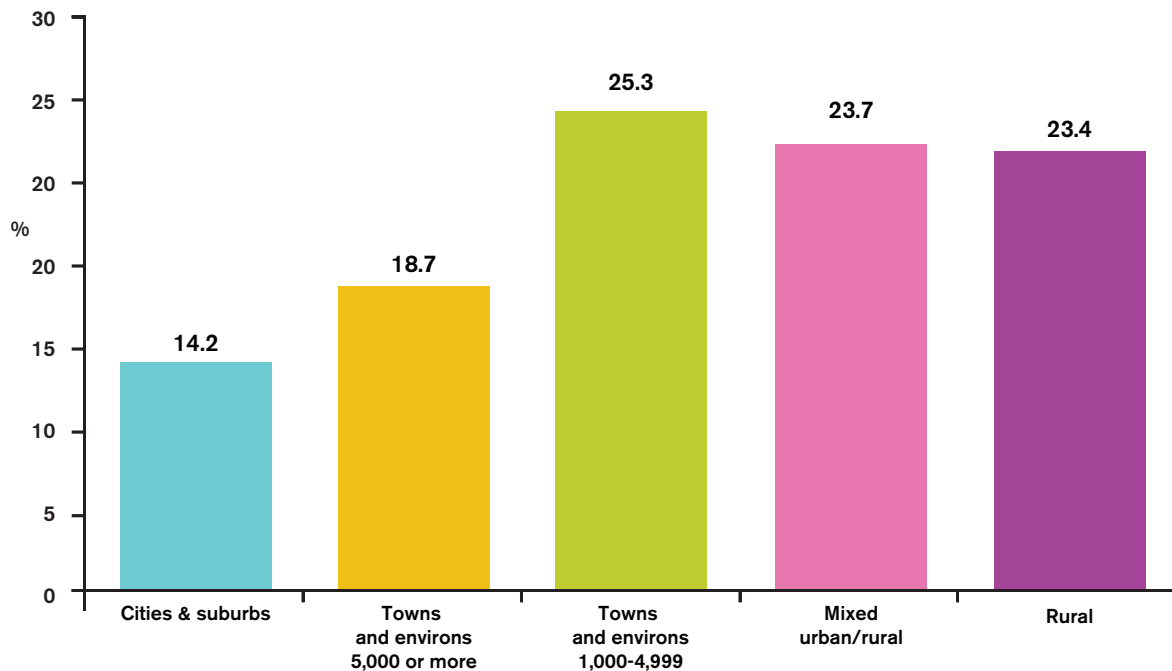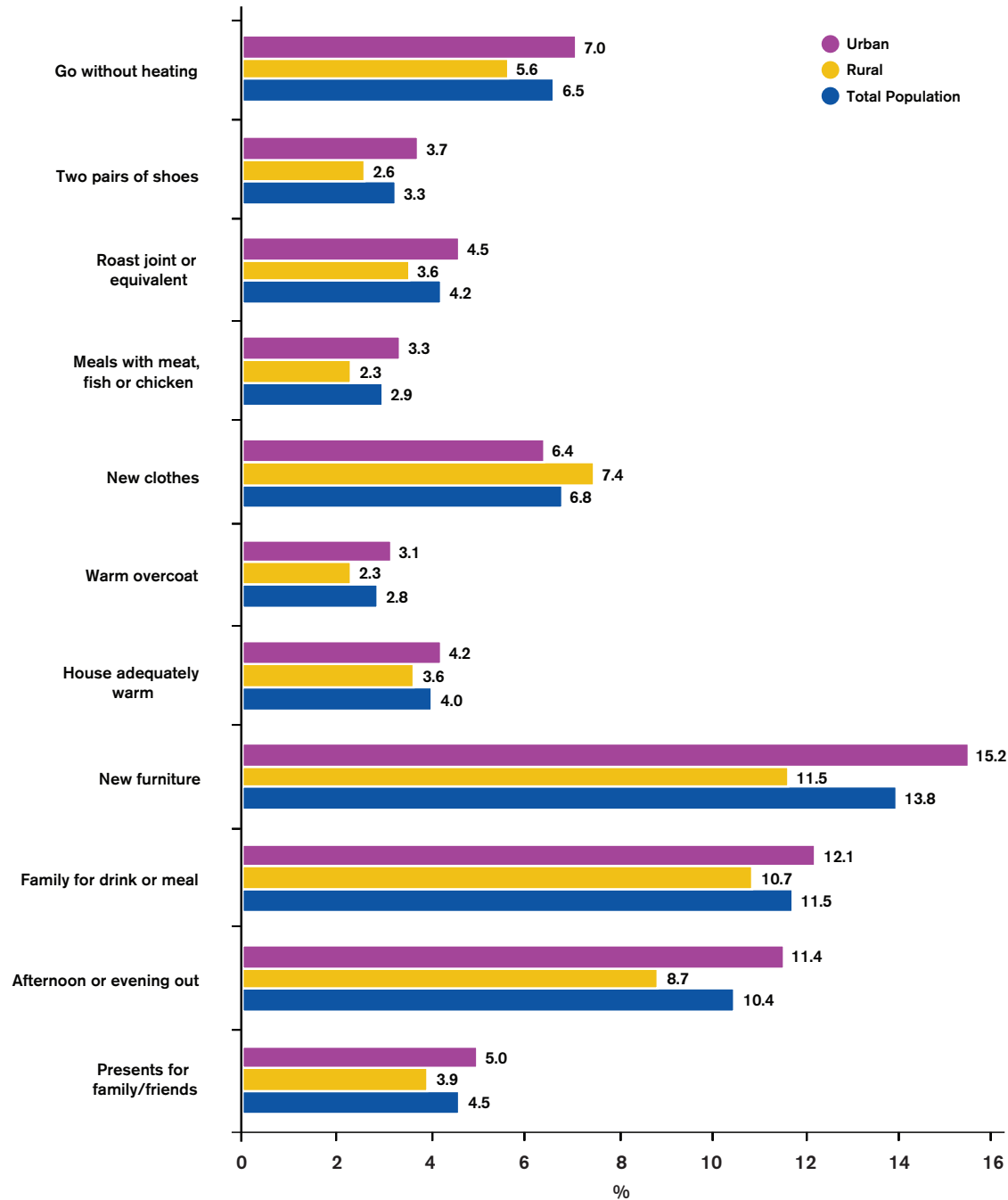
'At risk of poverty'

We now turn to relative income poverty, also known as the 'at risk of poverty' indicator. A person is said to be 'at risk of poverty' when their household receives less than 60% of median income.[6] While the 'at risk of poverty' measure is often used to make comparisons between countries, there are several factors that limit its usefulness. These factors include different levels of economic development between countries or within a country undergoing rapid economic growth, as has been the case in Ireland. However, the measure is one of several used at EU level to monitor progress in tackling poverty.

Figure 1.14 shows the percentage of the population 'at risk of poverty' in towns of various sizes versus rural areas.[7] Overall, the 'risk of poverty' is greatest in rural areas and lowest in large towns and cities. In cities the percentage 'at risk of poverty' is 14.2%. This rises to 18.7% for towns with populations greater than 5,000 and to 25.3% for the towns with a population of less than 5,000, 23.7% for mixed urban/rural areas and 23.4% for rural areas. The major contrast is between the cities (including their suburbs) and large towns compared with the rest – rather than rural areas themselves being distinctive. This pattern is very different to the one displayed by the consistent poverty measure which showed that urban areas were most at risk.

---

6   The 60% threshold is most commonly used at EU level, but the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the United Nations (UN) use a threshold of 50%. The threshold is adjusted for household size, so, for example, the threshold for a household with an adult couple and one child is about twice that for a single adult household.

7   The categorisation by town size in EU-SILC is not identical to that in the Census.

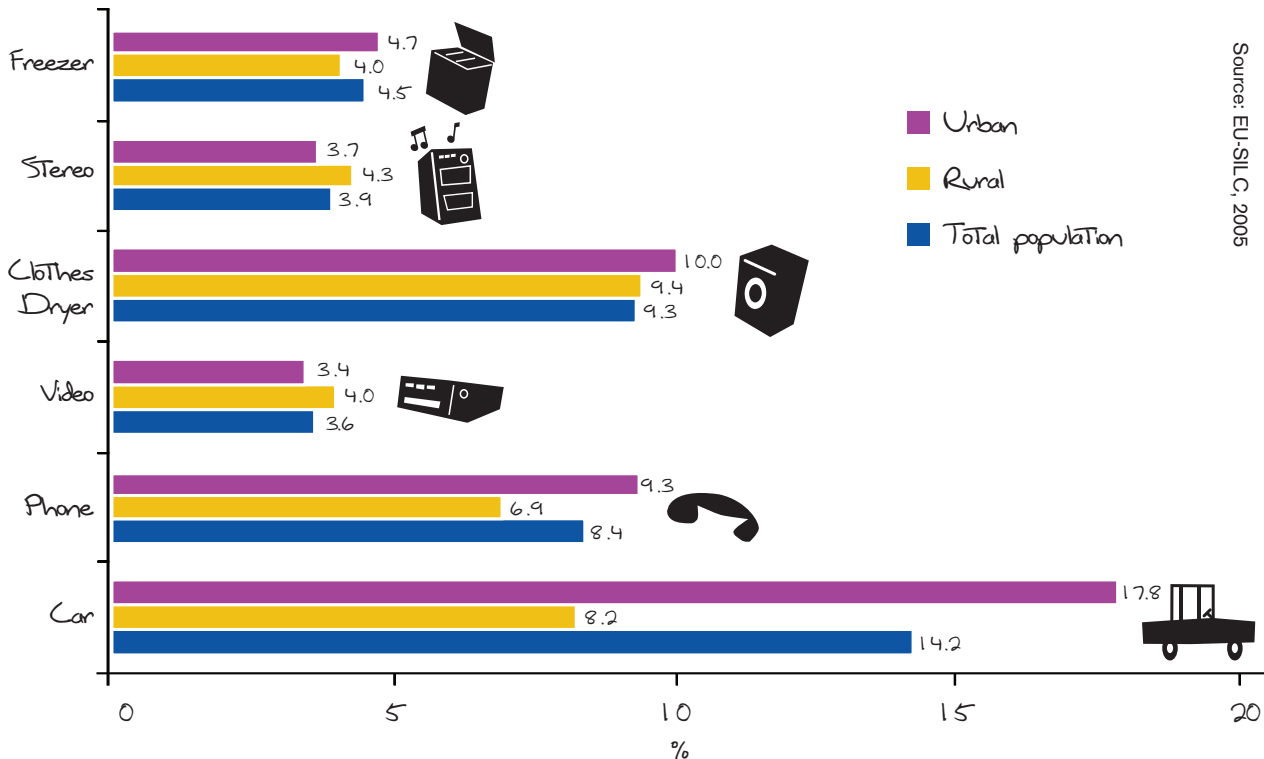## Figure 1.15: Deprivation levels on basic items by town/rural location, 2005

Legend:
- Urban
- Rural
- Total Population

Item	Urban	Rural	Total Population
Go without heating	7.0	5.6	6.5
Two pairs of shoes	3.7	2.6	3.3
Roast joint or equivalent	4.5	3.6	4.2
Meals with meat, fish or chicken	3.3	2.3	2.9
New clothes	6.4	7.4	6.8
Warm overcoat	3.1	2.3	2.8
House adequately warm	4.2	3.6	4.0
New furniture	15.2	11.5	13.8
Family for drink or meal	12.1	10.7	11.5
Afternoon or evening out	11.4	8.7	10.4
Presents for family/friends	5.0	3.9	4.5

%

Types of deprivation

In Figure 1.15, we look at the items used to measure deprivation. As already mentioned one of the ways consistent poverty is measured is by using an index that shows when people are deprived of at least two items from a list of 11. For 10 of the 11 items on this revised list, people in rural areas are slightly less deprived than people in urban areas. However, people in rural areas are slightly less able to afford new clothes: 7.4% of people in rural areas report such

deprivation compared to 6.4% in urban areas. The deprivation indicator which shows the greatest difference between urban and rural areas is the inability to afford new furniture: 11.5% in rural areas compared to 15.2% in urban areas. In both rural and urban areas furniture is the most difficult for people to afford, but the least difficult to afford was a warm waterproof overcoat which could not be purchased by 2.3% in rural areas and 3.1% in urban areas.

Figure 1.16: Deprivation in consumer durables by Town/rural location, 2005

Legend:
- Urban
- Rural
- Total population

Item	Urban	Rural	Total population
Freezer	4.7	4.0	4.5
Stereo	3.7	4.3	3.9
Clothes Dryer	10.0	9.4	9.3
Video	3.4	4.0	3.6
Phone	9.3	6.9	8.4
Car	17.8	8.2	14.2

%

Deprivation of consumer durables

In Figure 1.16, we extend our analysis of deprivation to a number of widely owned consumer durables such as a landline telephone, video and stereo. Most people in both rural and urban areas own each of these items. We can see that those in rural areas are less likely to be doing without a car or a telephone, and there is little difference between urban and rural areas for ownership of items such as a stereo or freezer.

Subjective economic pressures

Here we extend our analysis beyond objective circumstances to take into account people's subjective assessments of their own situation using five indicators:

- going into arrears in relation to rent, mortgage or hire purchase commitments;
- incurring debts in relation to routine expenses;
- inability to cope with unexpected expenses;
- having difficulty or great difficulty in making ends meet; and
- experiencing housing costs as a great burden.

Figure 1.17: Levels of subjective economic pressures by town/rural location, 2005
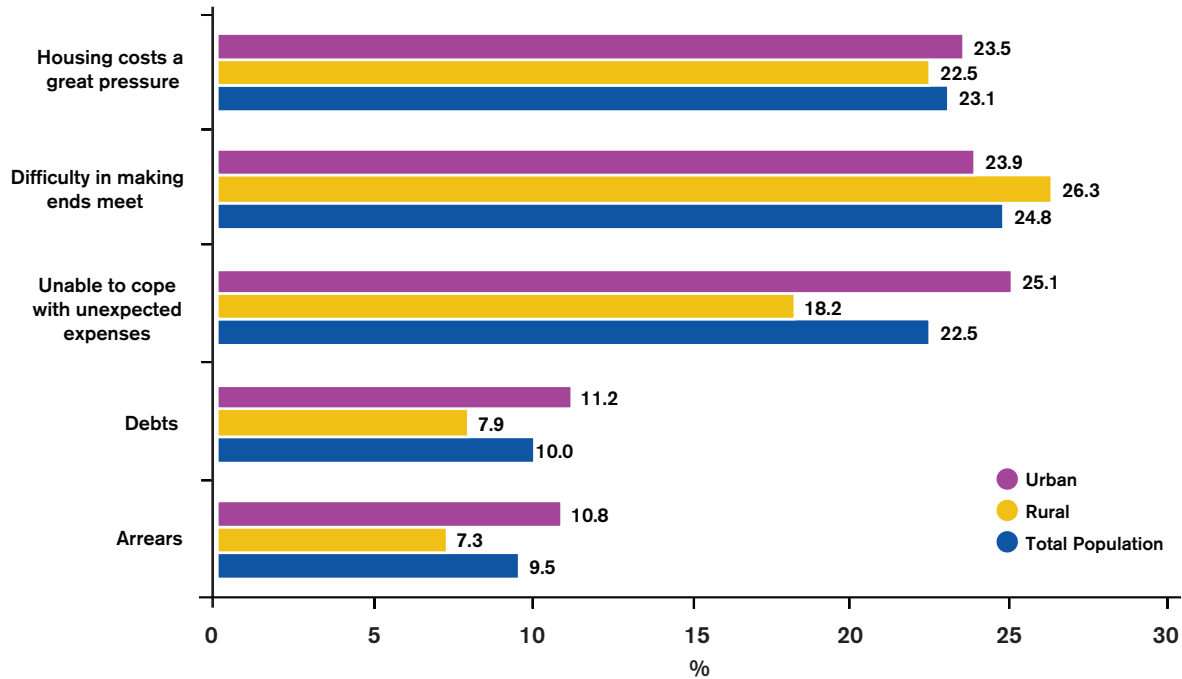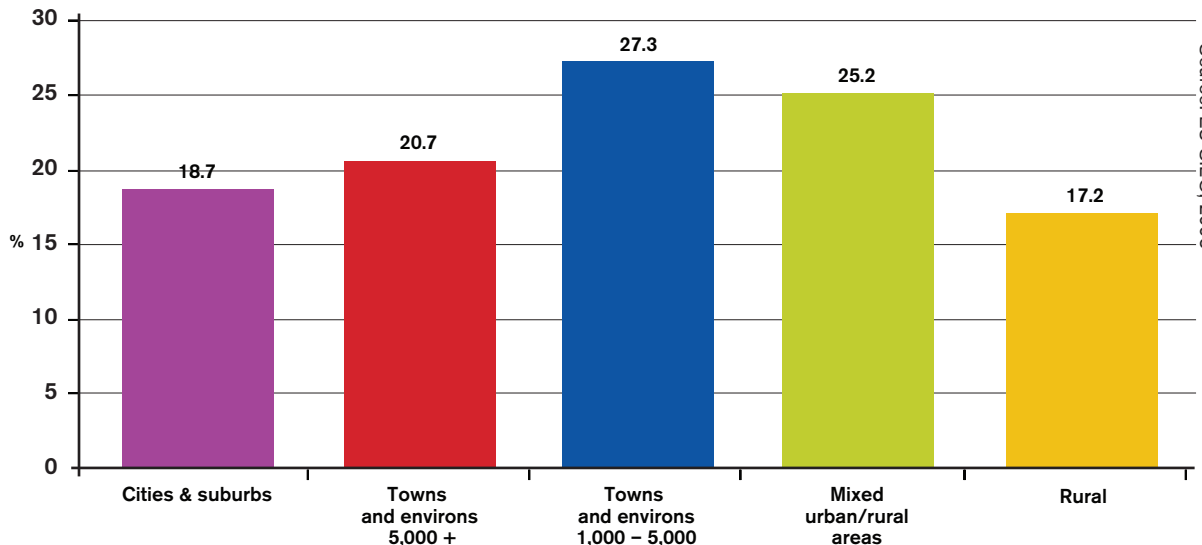
Figure 1.17 shows that those in urban areas are more likely to have debts or be in arrears on regular bills such as gas or electricity, and also more likely to say they would have difficulty coping with unexpected expenses. On the other hand, those in rural areas are more likely to say that they are having serious difficulty making ends meet.

Economic vulnerability

There is an interesting broader indicator that measures people's economic vulnerability. It combines information about whether the household is: below 'at risk of poverty' thresholds; experiencing enforced basic deprivation; and reporting difficulty in making ends meet. Statistical analysis, using 'latent class analysis', identifies underlying connections between these categories of information. It shows that about one-fifth of the overall population is categorised as economically vulnerable. A slightly higher proportion of people in urban areas are economically vulnerable compared with rural areas. Figure 1.18 shows that in urban areas, levels of economic vulnerability are highest for people in smaller towns and lowest in cities or rural areas.

Figure 1.18: Levels of economic vulnerability by town/rural location, 2005

Disadvantaged urban and rural areas

As already noted, the Census of Population allows us to compare urban and rural areas. It can also be used to compare the characteristics of households in one small area with another and this allows us to compare levels of disadvantage in specific urban or rural geographical areas. The main indicators available that we use to compare areas are:

- unemployment and dependency;
- the age structure; and
- the social class profile.

A range of studies using these data have been carried out.[8] Based on available indicators, they identify which urban and rural areas are relatively advantaged or disadvantaged. If we focus on the unemployment rate, for example, the indicators show that the areas with unemployment rates above the average are: County Donegal, County Louth and certain areas in towns and cities.

In the same way we see that both urban and rural areas with very high levels of dependency and with relatively low levels of educational attainment include, for example, counties Donegal, Cavan, Mayo, Leitrim and Monaghan. A high proportion of the population from these counties left full-time education with only primary level education. This also often reflects, at least in part, the older age profile of the population. But certain urban areas can also be identified where educational attainment is low despite a relatively young age profile.

Using these indicators, analysis of the small area data from the 2006 Census of Population will provide a detailed and up-to-date picture of disadvantage on a geographical basis across urban and rural areas. This type of information is valuable because it allows policies to be developed that respond to the needs of specific urban and rural areas, and to target resources to those areas and needs. The development of programmes for specific areas to combat disadvantage is a major focus of the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion. Pobal[9] has been very involved in developing programmes needed by specific areas to counter disadvantage through local social and economic development. These include programmes aimed specifically at addressing social inclusion issues at local level and developing an integrated focus on social groups experiencing cumulative disadvantage. Such programmes include the Rural Transport Programme and the Community Services Programme.

---

8 These include studies for Pobal (for example, Haase, 2005, 2006) and at the ESRI, SARU at Trinity College Dublin, and NIRSA at NUI Maynooth.

9 Pobal is a not-for-profit company with charitable status that manages local social and economic development programmes on behalf of the Irish Government and the EU. It was formerly known as Area Development Management Ltd.

When we identify areas with particularly high levels of disadvantage, it means that as well as helping to target resources and design and deliver services, we can assess and address the potential impact that these areas have on the people who live there. The impact can include damaging effects on individuals through, for example, stigmatisation and discrimination. People are then at risk of being alienated from taking part in social and political activities. Area initiatives, such as RAPID and CLÁR, also focus on involving local communities in developing the local economy and social interaction to build up what is now often referred to as "social capital" in the area.

These area-based initiatives also reflect that urban and rural disadvantage have distinctive features. This is brought out both by the overall comparison of urban and rural areas and by looking at a detailed breakdown that highlights particularly disadvantaged areas. Disadvantaged urban areas tend to be characterised by:

- high levels of unemployment and economic inactivity;

- low levels of educational attainment;

- sometimes, relatively poor public services and environmental and social infrastructure; and

- a minority with relatively high levels of public disorder.

Disadvantage in a rural context, on the other hand, may as often be associated with:

- under-employment as unemployment; and

- there may be particular problems with social isolation and lack of transport.

The evidence about these types of characteristics in relation to urban and rural disadvantage, and where they are found, needs to be strengthened. We discuss this in the next section.
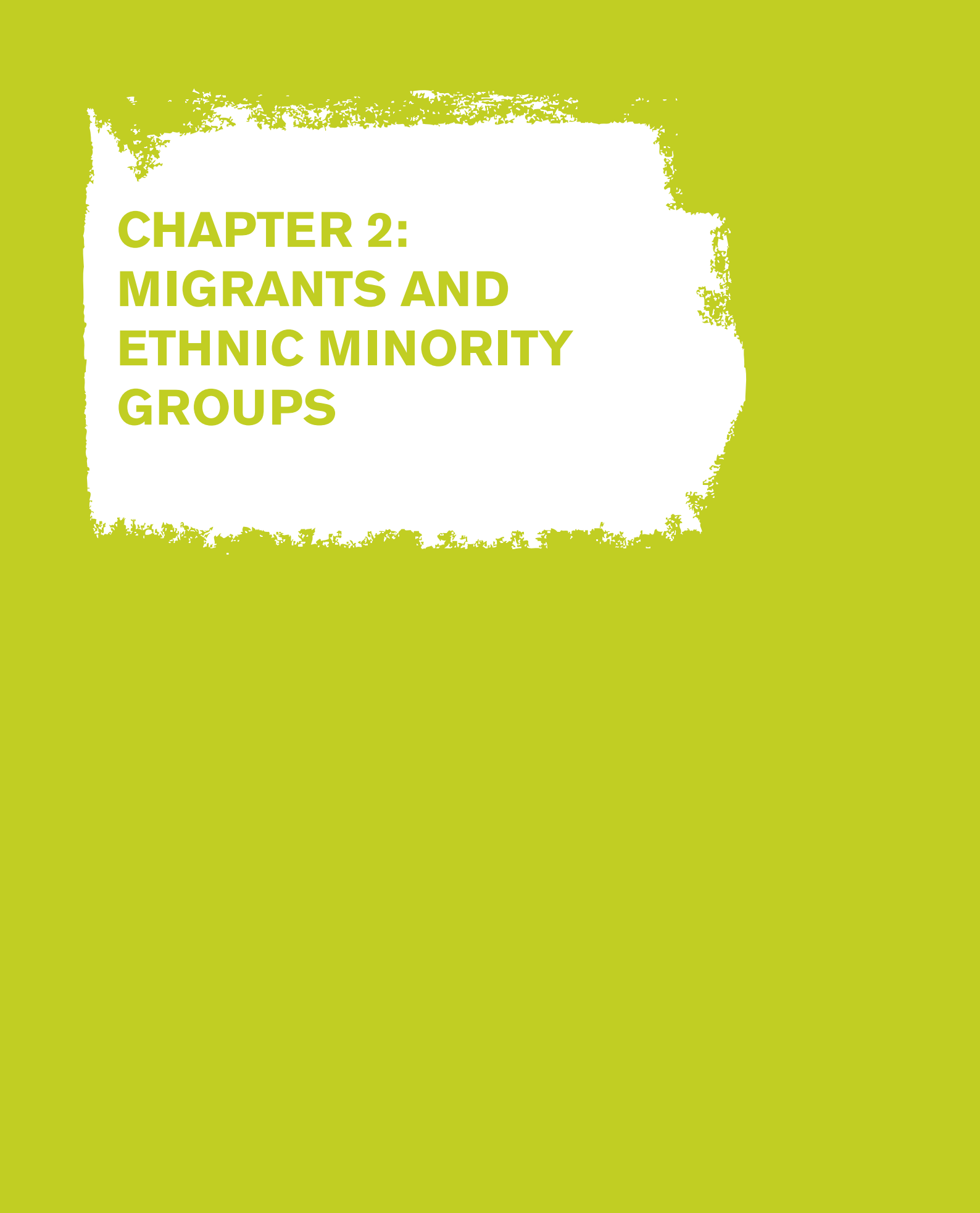
Future prospects and data needs

Ireland is becoming a more urban country. When framing policy directed towards reducing poverty and promoting social inclusion, policy makers need to consider both the nature of urban living and the situation for those remaining in rural areas. At present, though, we don't fully understand either the nature of the challenges posed by areas of concentrated disadvantage in urban areas, or the difficulties of providing adequate services and combating social isolation in rural areas. This means we need to prioritise gathering in-depth information about people living in those very different situations that combines the focused geographic coverage that is possible with the Census of Population and the in-depth information about income, deprivation and social contact and so on, that can be provided in a large-scale household survey such as EU-SILC. This could be done by selecting a small number of pilot areas for intensive data gathering, ensuring an adequate coverage of different types of urban and rural areas. Information could also be gathered about more advantaged and less advantaged areas.

Another way to collect data is to integrate information from various public administrative systems. This has shown significant potential elsewhere and is a complementary approach. This type of information could be collected from the administrations in the different areas, for example: social welfare, education, health, transport, the Gardai. The first step would be to bring about much greater harmonisation in the geographic areas that the different systems use in collating data. The increasing availability of geographic coding, which is used to classify the country into small geographical areas, and the proposals regarding the use of a nationwide system of postcodes are helpful developments. But administrative data can be further exploited to assist in research and policy development to tackle urban and rural disadvantage and exclusion.

The development of the Irish Spatial Data Infrastructure (ISDI), as part of the National Spatial Strategy, will play a critical role in this respect. The Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government is taking the lead role in developing an appropriate framework for the operation of the ISDI. The ISDI aims to ensure that spatial data from multiple sources is available and drawn together to enhance capacity for strategic planning and policy development. The system should facilitate access to spatial information, provide more accurate and up-to-date information and as a result underpin better service delivery.

CHAPTER 2: MIGRANTS AND ETHNIC MINORITY GROUPS

Migration has been important for Ireland since the nineteenth century, with most of the migratory flows being outward and with some return migration. However, the exceptional economic growth of the past decade has been accompanied by large and sustained inflows, in which non-Irish immigrants have come to outnumber returning Irish migrants. In the second part of this social portrait we:

- describe recent trends in migration;

- provide a portrait of these migrants;

- provide a portrait of those living in Ireland from different ethnic backgrounds (to the extent that available data allow); and

- look at the evidence on migrants' experiences of racism and discrimination in Ireland.

We then focus on future prospects and the many gaps in information about these groups, which need to be filled if we are to be able to construct a more comprehensive social portrait.

Recent migration

The economic boom in Ireland, which began in the mid-1990s, lead to a sustained increase in employment and widespread labour shortages. This attracted large numbers of migrants. Figure 2.1 shows the change from net emigration in the late 1980s to net immigration from the mid-1990s onwards. In 1987, 23,000 more people left than entered the country (40,000 left while 17,000 came in). In the early 1990s, the outflows and inflows were almost in balance. However, from 1996 onwards, net migration has made a positive contribution to Ireland's population growth. The net inflow of immigrants increased from 8,000 in 1996 to 70,000 in 2006.

Figure 2.1: Emigration, immigration and net migration, 1987-2006

THE OFFICE FOR **SOCIAL INCLUSION**

Figure 2.2: Estimated flow of all immigrants by nationality 1987-2007, (thousands)
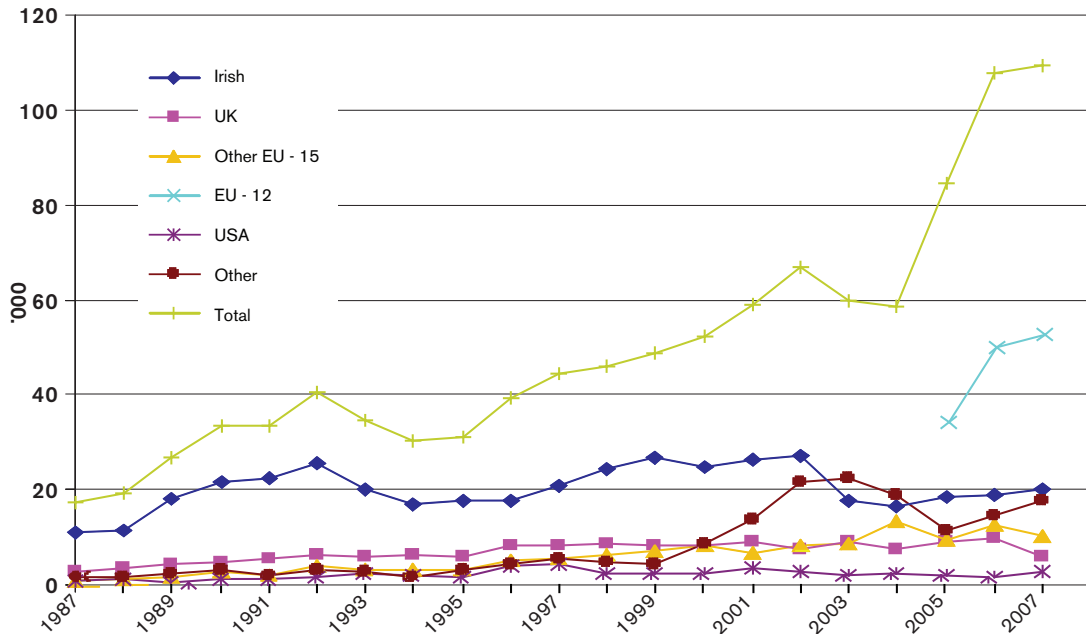
Where are the immigrants coming from?

The nationality of people coming into Ireland has become increasingly diverse. The percentage of people coming into the country who are Irish people returning home has fallen continuously since 1991. Irish people returning home since then have totalled:

- in 1991, two thirds of the gross population inflow (22,600 out of 33,300);

- in 1996, less than half the gross population inflow of 39,200;

- in 2005, one quarter of the gross population inflow (19,000 out of 70,000).

By 2005, nearly three-fifths of the gross population inflow comprised nationals from other EU countries, including the new Member States from Central and Eastern Europe [10] who joined the European Union on 1 May 2004. (From the date of enlargement, Ireland granted nationals from these countries full rights under EU law in relation to access to the labour market and social security, as did Sweden and the UK.) Almost four-fifths of the non-Irish migrants in 2005 were nationals of the EU-25 (NESC 2006a, p. 7).

Figure 2.2 shows how the country of origin of immigrants changed between 1991 and 2007. We see that currently immigrants from the EU, other than the UK, and from the rest of the world account for a large proportion of the total inflow. This is very different from the situation in the early 1990s.

Figure 2.3 compares the nationality of people immigrating into Ireland in 2000 and in 2007 and shows clearly the effect of the accession of new EU Member States. Some 53,000 out of a total of 110,000 immigrants came from the 12 new Member States in 2007. In 2007, only 20,000 of these immigrants were Irish nationals returning from abroad; whereas in 2000, Irish nationals accounted for 25,000 out of 52,000 immigrants.
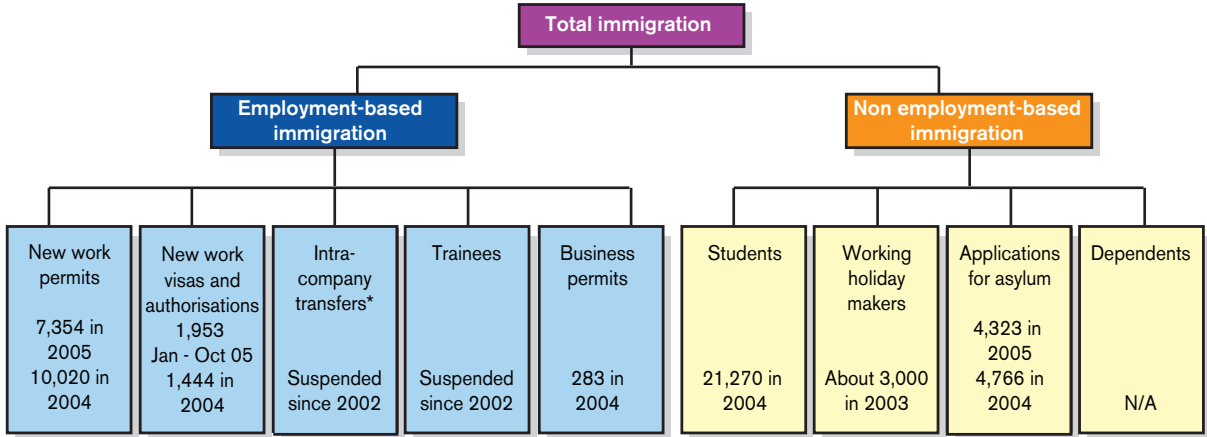
Figure 2.3: Estimated immigration flows classified by country of origin, 2000 and 2007
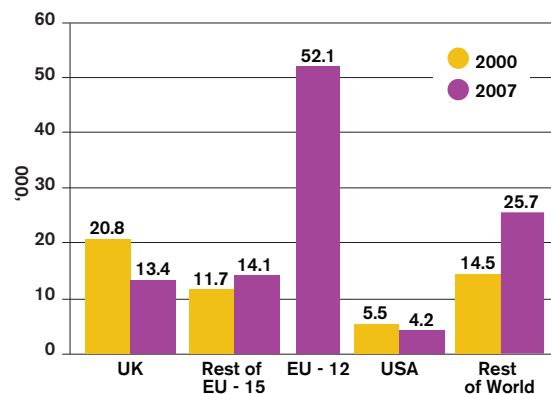
Note: Prior to 2005 data for EU 12 included in the 'Rest of World' category.

---

10 Eight Countries from Eastern and Central Europe joined the EU in May 2004: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. In addition Cyprus and Malta also became EU Member States.

```
                          ┌─────────────────────┐
                          │  Total immigration  │
                          └─────────────────────┘
```

Employment-based immigration					Non employment-based immigration			
New work permits 7,354 in 2005 10,020 in 2004	New work visas and authorisations 1,953 Jan - Oct 05 1,444 in 2004	Intra-company transfers* Suspended since 2002	Trainees Suspended since 2002	Business permits 283 in 2004	Students 21,270 in 2004	Working holiday makers About 3,000 in 2003	Applications for asylum 4,323 in 2005 4,766 in 2004	Dependents N/A

*Issued on a concessionary basis.

Notes: NA indicates the data are not available.

Different types of migration

As we have seen, currently most migrants to Ireland come from the EU. Those from outside the EU account for about one-quarter of the total. For these migrants there are various legal routes into Ireland, as outlined in Figure 2.4 (adapted from Ruhs, 2005; NESC 2006a). Employment-led immigrants include work permit holders, visa or authorisation holders, intra-company transfers/trainees and business permit holders. Non-employment related immigrants include asylum applicants, students, family members and dependants of both Irish and EEA nationals as well as non-Irish and non-EEA nationals.[11] As well as asylum applications, 116 people were admitted in 2005 under the Resettlement programme, which has admitted 200 people each year since 2006.

Most non-EEA nationals coming to Ireland to take up work are work-permit holders. The total number of work permits issued (new permits and renewals) increased from around 6,000 in 1999 to 48,000 in 2003. There was a substantial fall in the number issued in 2004 as nationals of the new EU Member States no longer required work permits after 1 May 2004. The figures for work permits issued between 2005 and 2007 were:

- 2005: 27,000 including almost 19,000 renewals;
- 2006: 23,898 including 16,600 renewals; and
- 2007: 23,604 including 13,457 renewals.

11   The European Economic Area (EEA) comprises all EU Member States plus Iceland, Lichtenstein, Norway and Switzerland.

Figure 2.5: Countries with the highest number of work permits issued in 2007
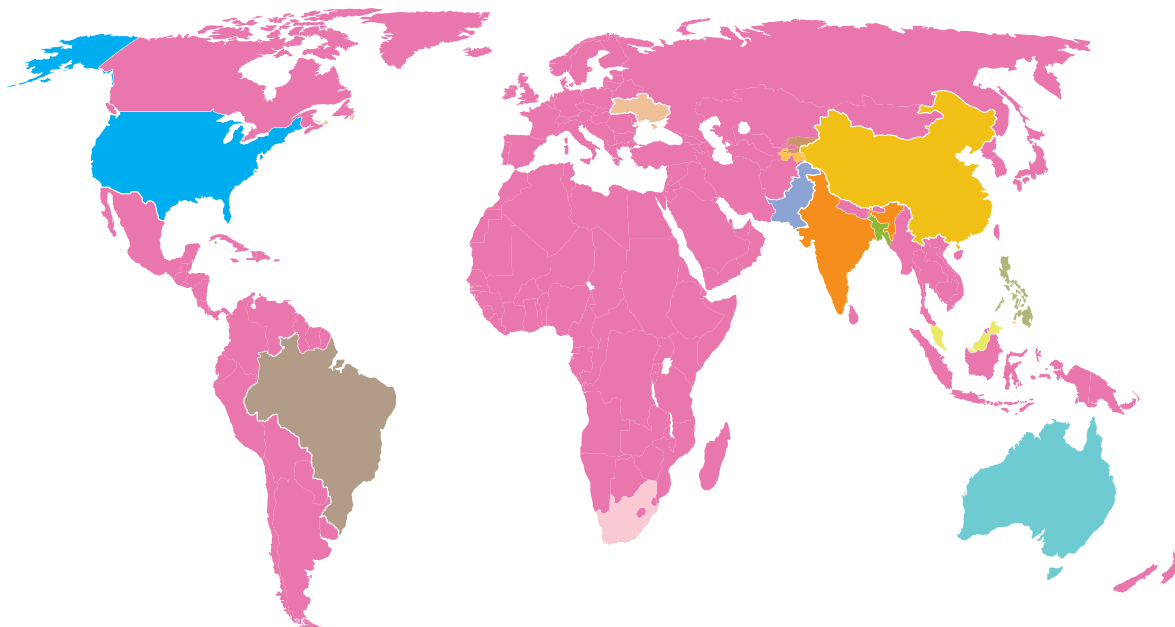
Country (new and renewals) issued	Number of work permits issued	% of total
Australia	808	3.4
Bangladesh	666	2.8
Brazil	1,173	5.0
China	1,188	5.0
India	4,068	17.2
Malaysia	796	3.4
Pakistan	813	3.4
Philippines	3,885	16.5
South Africa	1,461	6.2
Ukraine	1,412	6.0
USA	1,208	5.1
Other	6,126	26.0
Total	23,604	100

As Figure 2.5 shows, workers coming from outside the EEA are comprised of a broad spread of nationalities, with a substantial number coming from Asia, particularly the Philippines, India and China, as well as from Brazil, South Africa and the USA.

Students also represent a substantial migrant flow: in 2004 there were 21,270 registered non-EEA students in Ireland, approximately half of whom came from China (Ruhs, 2005). Until April 2005 all non-EEA students could access the Irish labour market. But now only students who are pursuing courses which are of at least one year's

duration and which lead to a 'recognised qualification' may enter the Irish labour market (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, December 2004). In 2005, there were 27,000 registered non-EEA students in Ireland, just over half of whom were in higher education institutions. There were a further 9,000 international students from elsewhere in the EU registered in higher education institutions. As far as dependants are concerned, data from the CSO's Quarterly National Household Survey show that 28% of immigrants aged 15 and over are dependants, which, is substantially less than the 39% of Irish nationals who are dependants.

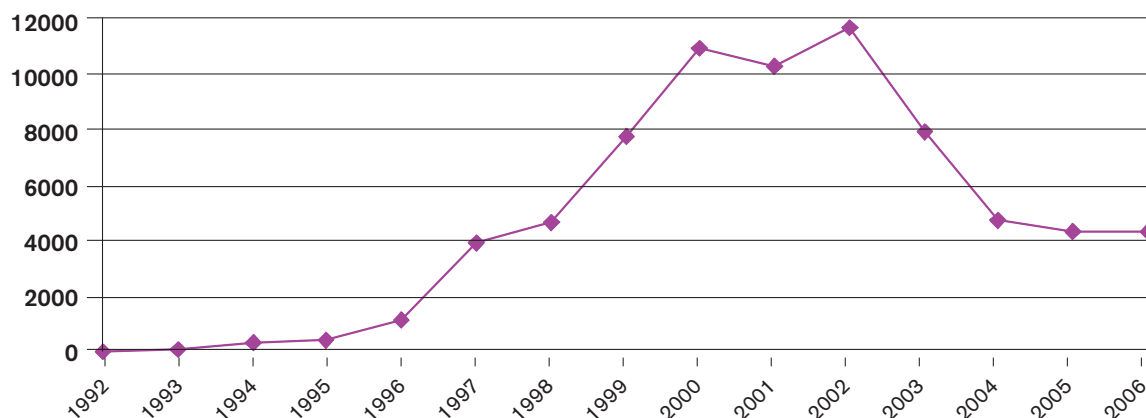## Figure 2.6: Number of asylum applications, 1992–2006

Figure 2.6 focuses on asylum seekers and shows that applications for asylum began to build up from a very low base of 39 in 1992 to around 8,000 by the end of the decade. They reached a peak of 11,600 in 2002. The number of asylum applications made in Ireland then fell by almost two thirds to around 4,300 in 2006. Asylum applicants may not work in Ireland and they must live in direct provision centres where all food and board costs are met by the State. In 2006, 9.4% of the applications finalised resulted in permission to stay being granted.

Immigrants are sometimes allowed to live in Ireland on other exceptional grounds. For example, an unsuccessful asylum applicant may be granted leave to remain by the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform. During 2005 the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform processed almost 18,000 applications for permission to remain in Ireland based on the applicant being the parent of an Irish child citizen. Of these 16,700 applications were approved (Quinn, 2006).

Finally, not all migration is via legal channels, but the scale of illegal immigration and the number of illegally resident non-nationals in Ireland is by its nature very difficult to assess. (Such illegal migrants are not likely to be captured in the surveys from which the figures presented in this social portrait are mostly drawn.) Other relevant statistics are: the number of outstanding deportation orders, currently about 9,000; and the number of people refused leave to land, which was 4,477 in 2004.

Two categories of illegal immigrant are:

- the 23% of people who enter the State illegally and continue to reside illegally; and

- the 77% of people who enter legally and whose residence status later becomes irregular (when for example their application to stay is rejected).

This data comes from the Immigrant Council of Ireland and is based on the illegal resident migrants they deal with.

Migration and population composition

The changing patterns of migration described have affected the makeup of the population's nationality and ethnic origin. The 2006 Census of Population revealed that 10.1% of the usually resident population at that time were not of Irish nationality, as Table 2.1 shows. Some 66% of those who were not of Irish nationality were from another EU country.

- 37% were from the EU15 including the UK.
- 29% were from the 10 countries that joined the European Union in 2004.
- 11% were from Asia.
- 8% were from Africa.
- 5% were from America.

The Census also shows that, including children born to Irish nationals living abroad at the time, 14.6% of the population in 2006 were born outside Ireland, and of those:

- 72% were born in another EU-25 country, including the UK;
- 9% in Asia;
- 7% in Africa; and
- 6% in America.

The latest population and migration projections made by the CSO (2008) assume that inward migration will continue at the rate of 70,000-80,000 per annum from 2006 to 2011, and then decline. However, the basis upon which these assumptions were originally made have somewhat change given the current slowdown in the economy.

Table 2.1: Total population in 2006 classified by nationality

Nationality	Number
Irish	3,706,683
UK	112,548
Other EU 15	42,693
EU 10	120,534
Other Europe	24,425
Africa	35,326
Asia	46,952
America (USA)	21,124
Other (incl. not stated)	61,728
Total Population	4,172,013
Non-Irish Population	419,733
Percent non-Irish	10.1%

Figure 2.7: Population profile in 2006 by age group and nationality
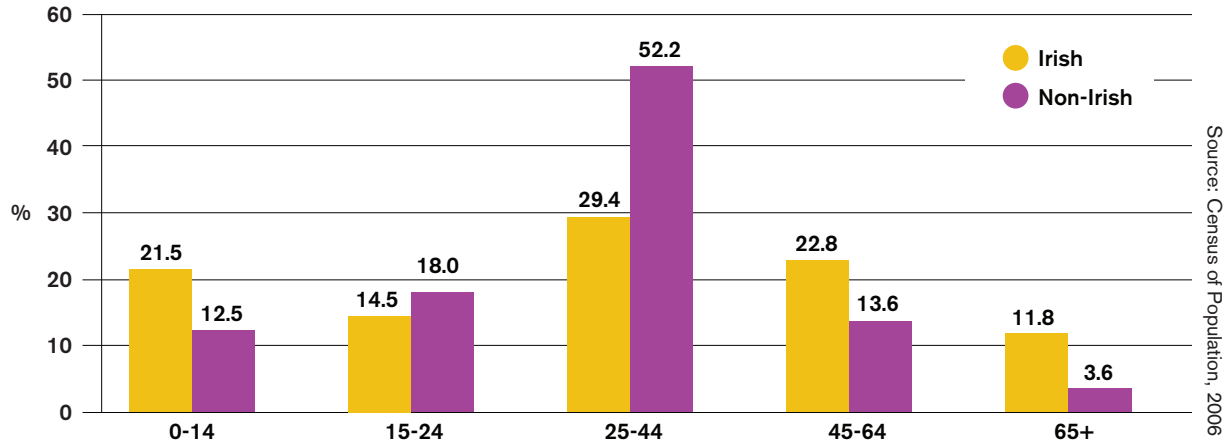
Migrants are distinctive in terms of age profile, and thus also have an impact on the profile of the population. As Figure 2.7 shows, those who are not Irish nationals are young relative to the "native" population. The non-Irish are heavily concentrated in the ages 25-44, with 52.2% in that age range compared with 29.4% of Irish nationals. By contrast, those aged 65 or over make up only 3.6% of the non-Irish population compared with 11.8% of Irish nationals.

As pointed out by Barrett, Bergin, and Duffy (2006), this relatively young profile of non-Irish immigrants is particularly interesting in the context of Ireland's ageing population, since a younger inflow will offset the ageing population. CSO population projections to 2026 have been presented on "high migration" and "low migration" assumptions. The projected overall dependency rate varies between 56% and 57% depending on the assumption made about migration. In terms of their gender profile, the non-Irish immigrants were roughly half males and half females, as in the native population.

The 2006 Census also allows the population to be categorised by ethnic or cultural background, distinguishing the following groups:

- Irish;
- Irish Traveller;
- any other white background;
- African;
- any other black background;
- Chinese;
- any other Asian background;
- other, including mixed background; or
- not stated.

Figure 2.8 shows that most of the population (87.4%) is categorised as 'Irish'. 'Other white', with 6.9%, is the only other group that makes up more than 1% of the population. About 2.5% of the population is collectively African, Chinese or other Asian.

Figure 2.8: Population by ethnic background, 2006
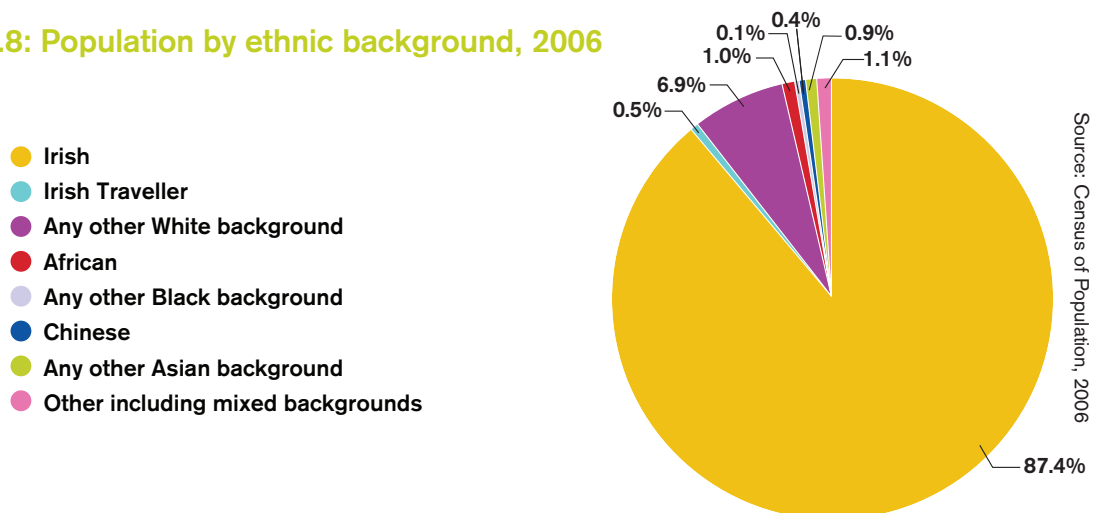
- ● Irish
- ● Irish Traveller
- ● Any other White background
- ● African
- ● Any other Black background
- ● Chinese
- ● Any other Asian background
- ● Other including mixed backgrounds

Educational attainment

Educational attainment is a key determinant of outcomes in the labour market for migrants and ethnic minorities, as for others. However, the fact that migrants will usually have had their education elsewhere is a complicating factor. As Figure 2.9 shows, non-Irish nationals have higher levels of educational qualifications than those born in Ireland. About 30% of adults who are non-Irish nationals have a third-level degree, compared with 17% of Irish nationals. On the other hand, 20% of Irish nationals compared with 6% of non-Irish nationals have no more than primary level education.

Those coming from the UK have lower levels of attainment than other non-Irish nationals, though still higher than the percentage for Irish nationals. These differences partly reflect the older age profile of Irish nationals, but even within age groups there is a differential between Irish nationals and non-Irish nationals in educational attainment.

Barrett et al (2006) used the Quarterly National Household Survey to look at the educational attainment levels of non-Irish immigrants who arrived in the 10 years before 2003 and were in the labour force at that date. Once again these non-Irish immigrants were seen to have considerably higher levels of educational qualifications than the "native" labour force. Just over 54% of immigrants had third level qualifications, which was twice the figure of the native population. At the other end of the spectrum, only 6% had no educational qualification beyond primary level, compared with 14% of the Irish group.
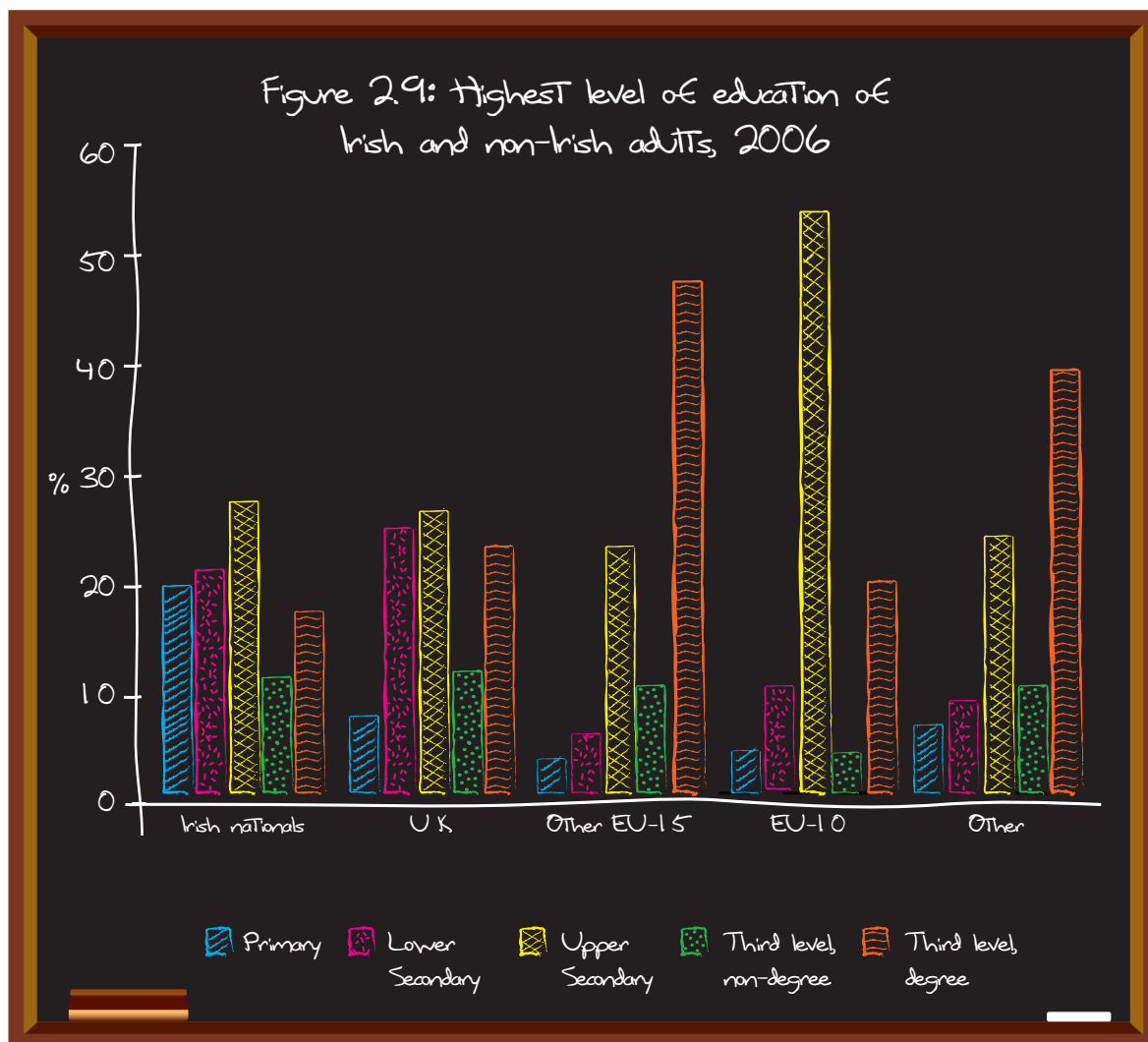
Figure 2.9: Highest level of education of Irish and non-Irish adults, 2006

Table 2.2: Distribution of work-permit holders and asylum seekers by education, 2005

	Black and other South/Central African	White South/Central African	North African	Asian	Non-EU East European	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Primary or less	7.4	0.0	40.6	6.1	1.2	7.1
1-3 years secondary	10.1	2.6	14.1	13.5	2.3	9.5
4+ years secondary	33.2	34.2	20.3	22.7	13.1	23.6
Tertiary education	47.7	52.6	12.5	51.1	71.0	52.7
Other	1.7	10.5	12.5	6.6	12.4	7.1
All	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Another source of information on educational attainment is a specially designed survey on work-permit holders and asylum seekers carried out in 2005. It focused on discrimination and is reported in McGinnity et al (2006). We discuss this survey in more detail below when we come to the topic of discrimination, but here it is of interest to present the educational profile of the work-permit holders and asylum seekers interviewed. Table 2.2 shows once again that these immigrants were highly educated, with over half of the sample having attended third-level education. Work permit holders tend to have higher educational attainment than asylum seekers. Some 58% of work permit holders compared with 44% of all asylum seekers have a third-level qualification.

This survey also allows some distinctions to be made among immigrants by country of origin. We see from the table that 'East Europeans' are the most highly educated group, with 71% having attended third-level education. They are followed by 'South and Central white Africans' and 'Asians', more than 50% of whom have attained third-level qualifications.

An exception can be seen, however, in the case of 'North Africans', 40% of whom have primary level education or no qualifications at all. This low level of education is in fact a feature of North African asylum seekers, whereas 'North African' work-permit holders had all completed at least some secondary education. The survey also looked at whether or not respondents had obtained some vocational qualification or apprenticeship. It found that almost 80% of East Europeans had a vocational qualification, but this was true of fewer than 30% of White Africans, who did show high levels of educational attainment. 'North Africans' combined low levels of educational attainment with a scarcity of vocational qualifications.

Employment

The labour market situation for migrants is centrally important to both their living standards and the role they play in Irish society. Once again the Census of Population is a key source, and Figure 2.10 uses 2006 data to compare the labour force status of non-Irish nationals aged 15 or over with those of Irish nationality. Almost 67% of non-Irish nationals are in work compared with 56% for the Irish. However, the Irish have a lower unemployment rate, so the difference in overall labour force participation (employed plus unemployed) is less. This varies by area of origin, with the proportion in work being highest for those from the EU 15. This partly reflects that non-Irish nationals are more heavily concentrated in the younger age groups. But even within age ranges non-Irish nationals are more likely to be in work than Irish nationals.

The occupational distribution and earning levels of the employed are also of considerable interest. The 2006 Census shows that non-Irish nationals have higher proportions in the personal service [12] and, to a lesser extent, associate professional and technical categories than the "native" workforce. More than 15% of non-Irish workers compared with 9% of Irish workers are in personal services. Irish nationals, on the other hand, have higher proportions in the managerial and professional categories. About 6% of Irish workers compared with 4% of non-Irish workers are managers or executives.

_____
12 Personal services covers a very wide range of occupations such as childcare workers, domestic employees, and those delivering services such as hairdressing, cleaning and laundry.

While this could partly be attributable to the older age profile of employed Irish nationals, immigrants other than those from the UK or the US, are less likely to be in the top three occupational categories than Irish workers. This was shown in the statistical analysis of Quarterly National Household Survey data carried out by Barrett et al (2006). This was true even taking their education and age into account. The over-concentration of immigrants from non-English speaking countries in relatively low-skill occupations suggests that weak English language skills may be a contributory factor. Difficulties for employers in recognising foreign qualifications may also result in a gap between qualifications and occupations. Immigrants may also be more ready to take up relatively low skilled occupations in Ireland, as the wages paid in these jobs can be significantly higher than the wages paid for more highly skilled jobs in their own country, where there may also be relatively high levels of unemployment.

As far as earnings are concerned, there is some evidence that many of the immigrants who have come from Central and Eastern European countries since 2004 are working in unskilled jobs that only pay around the minimum wage. Also, workers from outside the EU on work permits may be particularly vulnerable to exploitation, since these permits are issued for a limited period for a specific job, for a named individual. The Employment Permits Act 2006 has introduced measures to protect migrant workers.

Figure 2.10: Labour force status of Irish versus non-Irish nationals (adults), 2006

Legend: At work, Unemployed, Student, Home, Retired, Ill/disabled

	Irish nationals	UK	Other EU - 15	EU - 10
At work	56.1	56.7	74.2	84.3
Unemployed	4.8	6.7	5.4	8.8
Student	10.5	6.9	8.5	2.2
Home	11.9	13.0	6.8	4.0
Retired	12.0	12.0	3.6	0.2
Ill/disabled	4.5	4.4	1.0	0.3
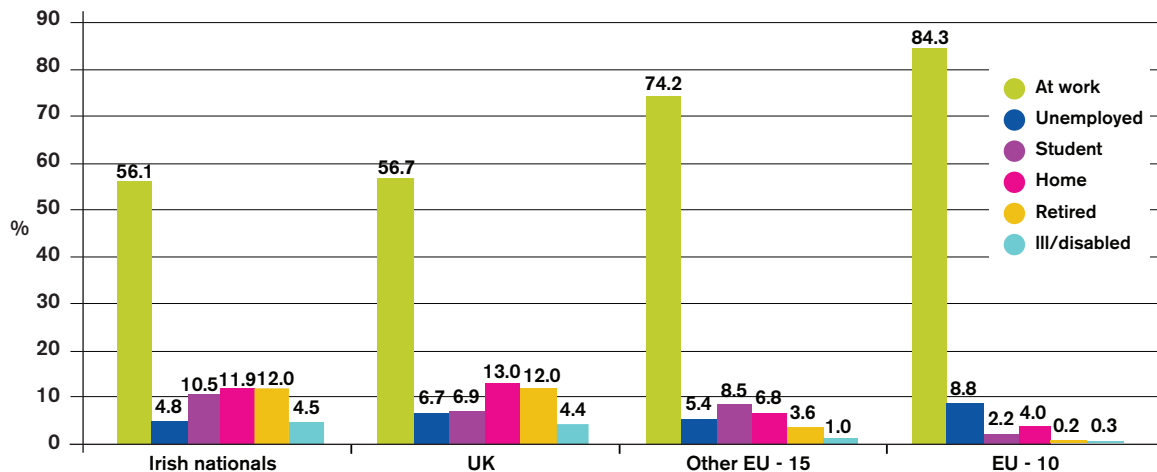
Source: Census of Population, 2006

Housing, health and social provision

Migrants and housing

Migrants affect the demand for social provision and services, both through their impact on the overall size of the population and through the specific pattern of needs they display. As far as housing is concerned, there was an increase in the number of non-EU households on the waiting list for social housing from 2,700 in 2002 to 3,664 in 2005 (NESC 2006b, p. 127). Also, a significant proportion of recipients of social welfare rent supplement are non-Irish nationals. The study by Pillinger (2006) suggests that growing numbers from the new EU 10 member states are homeless. Asylum seekers are in a particular situation with respect to accommodation; all are offered accommodation in groups or collective housing such as converted hotels by the Reception and Integration Agency, and only a small minority opt to live in independent accommodation. The Reception and Integration Agency also has a small number of self-catering units for people diagnosed with special medical needs, or who have been long-term residents in the Reception and Integration Agency accommodation. For further information on migrants and homelessness, see Chapter 4 of this social portrait.

Migrants and the health services

There is little evidence about migrants' or ethnic minorities' use of health services or needs, though they can face barriers due to lack of information, language and cultural factors. However, in a recent survey of doctors by the Irish College of General Practice, respondents did highlight difficulty experienced by some groups, particularly refugees (ICGP, 2005), which included difficulty with communication and interpretation, poor health status, and poor mental health. Data from the National Disease Surveillance Centre show foreign-born residents in Ireland are over-represented as regards HIV and tuberculosis. A National Intercultural Health Strategy was launched by the Health Services Executive (HSE) in February 2008. The HSE is also developing a National Equality Strategy. Health screening is made available to all asylum seekers, and the uptake of this service is high.

Migrants and education

As far as education is concerned, the numbers of migrant children in primary and secondary education are not known. But it is clear that certain schools have substantial numbers, particularly in the Dublin area, and those children for whom English is not the native language can both face and pose particular problems. Additional supports have been introduced in schools, to address the needs of recently arrived children with English language needs. In the school year 2006-2007, 802 whole-time equivalent language support teachers were put in place at primary level and 346 whole-time equivalent teachers at second level. Their job is to support children whose first language is not English, and this support represents an investment of €66.6 million. This compares to 149 and 113 teachers respectively in the school year 2001-2002 (Department of Education, 2007).

Migrants, ethnic minorities and discrimination

A major concern about the position of migrants and members of ethnic minorities is that they may experience discrimination in various aspects of life. Discrimination is a complex phenomenon that is difficult to capture in statistical form. But there are a number of recent sources of data that shed some light on the extent and nature of discrimination and how it varies across different types of migrant or ethnic minority groups.

One such source is a special module of additional questions in relation to equality issues included in the Quarterly National Household Survey carried out by the CSO in late 2004 (CSO, 2005). Everyone aged 18 years and over was asked these questions. The results showed that those who were of non-Irish nationality and those from non-white ethnic backgrounds both reported relatively high levels of discrimination. As Figure 2.11 illustrates, overall, almost 25% of those of non-Irish nationality reported experiencing some form of discrimination in the previous two years, compared with 11.5% of those with Irish nationality. The gap was even wider when it came to ethnic background, with almost 31.5% of those from ethnic backgrounds other than 'White' reporting some discrimination compared with 12% of those of White ethnic background. The researchers also investigated how often discrimination was experienced and this showed a very similar pattern in terms of differences across the groups.

This discrimination was reported as occurring across various aspects of life including financial institutions, the workplace, shops, education, housing, health and other public services. Where the perceived grounds for the discrimination were race, skin colour, ethnic group or nationality, discrimination was mentioned most often in the areas of transport, shops, pubs and restaurants, looking for work, and accommodation. Interestingly, when asked how serious the effect of the discrimination was on their lives, both those of non-Irish nationality and those from non-White ethnic backgrounds were more likely than others to say it had no effect, and less likely to say it had a serious effect.

Figure 2.11: Percentage reporting discrimination, 2004
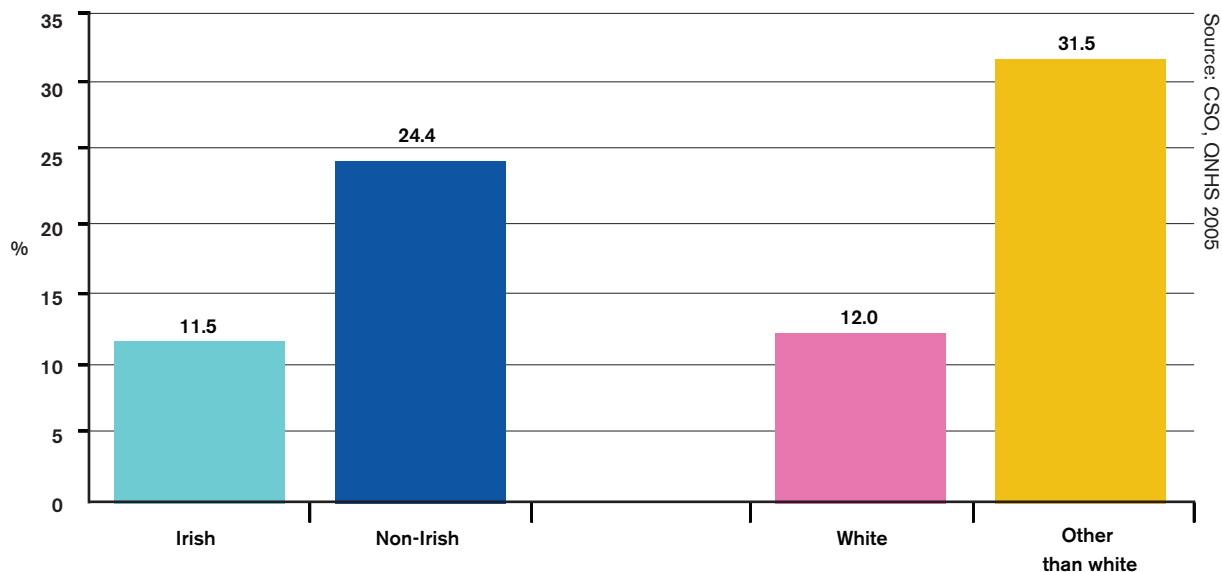
Figure 2.12: Percentage of sample of work-permit holders and asylum seekers who report discrimination at least once or twice in the area specified, 2005

Area	%
Refused entry, shop	4.1
Badly treated, employment service	7.8
Victim of violence or crime	10.4
Badly treated, police	10.4
Refused entry, restaurant	13.6
Badly treated, healthcare	13.7
Badly treated, social services	13.7
Denied housing	14.8
Denied credit/loan	15.1
Harassed by neighbours	15.1
Missed promotion	16.1
Badly treated, restaurant or shop	17.2
Badly treated, immigration services	17.6
Missed job	21.5
Harassment at work	31.9
Harassed street, transport	35.0

% of respondents with contact

Notes: Work-related discrimination, access to housing and treatment by the employment service based on work permit holders only. All other questions relate to those who had contact or experience of the area in question.

Another source of statistical information about discrimination as it affects migrants is the large-scale nationally representative survey of work-permit holders and asylum seekers reported in McGinnity *et al* (2006). This survey, conducted by the ESRI in the summer of 2005 for the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, aimed to measure the experience of racism and discrimination affecting work permit holders and asylum seekers in Ireland. It sampled a range of nationalities and grouped them by broad region, giving five regional groups:

- Black South Africans or Central Africans;
- White South African or Central Africans;
- North Africans;
- Asians; and
- non-EU East Europeans.

The countries with the largest numbers in the sample, Nigeria and the Philippines, were also distinguished in some of the results. (The sampling frame for the survey was based on administrative records in relation to work permit holders and asylum seekers, as described in full in McGinnity *et al*).

Figure 2.12 shows the overall percentage in the sample reporting various types of discriminatory or racist treatment. The types of racism or discrimination reported were:

- 35% of the whole sample were harassed on the street or on public transport (this was the most common form of racism or discrimination experienced);
- 32% of work-permit holders were harassed at work[13]; and
- 21.5% of the whole sample was denied access to work.

Fewer respondents generally experience being badly treated by an institution. The one notable exception was that 17.6% reported they had had difficulties with poor treatment by the immigration services.

13 This does not apply to asylum seekers since they are not permitted to work.

About 17.2% of respondents reported being badly treated in a restaurant or shop. About 15% reported being denied access to housing because of their national or ethnic origin.[14] A similar percentage reported being denied credit or a loan or being harassed by neighbours. Between 10% and 15% of the sample reported being badly treated by healthcare or social services or being refused entry into a restaurant because of their ethnic or national origin. 10% or less of the sample reported being badly treated by the police, a victim of violence or crime, badly treated by employment services or refused entry to a shop. This pattern of racial discrimination is broadly similar to that found in similar surveys in other European countries, where work-related discrimination and harassment on the street generally features highly.

There were substantial differences across the groups in terms of their experiences, with for example over half of the Black South/Central Africans being harassed on the street or on public transport. This group was seen to experience the most discrimination of all the groups studied, even when other factors like education, age and length of stay were taken into account. A detailed comparison of Nigerians and Filipinos showed that Nigerians were more likely to experience discrimination than Filipinos in all the aspects studied.

Looking at other characteristics, the highly educated were significantly more likely to experience discrimination in employment and public arenas, young people were more likely to experience discrimination than older people in most areas, and asylum seekers were much more likely to experience discrimination than work permit holders. Other statistical evidence relating to different treatment of migrants and ethnic minorities showed that school pupils from non-Irish national backgrounds were significantly more likely to report having been bullied than other students. Non-Irish national students were more likely to report feeling isolated in school and were much less likely to see themselves as popular (see Smyth *et al.*, 2004, 2006). Almost one third of all cases taken by the Equality Authority in 2004 under the Employment Equality Acts related to allegations of discrimination in the workplace on the basis of race.

14 It is not entirely clear what respondents mean by being denied access to housing – it could mean access to social or affordable housing options from local authorities, but most work-permit holders are housed in the private-rented sector, so they may mean difficulty accessing such accommodation.

Future prospects and data needs

The factors underpinning recent migration trends suggest that significant inward migration is likely to continue to be a feature of Ireland's economy and society into the future. As the NESC recently put it, "international migration is a pervasive feature across the world and […] pressure for migration from poorer countries will be sustained" (2006a, p. 106). The gap in average living standards between the 'old' EU 15 and the 'new' EU 10 is also an important aspect of the context, with Ireland now firmly among the richer Member States.

The evolution of Ireland's economy is clearly a major factor from year to year, with the scale of recent migration driven by very strong economic growth in Ireland, weak growth in continental Europe and transitional arrangements in most other EU 15 Member States limiting access there. However, the extent of that income gap between the old EU 15 and the new EU 10, in a Union where free movement of labour is a key tenet, is a critical longer-term consideration.

In this context, the NESC report on migration (2006a) stresses that there are many gaps in information and understanding about migration to Ireland, and how important it is that these be filled. To have an accurate picture of the current situation and to be able to frame anti-poverty policy for the future, we need reliable data on the following key areas:

- the wages of migrants and their impact on overall wage dispersion;

- how rapidly migrants progress in the labour market to occupations that reflect their educational qualifications;

- how many migrants settle permanently in Ireland compared with those who return to their country of origin (or migrate elsewhere);

- the potential scale of migration associated with family reunification;

- the current and future impact of migration on the housing market;

- the overall impact of migration on the Irish economy; and

- the social needs of migrants and their impact on health, education and social services.

More data on different ethnic groups and their situation could also facilitate more effective, targeted action. Another important issue in data collection is the distinction between migrants from EU countries enjoying freedom of movement and migrants from outside the EU.

To fill these gaps we will need improved regular statistical information. The first priority is to ensure that the main statistical information sources allow migrants or ethnic groups to be identified in a harmonised way – covering both migration status and ethnicity. This relates both to household surveys and the Census of Population, but also to the emerging potential of administrative sources of data. The priorities in terms of the type of information needed in relation to these groups from these varied sources include:

- The length of time migrants have been in Ireland. This is available in the Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS) but we also need it in other datasets because the rates at which migrants assimilate, or fail to assimilate, are important.

- English-language fluency.

- How well skills and qualifications are recognised.

- Family situation: nationality of spouse, when married, and whether spouse and family are in Ireland.

- Nationality and race, as well as age and gender.

- Migration intentions (whether migrants intend to settle permanently in Ireland).

- As far as social provision is concerned, housing situation (issues like tenure, type of dwelling, mortgage or rent, number in household) is critical.

- Household surveys can also give us important information about health, but developing administrative data collection systems within the health services is critical so we can capture the particular health needs of these vulnerable groups and how successfully they are being met.

- Similarly, major development of administrative data collection systems within the education system, particularly at primary level, is important so we can capture the particular educational needs of these vulnerable groups.
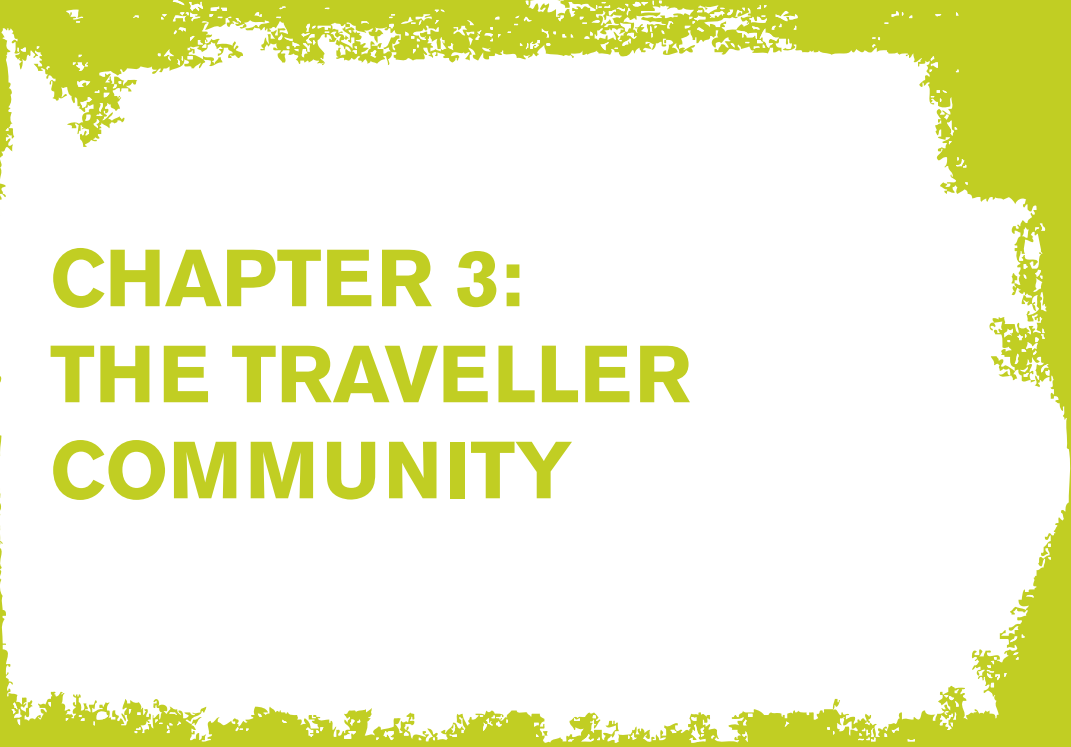
We also need in-depth research on:

- the nature of migration;

- the situation of recent migrants; and

- on recent migrants' access to services.

A range of studies are under way in institutions such as the Economic and Social Research Institute, Trinity College Dublin, and University College Dublin. These will produce research on a wide range of topics relating to the nature of migration and the situation of migrants in Ireland.

CHAPTER 3:
THE TRAVELLER
COMMUNITY

The next group we look at in this portrait is the Irish Traveller community. We discuss the nature of the Traveller community and its:

- size;

- profile in terms of age, gender and marital status;

- household;

- socio-economic circumstances;

- education and employment; and

- health and housing.

We end this section by discussing the limitations in the data available about the Traveller community and the gaps in information that need to be filled most urgently.

What is the Traveller community?

Irish Travellers are an indigenous minority who have been part of Irish society for centuries. They have a value system, language, customs and traditions that make them an identifiable group both to themselves and to others. Under the Equal Status Act, 2000 the "Traveller community" means the community of people who are commonly called Travellers and who are identified (both by themselves and others) as people with a shared history, culture and traditions and, historically, a nomadic way of life on the island of Ireland. The Traveller community's distinctive lifestyle and culture, based on a nomadic tradition and emphasising the importance of the extended family, sets them apart from settled people. Travellers have traditionally been commercial nomads, whose occupations in the past included tinsmithing, farm labour, door-to-door sales and recycling. Gypsies and Roma in other countries also pursue a nomadic lifestyle and culture, but are from different origins.

How many Travellers?

Knowledge about the size of the Traveller community, and most of the other statistical information about its members currently available, comes from the Census of Population carried out by the Central Statistics Office every five years.

The 2006 Census asked each person: "What is your ethnic or cultural background?" One of the response options was "Irish Traveller". The resulting figures show there were 22,435 Travellers living in the Republic of Ireland. This means that Irish Travellers comprised 0.5% of the population of the Republic at that date. Furthermore, there are estimated to be about 1,500 Travellers living in Northern Ireland.

This may underestimate the number of Travellers in the country. The annual count carried out by local authorities estimated that in 2006 there were a total of 7,691 Traveller families in the State. Multiplied by the average size of Traveller households in the Census, this would give an estimate of the total number of Travellers considerably more than the figure shown in the 2006 Census.

Generally, the number of people who are not included in the Census is thought to be very low indeed, but it may be higher for Travellers. In addition, not all Travellers responding to the Census may identify themselves as such. Nonetheless, the Census remains the only available statistical source on which an in-depth picture of Travellers can be based. It is the source on which this section of the social portrait relies.

Figure 3.1: Distribution of Travellers and total population by age (%) in 2006

Bar chart data:

Age group	Travellers	Total Population
0 - 14	41.5	20.4
15 - 24	20.5	14.9
25 - 34	14.4	17.0
35 - 44	10.8	14.7
45 - 54	6.5	12.3
55 - 64	3.6	9.6
65 and over	2.6	11.0
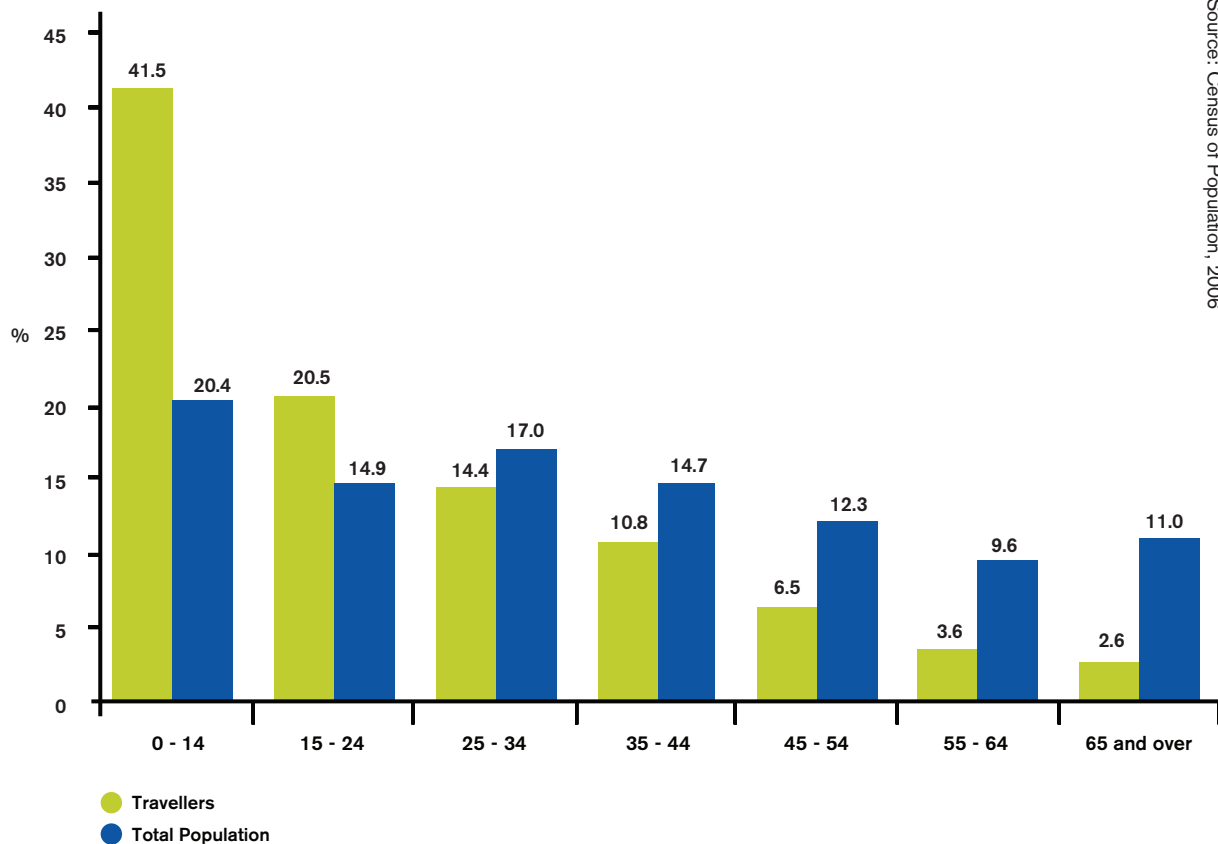
● Travellers
● Total Population

Figure 3.1 shows the age breakdown of the 22,435 Travellers in the 2006 Census. We see that the age profile of Travellers is markedly different from that of the population as a whole.

- Over 40% of Travellers are children aged between 0 and 14, which is twice as large as the corresponding figure for the population.

- Only 24% of Travellers are aged 35 or over, which is half the figure for the population.

- Most strikingly, only about 3% of Travellers are aged 65 or over, compared with 11% for the population.

As a consequence, Travellers accounted for 1.1% of the total in the 0-14 age group but only 0.1% of those in the 65 and over age group. In the 2006 Census, only 594 Travellers aged 65 or more were reported. This is a stark illustration of the gap between Travellers and others in terms of health and life expectancy to which we will return later on. In terms of the gender profile of Travellers, just over half (50.6%) are female, but this rises to 54% for those aged 65 and over, similar to the population as a whole.

Figure 3.2: Marital status for Travellers aged 15 or over, 2006
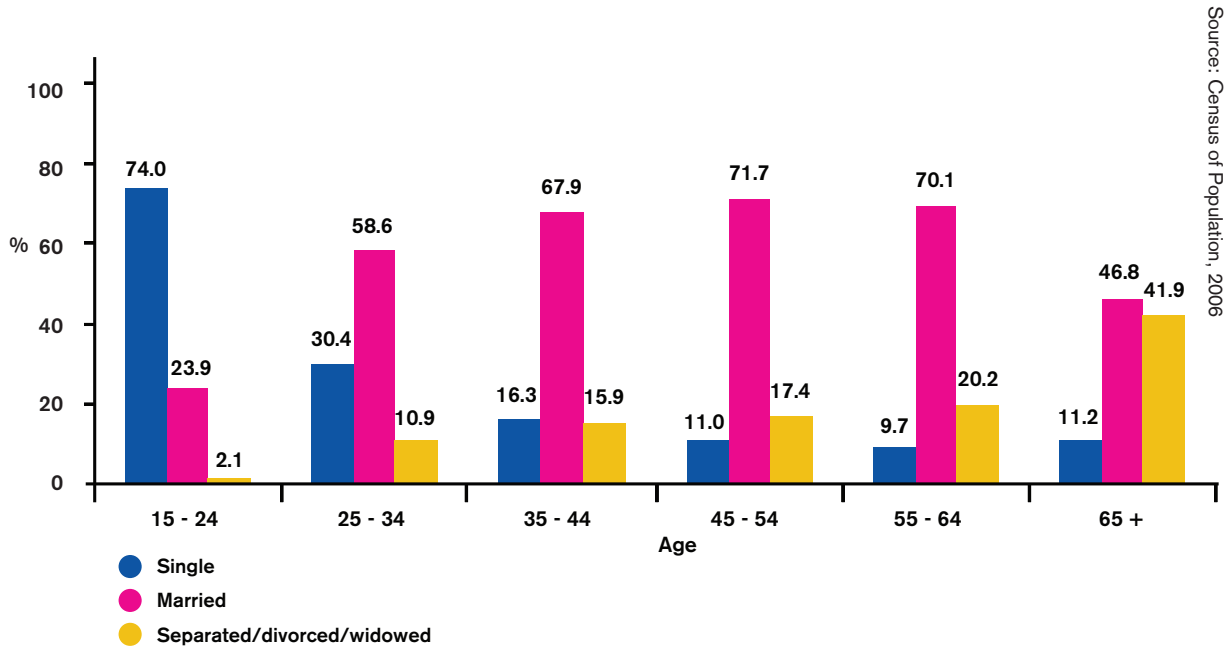
Figure 3.2 shows the marital status of Travellers aged 15 or more, which differs markedly from the corresponding figures for the population as a whole in 2006, shown in Figure 3.3. In the younger age ranges, Travellers are much more likely to be married than others. Between the ages of 15 and 24, for example, almost a quarter of Travellers are married compared with only 2% of the population as a whole, and there is also a sharp differential in the 25-34 age range. On the other hand, in the middle to older age ranges, Travellers are more likely than others to be separated, divorced or widowed. In the 55 to 64 age range, for example, 20% of Travellers are separated/divorced (9%) or widowed (11%) compared with 15% of the population as a whole whose marital status is separated, divorced, or widowed. Among those aged 65 plus, 39% are widowed compared with 31% for the population as a whole.

Figure 3.3: Marital status for population aged 15 or over, 2006
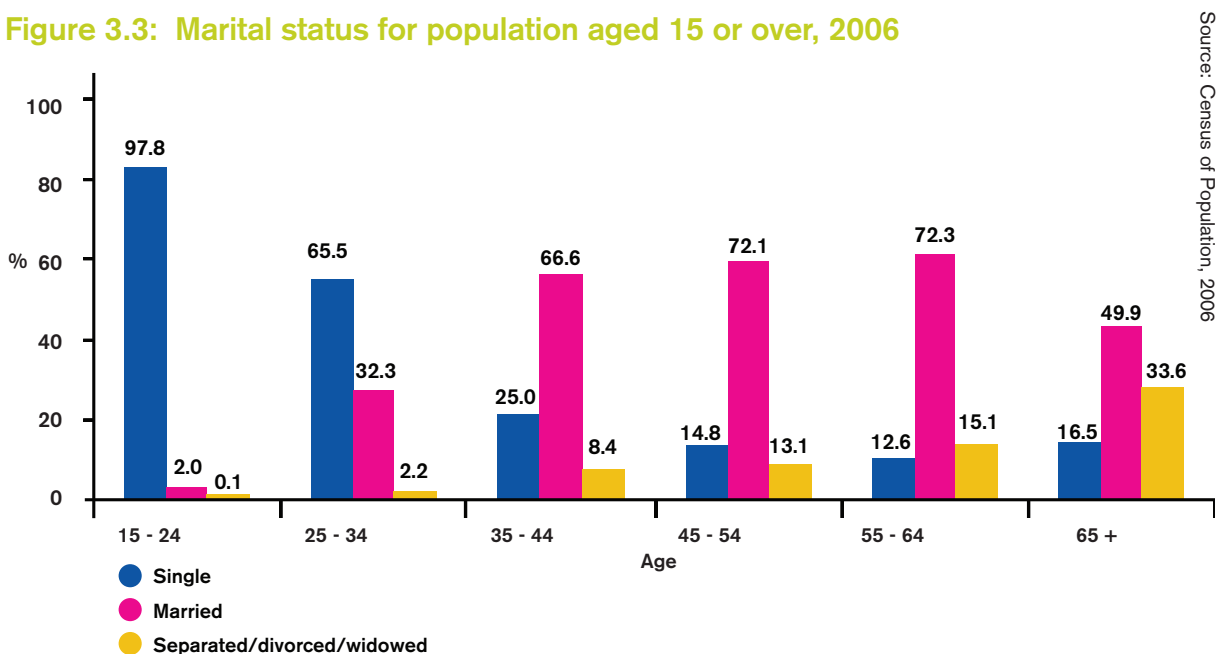
Table 3.1: Travellers by planning region, 2006

	Travellers %	Total Population %
Border	7.7	11.0
Dublin	22.6	28.0
Mid-East	7.8	11.2
Midland	10.7	5.9
Mid-West	11.3	8.5
South-East	11.7	10.9
South-West	8.8	14.6
West	19.5	9.8

Where Travellers live

The distribution of Travellers and of the overall population across the country's eight planning regions is shown in Table 3.1. The greater Dublin area had 22.6% of Travellers compared with 28% of the total population in 2006. On the other hand, Travellers were more heavily concentrated in the Midlands and West regions than the overall population.[15] About 50% of Travellers live in Counties Dublin, Galway, Limerick or Cork. Travellers are also more likely than others to live in urban areas: in the 2006 Census, 74% of Travellers compared to about 60% of the overall population lived in towns.

Families and households

We now turn to the families and households in which Travellers are living. The Census distinguishes persons living in private households from those living in what are termed communal establishments. A private household comprises of a person living alone or a group of people (not necessarily related) living at the same address and with common housekeeping arrangements. A "non-private household" or communal establishment includes, for example, a hotel, guesthouse, hostel, nursing home or prison.[16] On the night of the 2006 Census 433 Travellers were living in communal establishments, accounting for 2% of all Travellers.

Of these:

- 3% were in hotels or guest houses;
- 41% were in hospital, nursing home or children's home;
- 33% were in prison; and
- 19% were in a shelter or refuge.

The overall percentage in communal establishments is similar to the population as a whole.

15 Department of the Environment annual enumerations give a similar regional distribution of Traveller families.

16 Persons in Traveller encampments were enumerated as private households.

The 2006 Census reported that for the 98% of Travellers who were living in private households rather than communal establishments, 4,371 of these were Traveller households and 1,465 households comprised both Travellers and non-Travellers. Figure 3.4 shows these categorised by the number of people in the household, compared with all private households in the State.

Traveller households and households comprising Travellers and non-Travellers are much larger than the overall average, with about 30% containing six or more people compared with only 5% for the overall population.

Figure 3.4: Households by size, 2006

- Traveller and non-Traveller
- Travellers
- All private households
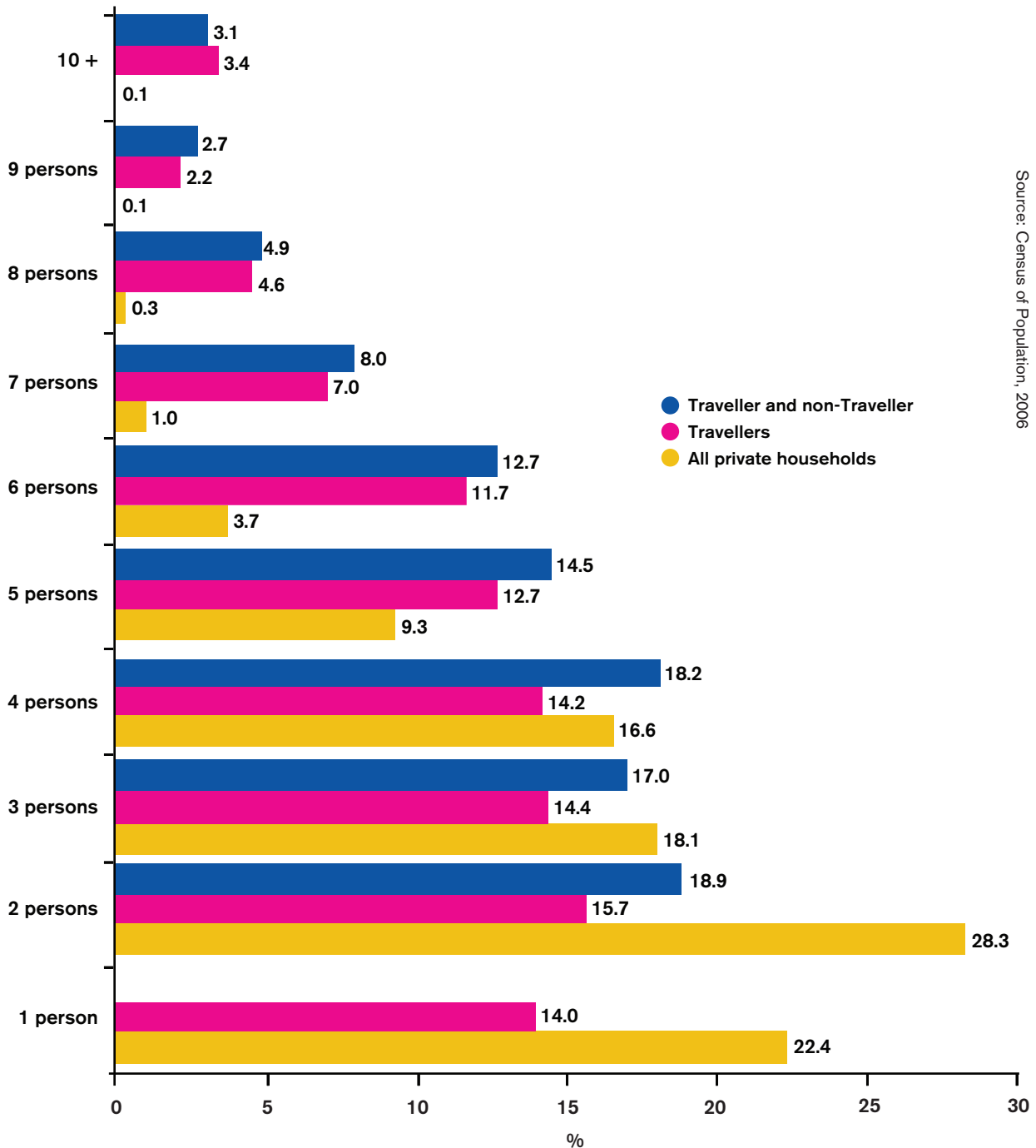
Table 3.2: Households by household composition, 2006

	All private households		Traveller households		Households with Travellers and non-Travellers	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
One person	329,450	22.4	614	14.0	0	
Couple*	269,542	18.3	399	9.1	162	11.1
Couple with children (of any age)	517,331	35.2	1,989	45.5	742	50.7
Lone mother with children (of any age)	130,853	8.9	763	17.5	219	14.9
Lone father with children (of any age)	21,689	1.5	95	2.2	25	1.7
Couple with children (of any age) and other people	31,714	2.1	157	3.6	110	7.5
Lone mother with children (of any age) and other people	13,994	1.0	89	2.0	45	3.1
Lone father with children (of any age) and other people	3,244	0.2	11	0.3	4	0.3
Couple with other people	23,877	1.6	43	1.0	27	1.9
Two or more family units with or without other people	20,257	1.3	77	1.6	49	3.2
Non-family households containing related people	43,426	3.0	118	2.7	38	2.6
Non-family households containing no related people	64,144	4.4	16	0.4	44	3.0
All	1,469,521	100.0	4,371	100.0	1,465	100.0

* Note "couple" here includes husband and wife, and cohabiting couples.

Table 3.2 shows the distribution of households with Travellers by household type, where we see that a relatively high proportion – almost half – comprises a husband and wife (or cohabiting couple) with children, compared with 35.2% for all private households. The proportion of lone parent households (where the children are of any age) is also high at 20%, compared with 10% for all households. Households of one adult or a couple account for a relatively low proportion of Traveller households. This reflects, among other things the age distribution of Travellers, in particular the fact that there are relatively few older people.

The socio-economic circumstances of Travellers

A detailed picture of the socio-economic circumstances of different groups in the population and how they are changing can generally be based on information from regular household surveys on income and living conditions. These include the EU-SILC survey, which has been conducted by the CSO since 2003, and previously the Living in Ireland Surveys carried out by the ESRI from 1994 to 2001. These allow key indicators on income and poverty to be produced, for example in relation to children, older people and vulnerable groups of working age such as lone parents and people with disabilities. Such indicators include the percentage 'at risk of poverty' in relation to the 60% of median income threshold, and the percentage in consistent poverty, a measure that has been important in the targets adopted in the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion (see glossary). However, the situation of Travellers, like other small groups in the population, cannot be reliably captured through such surveys. The Census does not include information about income or most aspects of living standards or deprivation. This means it is impossible to present figures for these conventional measures of living standards and poverty for the Traveller community, and compare their situation with others in those terms.

It is also generally impossible to assess how state services or the social welfare system are used because Travellers are not distinguished from other citizens when they use them. Small-scale studies available suggest that members of the Traveller community often experience very high levels of deprivation compared with non-Travellers, but it is difficult to build up an overall statistical picture from such studies. The Census of Population and some other relevant sources do include information and statistics about education and employment for the Traveller community. Since both education and employment are key determinants of living standards, they will be the focus of the next two sections. As we will see, these data show levels of unemployment, poor health, disability, low educational attainment, inadequate housing, and premature mortality among the Traveller community, which suggest that they are also exposed to distinctively high levels of poverty and deprivation.

Education

The 2006 Census shows that the highest level of education completed for more than two-thirds of Travellers aged 15 or over is primary level. This is the lowest level, excluding any formal educational qualifications. Figure 3.5 shows that:

- 16% had completed lower secondary (Junior or Intermediate Certificate);
- only 4% had completed upper secondary;
- less than 1% had some third level education, and
- a substantial proportion had given no response to the Census question.

The picture is broadly similar for both men and women, though a slightly higher proportion of women had lower secondary rather than primary level only and the proportion with third-level education, though still only 1%, was also marginally higher for women.

Other figures in the 2006 Census show that 43% of Travellers aged 15 or over had left school before the age of 15, while a further 32% gave no response to the relevant question in the Census. Only 1% had been in education beyond the age of 18.

Other indicators of educational attainment confirm this picture of severe educational disadvantage. For example, in 2004 the Department of Education and Science's inspectorate carried out a survey of Traveller education provision in a number of primary and post-primary schools. They found that the mean achievement level of Traveller pupils was very low compared with the population generally. More than two-thirds achieved scores that were at or below the 20th percentile – the level under which only one in five of the general population fell below. In mathematics, almost two-thirds of Traveller pupils achieved scores that were at or below the 20th percentile.

Figure 3.5: Highest educational attainment for Travellers aged 15 or over, 2006

Primary: 69.3
Lower Secondary: 16.2
Upper Secondary: 3.7
Third level, non-degree: 0.4
Third level, degree: 0.3
Other: 10.1
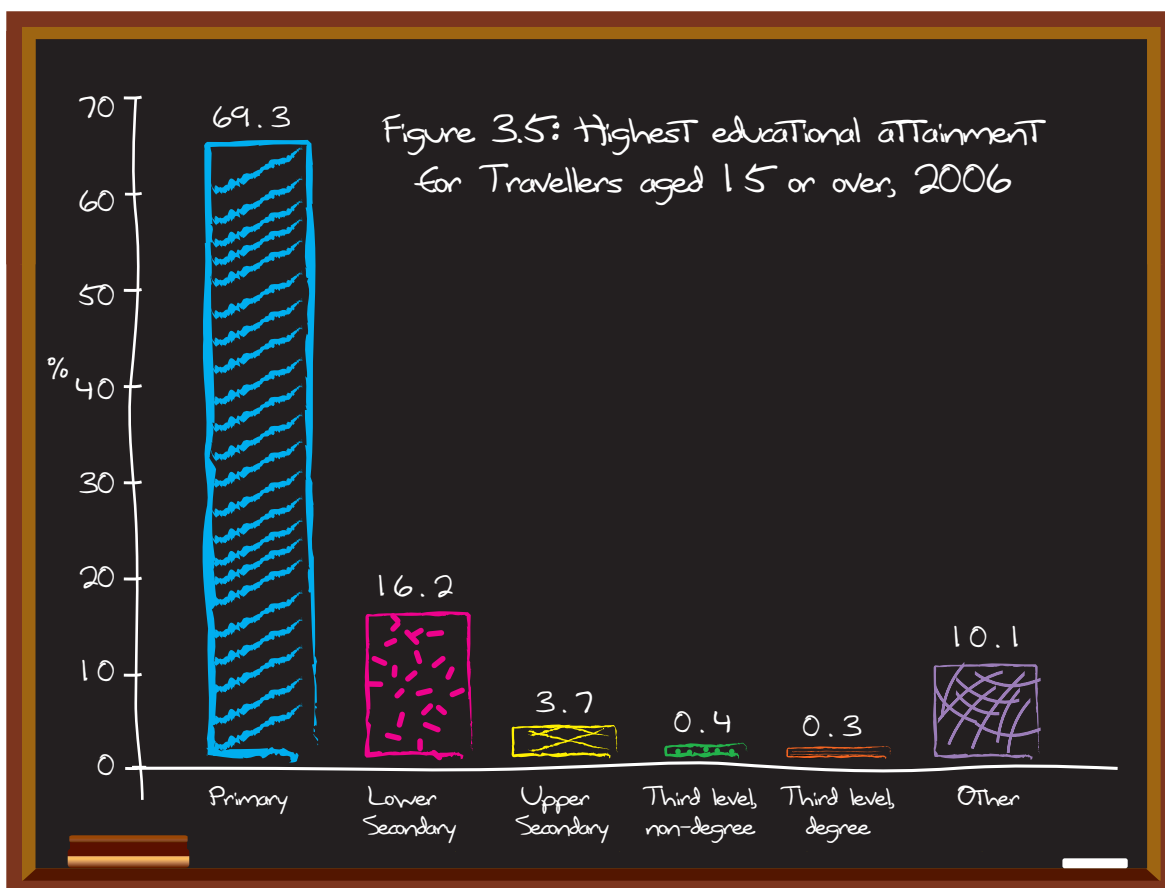
Figure 3.6: Labour force status for Travellers versus total population, age 15-64, 2006
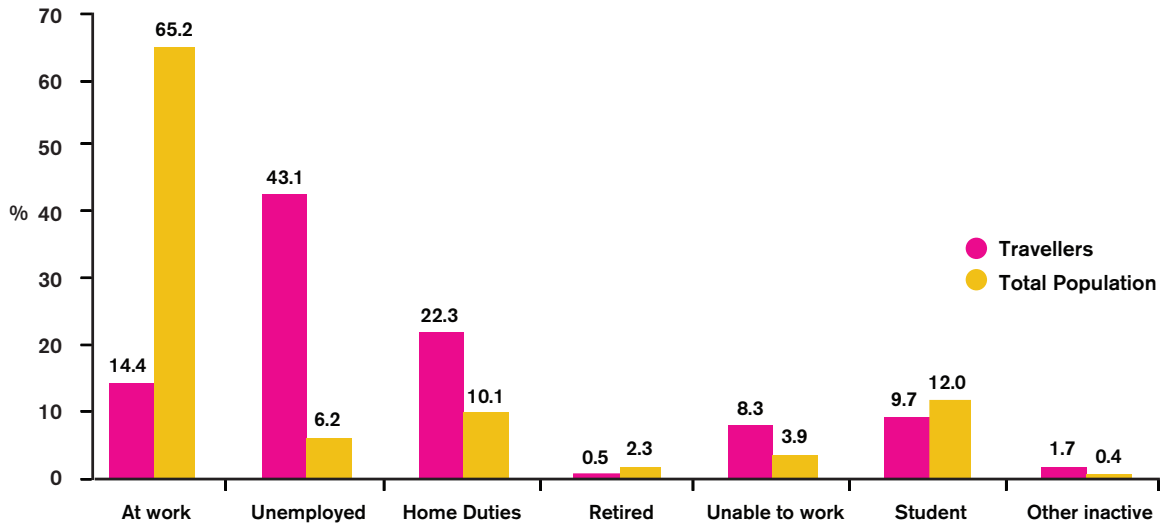
Employment

Employment is crucial to a household's income, and the labour force status of Travellers aged between 15 and 64 as captured in the 2006 Census is shown in Figure 3.6. Only 14.4% of all Travellers in that age range are recorded as being in work, compared with 65.2% of the population as a whole aged 15 or over. Some 43% of Travellers of normal working age are reported as being unemployed, compared with 6% for the working-age population as a whole. About 22% of Travellers are "in home duties", in other words working full-time in the home, compared with 10% for the population as a whole. The percentage of Travellers reported as unable to work due to illness or disability is also relatively high at 8%, compared with 4% for the population.

The type of work traditionally common in the Traveller community, with an emphasis on self-employment, trading and casual work, may mean that the Census and other statistical sources underestimate the percentage who are at work.

Since labour force status varies systematically by age, it is also worth comparing the percentage in work at different age ranges, as shown in Figure 3.7. This shows that the gap is widest in "prime" working age, between 25 and 54. The percentage of Travellers in work is remarkably stable at 20% across the age ranges. However, in the population as a whole almost 80% of people aged 25 to 34 are at work.

Figure 3.7: Percentage at work for Travellers versus total population, age 15-64, 2006
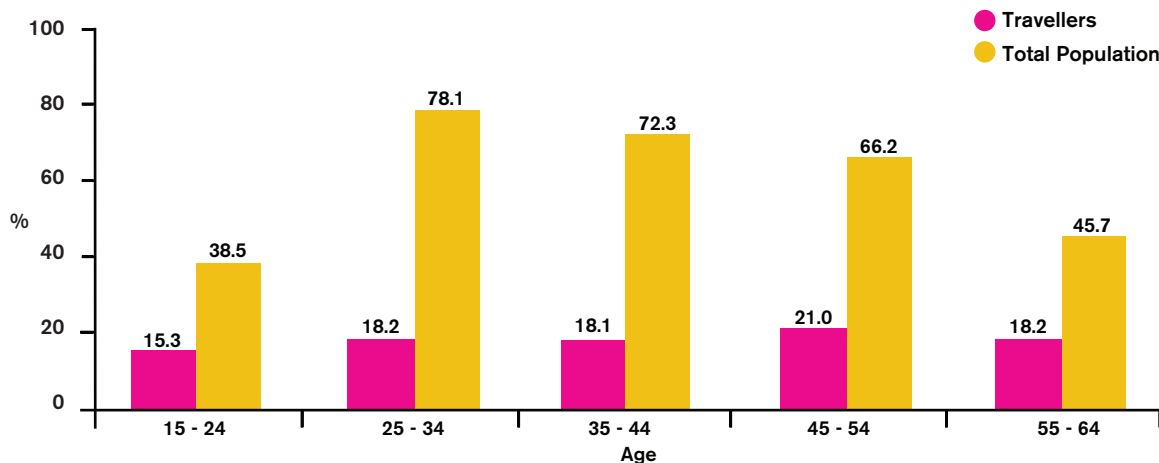
Figure 3.8: Percentage at work for male versus female Travellers, age 15-64, 2006
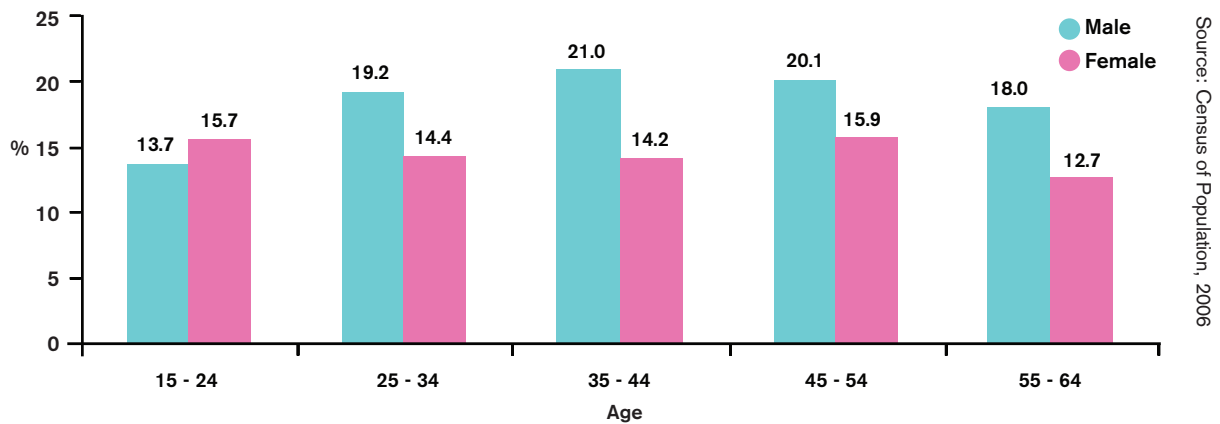
Labour force status also varies systematically by gender. Figure 3.8 compares the percentage at work for male and female Travellers across the age ranges. More men than women are in work at each age range except 15-24, though the differences are not as great as for the population as a whole.

Among Travellers, the divergence between men and women is greater in relation to unemployment. As Figure 3.9 brings out, the Census reports that in the age range of 15 to 54 about 50% to 60% of Traveller men are reported

as unemployed. For women in that age band, the percentage unemployed is generally around 20%, although it reaches 35.4% for those aged 15-24. This lower (though still of course very high) unemployment rate for Traveller women, is balanced by the fact that about 50% of Traveller women aged 25 or more report that they are engaged in home duties.

Figure 3.9: Percentage unemployed for male versus female Travellers, age 15-64, 2006
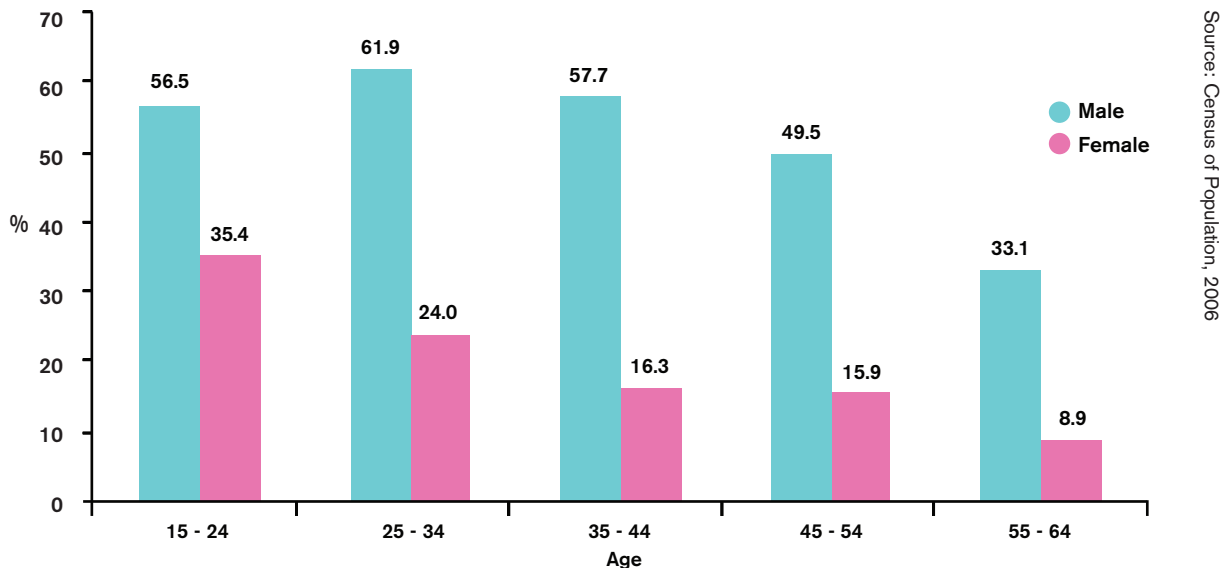
Health

Traveller health is substantially lower that of the rest of the population. The main source of statistical information in this respect is still the 1987 in-depth study carried out by Barry, Herity and Solan for the Health Research Board and the Department of Health *(The Travellers Health Status Study: Vital Statistics of Travelling People).* Based on this study, it is estimated that the life expectancy for Traveller males is 10 years less than for the general population, while for females the gap is even larger, at 12 years. No more up-to-date information of this type is currently available (though this is in the course of being addressed as we discuss below).

The 1995 Task Force Report on the Travelling Community identified that the provision of health services and in particular gaining access to these services and making use of them, was a major concern to the Traveller community. Traveller Health – A National Strategy 2002-2005, published by the Department of Health in 2002, described the extent of the disadvantage that the Traveller community faced, what caused this disadvantage and set out the intended policy response to the issue of Travellers' health. Some of the differences noted between the Traveller community and the general population are outlined as follows.

- Mortality in early life is much higher for Travellers, with:
  - a perinatal mortality (that is, stillbirths and death during the first week) two and a half times more than that of the general population; and
  - an infant mortality (that is, deaths within the first year) rate that is twice that of the general population.

- The occurrence of sudden infant death syndrome was:
  - 8.8 per 1,000 live births for Travellers; and
  - 0.7 per 1,000 for the general population.

More recently, the Census of Population includes information about the numbers affected by disability for Travellers as for others. Figure 3.10 shows the disability rates for Travellers compared with the general population. Travellers are seen to have much higher rates, with, for example, 35.4% of those aged 55-64 reporting a disability versus 15.3% for the general population.

The Traveller Health Strategy included a commitment to "carry out a Traveller Needs Assessment and Health Status Study to update and extend the indicators used in the last survey". The Department of Health later set up the Travellers Ethics, Research and Information Working Group. One of the group's responsibilities is to co-ordinate and monitor such a study. The Institute of Public Health (2004) prepared a design study for a Travellers All-Ireland Health Study. It is currently under way and will run until 2010.

Figure 3.10: Percentage with a disability for Travellers by age, 2006

Source: Census of Population, 2006
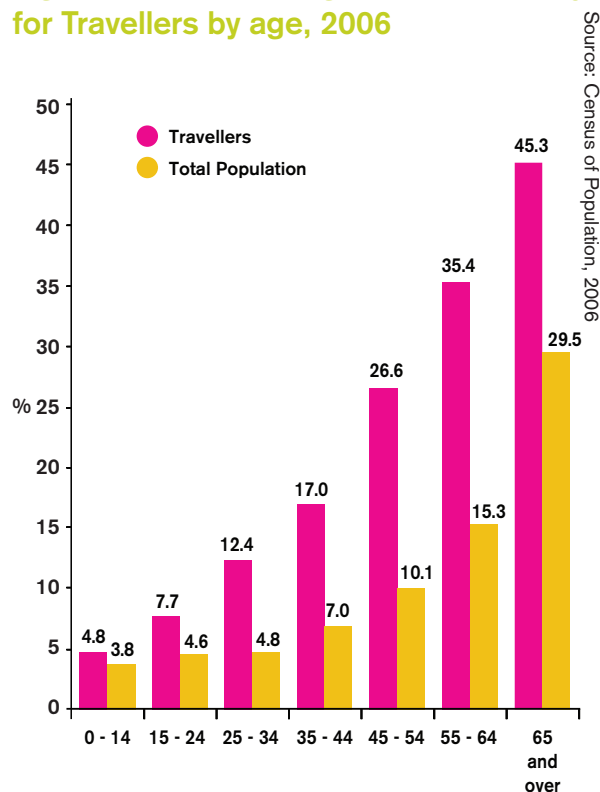
Housing

Accommodation is a particular problem for many Traveller families. As noted earlier, the 2006 Census showed 433 Travellers living in communal establishments such as hostels and hospitals, accounting for 2% of all Travellers. The 98% of Travellers who were living in private households rather than communal establishments were living in 4,371 Traveller households and 1,465 households with Travellers and other people. Of the 4,371 Traveller households, 2,900 or 66% were in permanent housing units. Some 1,221 or 28% of Traveller households were in what the Census defines as "temporary housing units" (a caravan, mobile home or other temporary dwelling). The remaining 250 did not provide information about the nature of their accommodation.

Some indicators in relation to the quality of the accommodation in which Traveller households live, whether permanent or temporary housing units, are obtained in the Census. Most of those living in permanent housing units had piped water (90%), sewerage facilities (89%) and central heating (72%). However, of those in temporary housing 32% had no piped water or gave no response to that question; 32% had no sewerage facilities or gave no response to that question; and only 8% had central heating.

Of the permanent housing units in which Traveller households live, Figure 3.11 shows that 57% are rented from the local authority or voluntary housing body and 10% are privately rented. Only 16% are owner-occupied (with or without a mortgage), while a further 5% are being purchased from a local authority. About 12% did not supply this information about their housing. Therefore, these figures show that of those Traveller households who did respond about one quarter are in owner-occupied housing; and about three quarters are renting.

The other key source on Traveller accommodation is the annual count of Traveller families carried out by the local authorities and reported to the National Traveller Accommodation Consultative Committee.[17] The 2006 annual count estimated that there were a total of 7,691 Traveller families in that year, of whom 5,880 were in accommodation provided by local authorities or with local authority assistance. Of these, 1,131 were on local authority halting sites, while the remainder were in housing provided by the local authorities or voluntary bodies with local authority assistance. A total of 629 families, 8.2% of all Traveller families, were on unauthorized sites, down from 939 in 2002.

---

17 See also the Review of the Operation of the Housing (Traveller Accommodation) Act 1988 carried out by the NTACC in 2004 for a detailed description of this counting exercise and how it has changed over time.

Figure 3.11: Traveller households in permanent housing units by tenure type, 2006
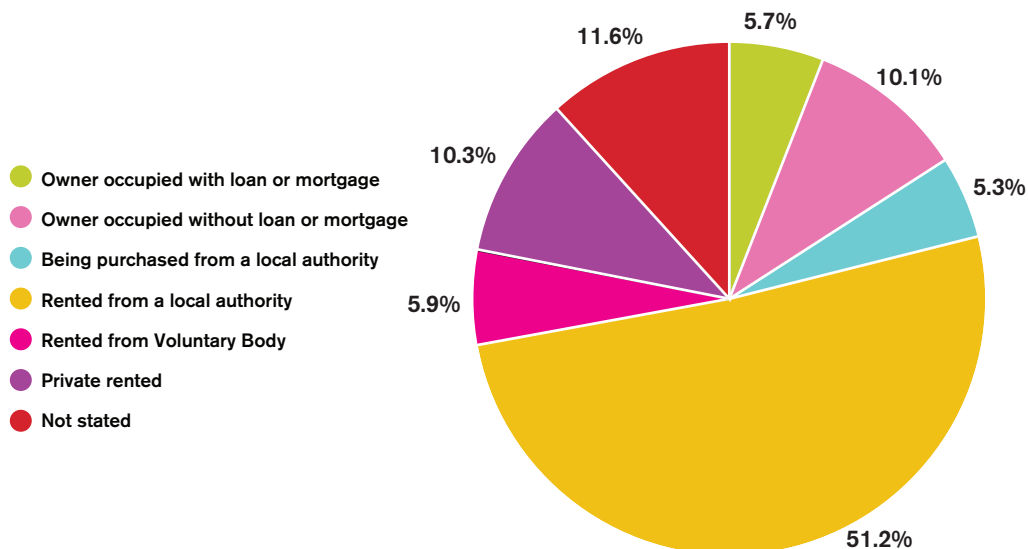
Owner occupied with loan or mortgage — 5.7%
Owner occupied without loan or mortgage — 10.1%
Being purchased from a local authority — 5.3%
Rented from a local authority — 51.2%
Rented from Voluntary Body — 5.9%
Private rented — 10.3%
Not stated — 11.6%

Discrimination

Discrimination directed at members of the Traveller community is a major and persistent concern. However, it is extremely difficult to capture the extent and nature of that discrimination. This is illustrated by the results of the special module of additional questions in relation to equality issues included in the Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS) carried out by the CSO in late 2004 (CSO, 2005). We discuss this survey in detail in the section dealing with migrants and ethnic minority groups. While the questionnaire design could potentially have captured discrimination directed at members of the Traveller community, the numbers involved – even in what is by most standards a very large survey – were too small to allow this in practice. Other indicators of discrimination, such as cases taken on the basis of the Equal Status legislation, are suggestive but do not provide a robust overall picture. Filling this information gap, although extremely challenging, is a priority; other areas where such gaps arise are highlighted in the next section.

Future prospects and data needs

Specific data gaps are a problem for many of the vulnerable groups towards which social inclusion strategies are directed. For Travellers, the information base on which policy has to be made is particularly sparse and filling key gaps has been recognised as a priority. Health status is one of the most important areas where this applies. This is being addressed at present through the Traveller Needs Assessment and Health Status Study described above. However, such an exercise must also be repeated in the future on a regular basis if progress is to be monitored. The Department of Education and Science is considering the inclusion of a Traveller identifier in the context of the development of post primary and primary databases, which can be used to record enrolments in schools and monitor the progression of pupils through the education system.

The housing situation of Travellers is also a critical issue. Each November local authority Traveller accommodation staff carry out a count for the Department of the Environment. The aim is to assess the accommodation status of Traveller families. The results are published each year in the Annual Bulletin of Housing Statistics.

It is worth considering carefully to see if they can be aligned more closely with regular statistical inquiries like the Census. The accurate identification of Travellers in those regular statistical sources is an important issue. However, general household surveys will never provide a basis for an accurate picture of such a relatively small and hard-to-capture group. This makes their tracking through administrative sources of information all the more important.

As the Traveller Health Strategy recognised, current systems of data collection do not identify Travellers as a particular minority community – and this is the case generally rather than in the health care area in particular. Efforts to address this are under way on a pilot basis. But successful "capture" of this group through administrative systems, which record the provision of services, is essential to produce data in a form suitable for analysis to monitor the evolving situation of Travellers in the required depth.

The Report of the High Level Group on Traveller Issues (2006) looked at ways of enhancing the delivery of services and supports by the State sector. One of its recommendations included data. The Report recommended that relevant departments would work together with the CSO and the Office for Social Inclusion to improve the range of available data. They should do this in the context of the development of social and equality statistics under the guidance of the Senior Officials Group on Social Inclusion and the National Statistics Board.

CHAPTER 4:
THE HOMELESS

Homelessness represents one of the most extreme forms of social exclusion. Those affected by it form a group that is also highly vulnerable across many areas other than housing. They pose particular challenges for policy that need to be taken into account in the context of the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion (NAPinclusion).

In the final part of this social portrait we:

- discuss what homelessness means and entails;

- look at the numbers affected – to the extent that available data allow; and

- focus on gaps in the information currently available on a regular basis about homelessness.

What is homelessness?

Before looking at the numbers affected, the definition of what constitutes homelessness is itself problematic. Homelessness occurs along a scale, and decisions have to be made about where to draw the dividing line. Homelessness certainly includes people who are sleeping rough or staying in emergency hostels or refuges, but what about those staying temporarily with friends because they have nowhere else to go? The variety of circumstances that could be construed as homelessness is illustrated for example by the categories produced by FEANTSA,[18] the European Federation of National Organisations working with the Homeless. It distinguishes different situations ranging from rooflessness to forms of insecure and inadequate accommodation.

There are different views on how narrowly or broadly the definition is most usefully framed. For example, a European Task Force set up in 2001 and including representatives of the national statistical institutes and non-governmental organisations active in this area, illustrated the difficulties in arriving at a standard definition. It resulted in a very valuable in-depth report on the topic by the French national statistical office INSEE (Brousse, 2004). It proposed measuring homelessness by focusing on those who were homeless and who were sleeping rough, in shelters, or in short-stay hostels. They counted separately those who were in insecure or inadequate housing. This included people who were without legal tenancy agreements, facing eviction orders, or inhabiting unfit or overcrowded housing.

From an Irish perspective, the legal definition of homelessness comes from the 1988 Housing Act. This states that a person shall be regarded as being homeless if:

a) there is no accommodation available which, in the opinion of the authority, he, together with any other person who normally resided with him or might be reasonably expected to reside with him, can reasonably occupy or remain in occupation of; or

b) he is living in a hospital, county home, night shelter or other such institution, and is so living because he has no accommodation of the kind referred to in paragraph (a), and he is, in the opinion of the authority, unable to provide accommodation from his own resources.

It is worth noting that Focus Ireland includes three categories in their definition of homeless (O'Sullivan, 1996):

- Visible homeless: those sleeping rough and/or those accommodated in emergency shelters or Bed and Breakfasts.

- Hidden homeless: those families or individuals involuntarily sharing with family and friends, those in insecure accommodation or those living in housing that is woefully inadequate or sub-standard.

- At risk of homelessness: those who currently have housing but are likely to become homeless due to economic difficulties, too high a rent burden, insecure tenure or health difficulties.

How many homeless?

Measuring the true extent of homelessness is difficult, partly because people who are homeless move frequently and partly because many of them are, by definition, hidden. It is hard to capture a small, mobile and fluctuating population.[19] In Ireland, local authorities must assess the numbers of people who are homeless in their area at least every three years, as part of the more general review of housing needs. These reviews are generally based on administrative data held by local authorities and on information supplied by voluntary bodies and health boards. In an attempt to address the shortcomings of this approach, a more thorough method was developed and applied for the first time in the 1999 assessment in Dublin, Kildare and Wicklow.

This method was based on a week-long survey of everyone who was in contact with a homeless service and, or, registered with a local authority during that week. People who used the services for the homeless returned questionnaires and the Economic and Social Research Institute (Williams and O'Connor, 1999) analysed the data. A follow-up review, using the same methodology was completed in 2002 in Dublin (Williams and Gorby, 2002). The results of these two assessments showed the numbers of homeless adults in Dublin to be 2,900 people in 1999, (2,690 households) and 2,920 people in 2002, (2,560 households). In addition, the number of dependant children in homeless households rose from 990 in 1999 to 1,140 in 2002.

A further review of homelessness in Dublin was carried out for the Homeless Agency in 2005 (Homeless Agency, 2005). There were technical differences between this review and the previous two reviews and the results are not directly comparable. The reference period for this review was the last week in March, and like the previous reviews the aim was to follow the definition of homelessness in the Housing Act 1988, but excluding people currently living in state institutions. The results showed a total of 2,015 people, 1,361 households, as homeless in Dublin. (A further such exercise was carried out in April 2008 and the results will be available in due course.)

The local authority assessments of housing need show the total number of homeless households in the State in 2005 as 2,399. Of these, Table 4.1 shows that most (63%) were in Dublin that is, Dublin City, Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown, South Dublin County and Fingal County with 15% in Cork. These homeless households comprised mostly a single adult (87%) but there were 149 comprising of couples (with or without children), and 172 comprising of an adult with one or more children.

To complement this 'point-in-time' assessment of homelessness, the Homeless Agency is developing a more comprehensive internet-based information system which records information on people who present themselves to homeless services in Dublin. This system is intended to provide more accurate and up-to-date information

---

19   For a summary of approaches to measuring homelessness see Williams and O'Connor, 1999.

Table 4.1: Homeless persons in Ireland by area, 2005

Area	Households	Single adults	Couples	Single with child
Dublin City Council	1,348	1,132	115	101
Cork City Council	341	311	5	25
Galway City Council	81 78			3
Limerick City Council	132	132		
Waterford City Council	59	52	1	6
County Councils total	302	249	24	29
Of which				
Cork South	20	19	1	
Dun Laoghaire Rathdown	134	105	15	14
Fingal	25	18	2	5
Kilkenny	14	14		
Limerick	27	24	3	1
Meath	14	9	3	2
Borough Councils total	37	36	1	
Of which				
Drogheda	12	11	1	
Sligo	18	18		
Wexford	7	7		
Town Councils total 9	9	88	3	8
Of which				
Bray	14	14		
Carlow	13	13		
Dundalk	22	21		1
Tullamore	15	11	2	2
Overall total	**2,399**	**2,078**	**149**	**172**

Figure 4.1: Homeless adults in Dublin by age, 2005
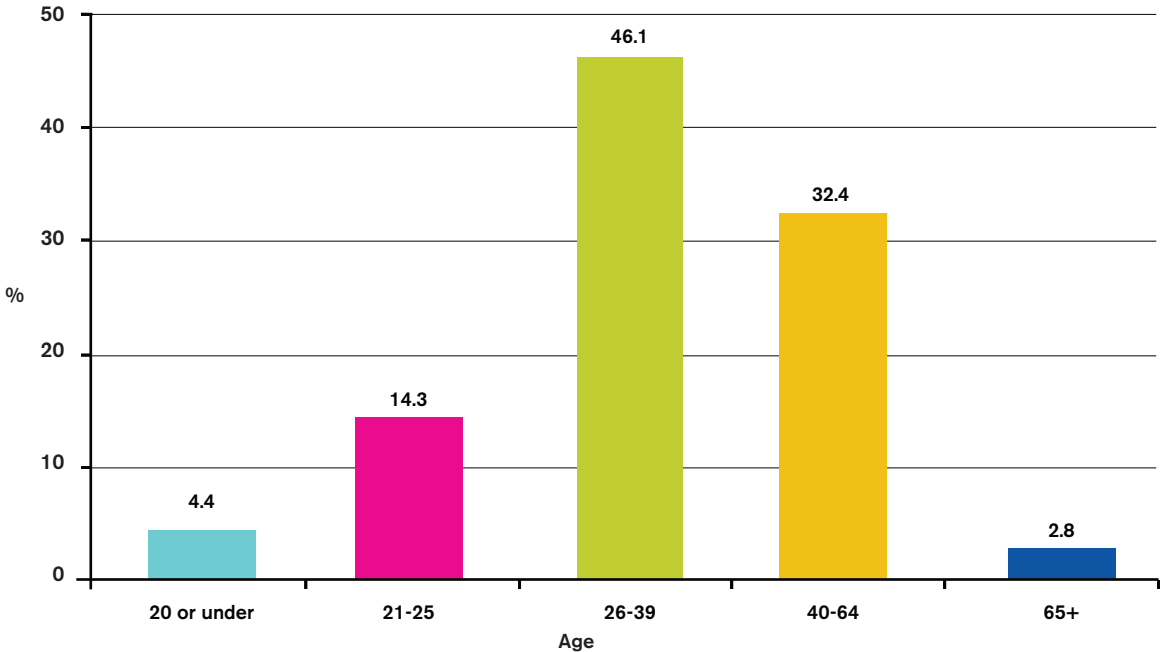
The socio-economic profile of the homeless

Homelessness comes about as a result of a variety of societal and individual factors. There are many different routes into homelessness, but examples of life events or crisis points that can act as a trigger include marital or relationship breakdown, leaving institutional care, leaving prison, eviction, a sharp deterioration of mental health, and increased drug or alcohol misuse.[20] Migrants and members of the Travellers' community are also more vulnerable to experiencing homelessness during their life. These routes into homelessness are reflected in the types of people who find themselves without a home. Given the data available, it is only possible in the case of Ireland to look at the profile of those affected by homelessness in the Dublin area. This profile is based on the "Counted in 2005" study for the Homeless Agency. There is no similar information to allow a profile of those affected by homelessness elsewhere in Ireland.

Of the 2,015 persons counted as homeless in Dublin in that 2005 assessment, 463 or 23% were children (aged under 18); and the remaining 1,552 or 77% were adults. A detailed age profile of these adults is shown in Figure 4.1 and it shows that:

- the largest group, comprising 46% of the total, were aged between 26 and 39;

- about 18% were aged 25 or under, most of these being 21 or over;

- about 32% of homeless adults were aged between 40 and 64; and

- only 3% were aged 65 or over.

20 No aggregate statistics on the importance of these different routes into homelessness are available, but valuable information about them has been obtained in a range of studies by voluntary bodies such as Focus Ireland. They point to the role of, for example, family difficulties or breakdown, addiction and substance abuse, and mental health.

Focusing on gender, most homeless people were male (66%). As Figure 4.2 shows, this varied substantially by age, with older homeless people most likely to be male, but a majority of those aged 20 or less were female.[21]

Turning from the individual to the household,[22] Figure 4.3 shows the type of household homeless people are in and it shows that, of these households:

- 77% – the overwhelming majority – are made up of just the individual adult;

- 9% are a lone parent with a child or children;

- 7% are couples with no children; and

- 7% are couples with children.

---

21 This age by gender breakdown refers to the individuals who responded to the survey on behalf of their household rather than all adults, but they represent 88% of adult homeless people in the survey.

22 A household in this context is used to refer to single persons and to family members who normally live together.

Figure 4.2: Homeless adults by age and gender in Dublin, 2005
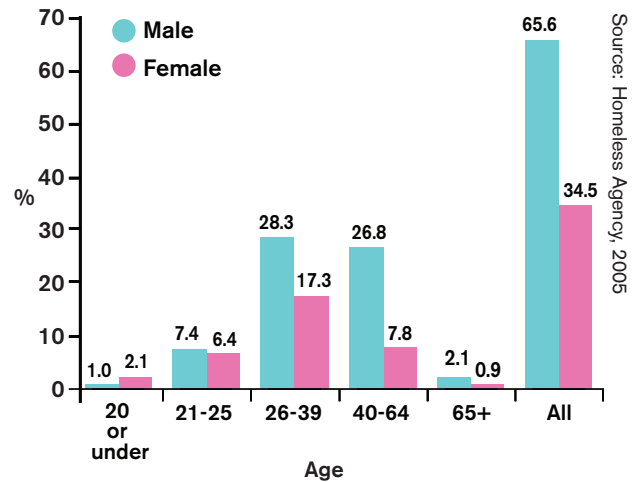
Figure 4.3: Homeless people in Dublin by household Type, 2005
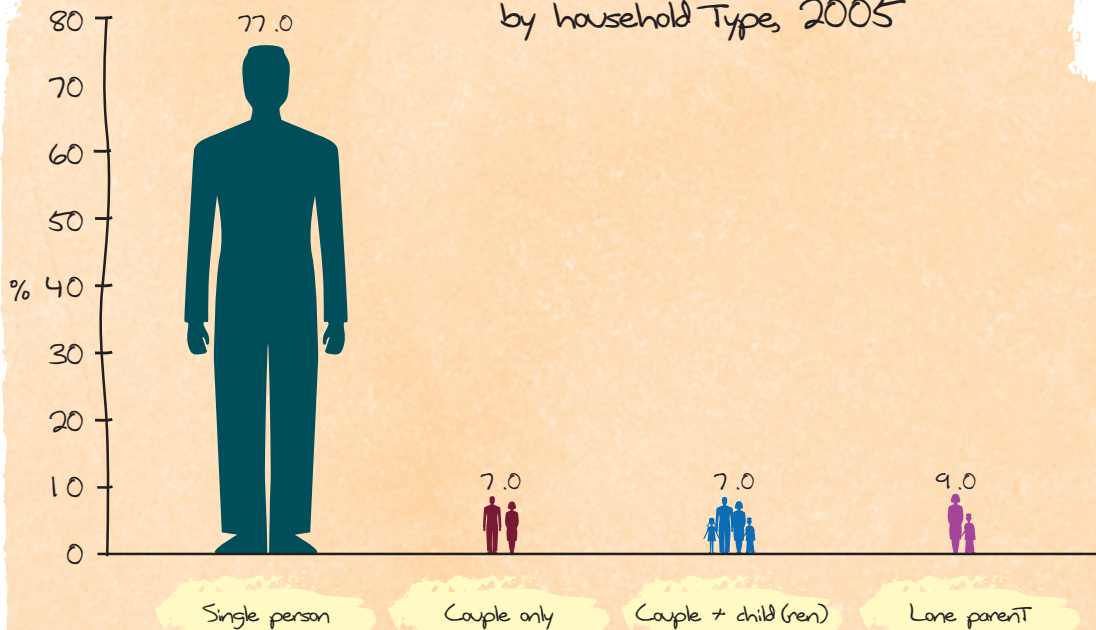
Figure 4.4: Homeless single adults in Dublin by age, 2005
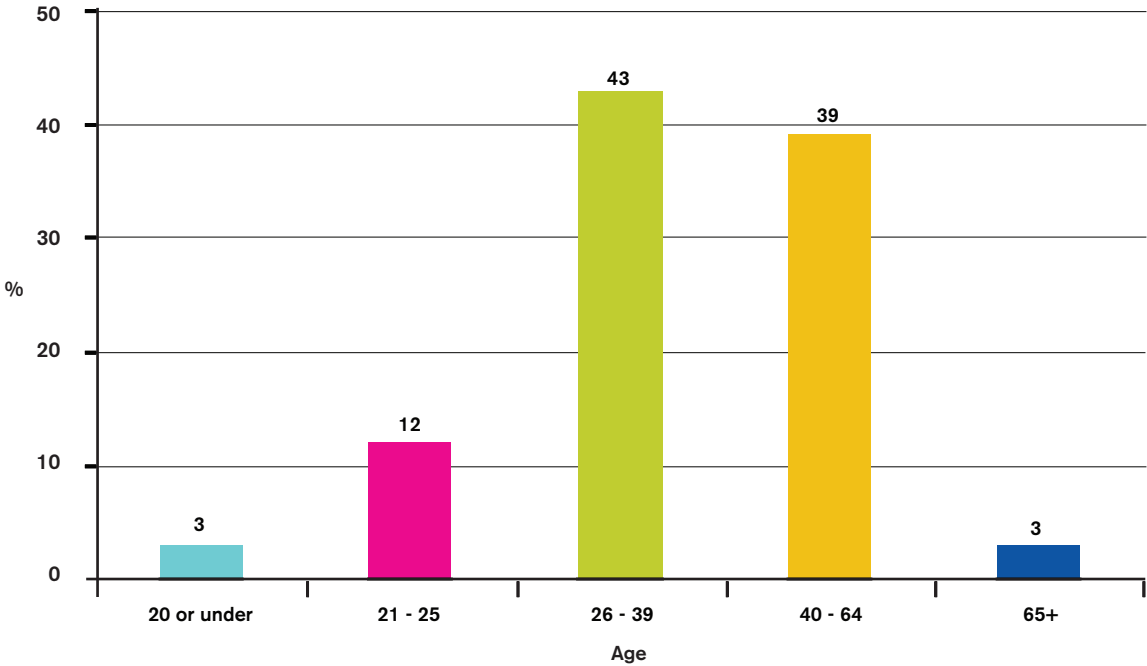
Homeless individuals in single adult households are more likely to be male than homeless people in general. In single adult homeless households, 75% are men and 25% are women. Figure 4.4 shows the age profile of homeless single adults. It is generally similar to that of all homeless adults (see Figure 4.1), but with a higher proportion aged between 40 and 64.

Turning to homeless households with children – whether with one or both parents – the ages of the children are shown in Figure 4.5. Of homeless children more than 40% are aged five or under, while a much smaller proportion, 27%, are aged 12 or over. Nobody aged 16 or less, and only one person aged 17, was reported as on their own and homeless – that is, a single person household – in 2005.

Figure 4.5: Homeless children in Dublin by age, 2005
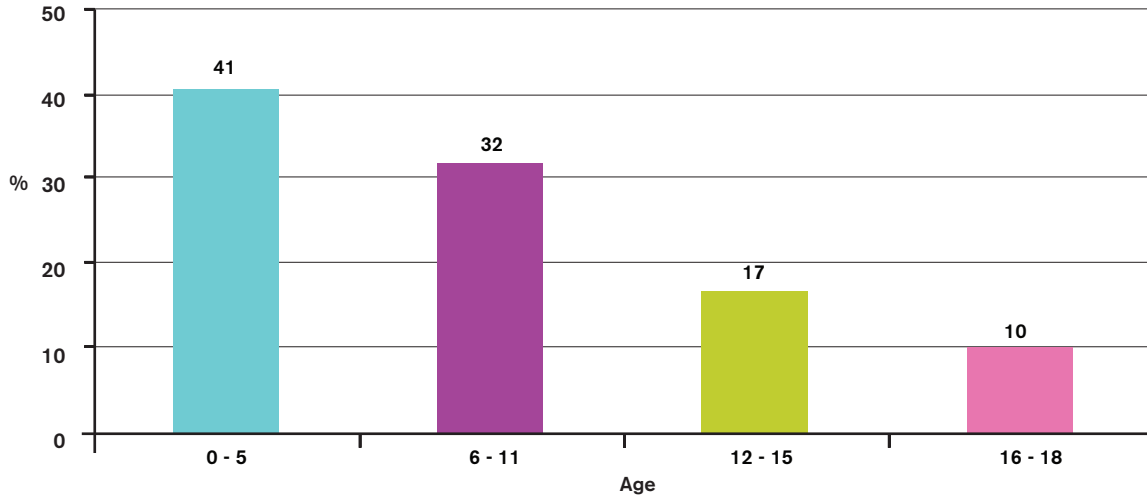
Figure 4.6: Homeless households by type and citizenship, 2005
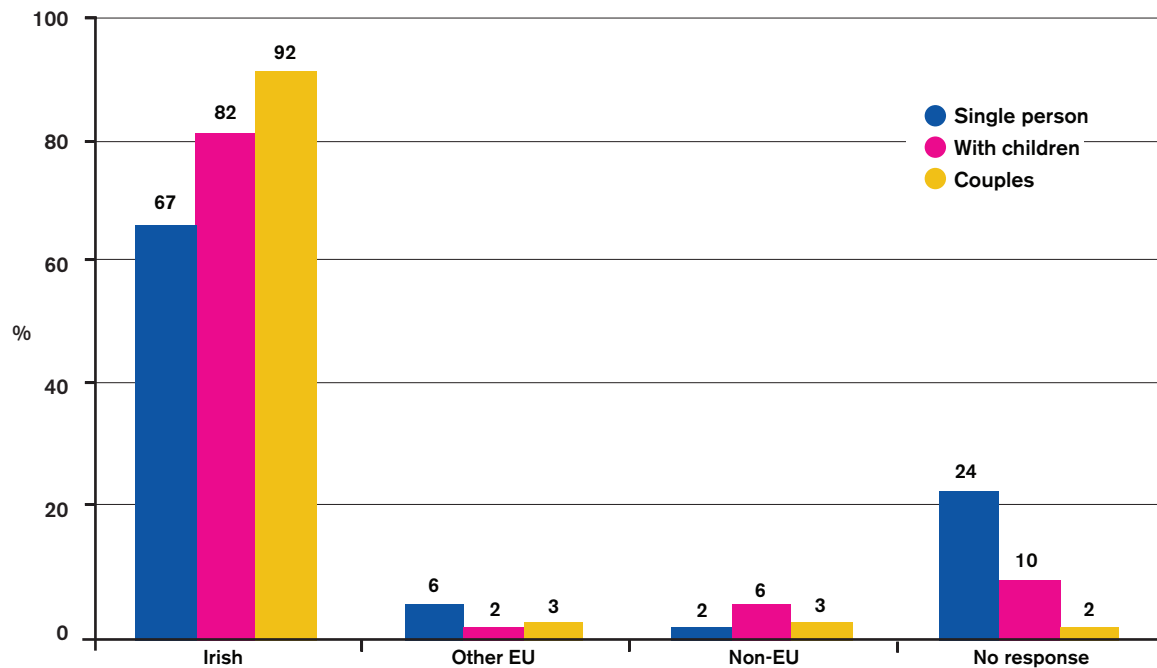
The Dublin survey also provided information on the citizenship of homeless people. Figure 4.6 shows that 67% of single person households were Irish, 6% were from elsewhere in the EU, and 24% provided no response. For homeless households with children and for couples, the proportion of Irish was even higher, at over 80% and 90% respectively.

The survey also asked respondents to say where their last permanent address was, though the level of non-response was high. Of those who did supply information the responses varied from specific to vague. For about 60% of homeless households, the county in Ireland where they lived could be identified: of these, 84% were Dublin city and a further 8% were in Dublin county. Only 4% gave a last address outside Ireland, and two-thirds of those were in England. There were very few addresses from the new Member States of the European Union.

However, a special study was carried out for the Homeless Agency on the use of homeless services by nationals of the 10 new EU Member States (TSA Consultancy, 2006). It found that

while on an average day in September 2005 only one or two nationals from the EU 10 were accommodated in hostels for homeless people, between 35 and 85 were using food centres. Between 10 and 25 nationals from the EU 10 who were without an income or were homeless met with information and support organisations during an average week, while contact with statutory agencies was very limited. The study concluded that between 60 and 120 nationals from the EU 10 were seeking support from services for homeless people in Dublin on an average day at that point.

Some information was sought in the survey about sources of incomes. 38% of homeless households said that Jobseekers' Assistance or Benefit (but mostly Assistance) was their income source. About 19% gave a disability-related social welfare payment as their income source, 5% gave a lone parent payment as source, and small numbers gave a variety of other sources. Since the level of household income is not known it is not possible to categorise homeless households in terms of conventional income-based measures of poverty.

Experience of homelessness

The length of time spent homeless is a critical aspect of the experience of homelessness. Figure 4.7 shows how the length of time varies by household type. It shows that many of those counted as homeless in Dublin had been homeless for a very substantial length of time. Single people and those with child dependants had slightly shorter durations than couples without children, but still about 40% had been homeless for three years or more. Among couples without children this figure was even higher, at 56.4%. At the other end of the range, about one-quarter of single homeless people and households with child dependants had been homeless for less than six months, compared with only 13.6% of homeless couples.[23]

---

23 The data obtained on length of time homeless refers only to the current spell; no information is available on repeated spells of homelessness.

Figure 4.7: Homeless households in Dublin by duration of current spell of homelessness, 2005
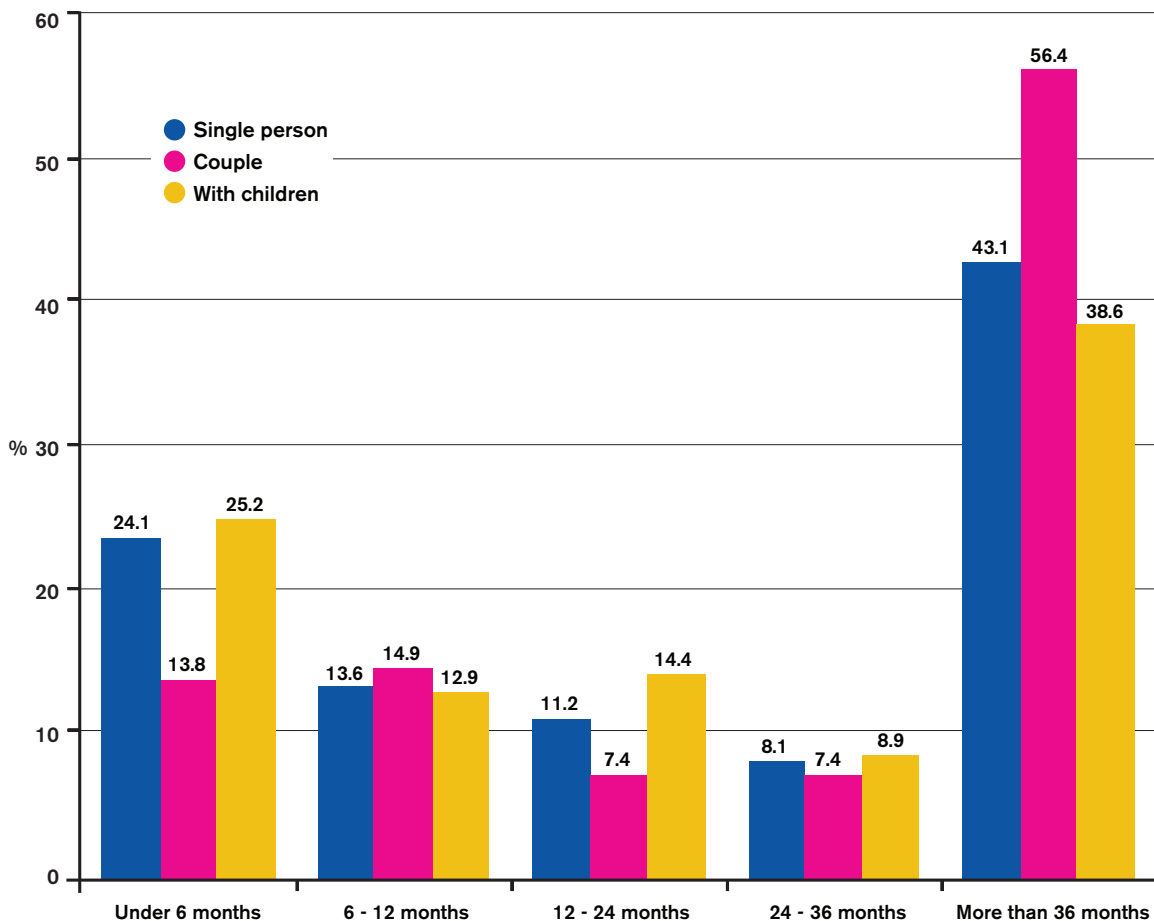
Figure 4.8: Homeless households in Dublin by accommodation type in last week, 2005

Accommodation type	%
7 nights rough sleeping	11.2
4 - 6 nights rough sleeping	3.3
7 nights hostel	20.4
4 - 6 nights hostel	2.9
7 nights refuge	0.7
7 nights B&B	36.7
4 - 6 nights B&B	4.5
7 nights friends and family	1.0
4 - 6 nights friends and family	1.7
7 nights other	13.6
Other combinations	4.0

%
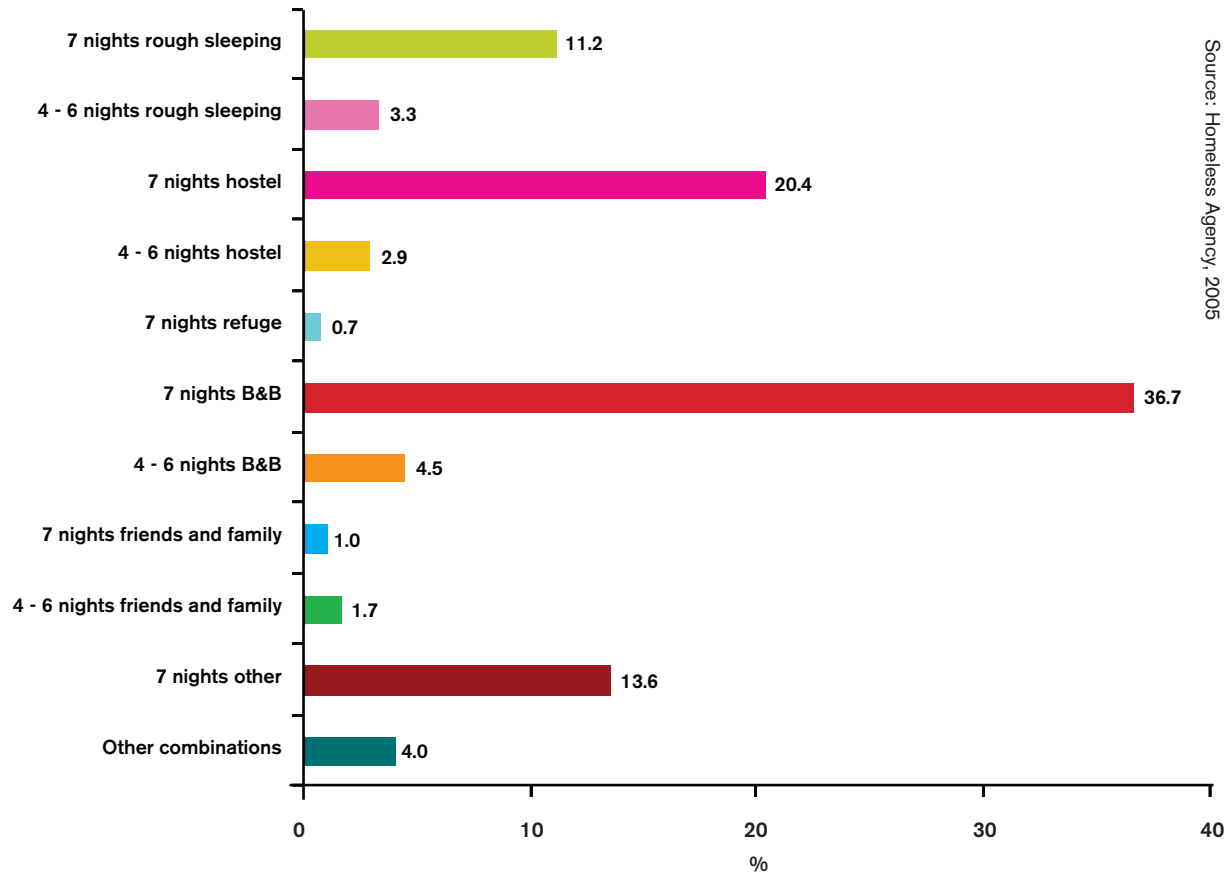
Another key question in relation to the experience of homelessness is where the person actually spends the night? Figure 4.8 shows the pattern of responses when asked where they had spent the last seven nights. Once again these figures come from those counted as homeless in Dublin in the 2005 study and they show that the largest proportion, more than 36%, had spent the week in bed-and-breakfast accommodation. (This mostly refers to privately owned Bed & Breakfasts that are block-booked by local authorities as emergency accommodation.)

Of the rest:

- about 20% had spent the week in a hostel;
- about 11% had spent the whole week sleeping rough;
- 3% had spent a substantial part of the week sleeping rough;
- about 3% had spent much, but not all, of the week in a hostel; and
- a very small proportion spent the week in a refuge.

In addition, a small number of homeless people were accommodated by friends or family, while about 14% were in other types of accommodation such as a hospital.

Figure 4.9: Homeless households in Dublin by accommodation pattern in last week, 2005
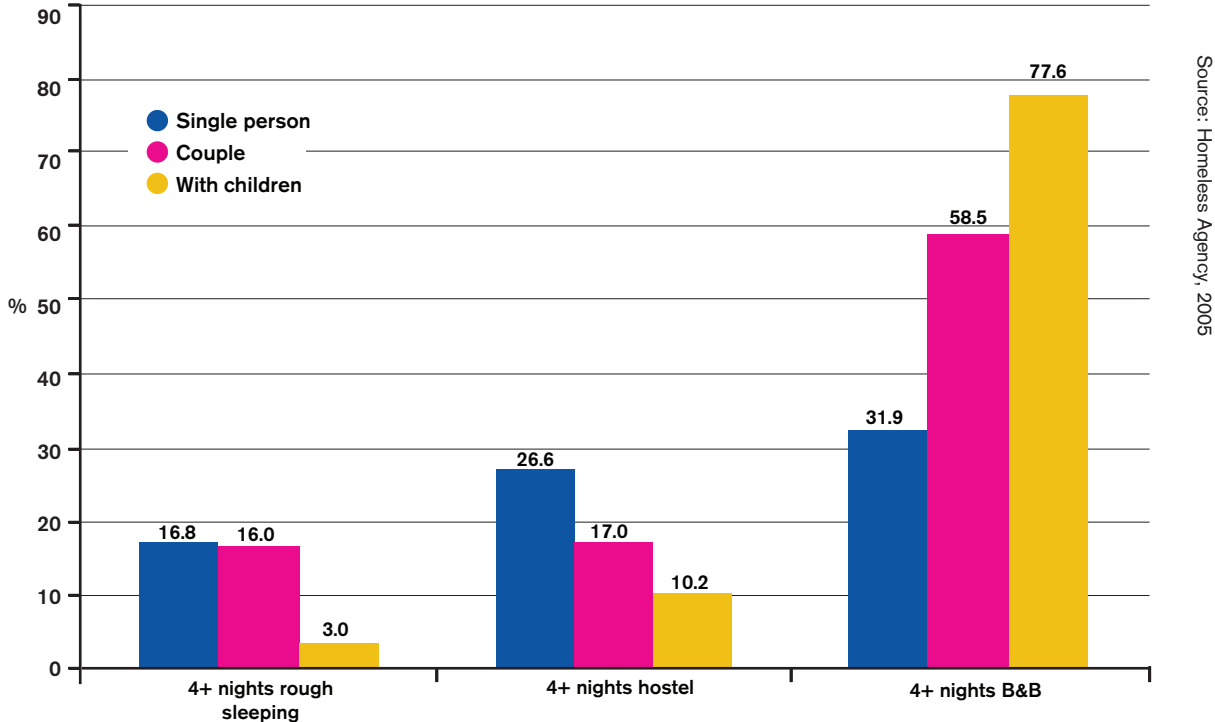
The information in Figure 4.9 show that accommodation patterns vary for single people, couples without children, and homeless households with dependant children.
This shows that while B&B accommodation was the most common accommodation for all three household types, single homeless people and couples were much more likely to have spent most or all of the week sleeping rough or in a hostel than homeless households with children.

Focusing specifically on those sleeping rough for most or all of the week, 185 adults (14%) were reported as sleeping rough for four or more nights in the previous week. This is less than the number reported to be doing so in similar exercises in 1999 and 2002. However, the methodology used was different in 2005 – the previous two exercises included a street count of people sleeping rough. Of those people sleeping rough:

- 70% were male;

- 38% were aged between 26 and 39;

- 32% were aged between 40 and 64;

- about 40% had been homeless for three years or more;

- almost 90% were in single person households;

- most of the rest were couples without dependants; and

- around 80% were sleeping in Dublin city centre.

Future prospects and data needs

With reference to homelessness, the Partnership Agreement *Towards 2016* states that the Government's Integrated and Preventative Homeless Strategies are being amalgamated, taking on board the recommendations of the recent independent review (Fitzpatrick Associates, 2006). The objective of these revised amalgamated strategies will be to eliminate homelessness by 2010. Particular emphasis will be placed on improved co-ordination of service provision at local level. A National Homelessness Consultative Committee has been set up to involve the voluntary and cooperative housing sector. The new Integrated Strategy on Homelessness was published in August 2008.

In framing policy the data available on homelessness in Ireland, as in many other countries, has serious limitations. The most pressing need is for a regular measurement exercise carried out in a standard method across the country. It should try to capture the extent of homelessness throughout the year. We also currently lack regularly updated information, broken down by gender, ethnic background and so on, about:

- how people become homeless;
- the types of people most affected;
- their socio-economic backgrounds and experiences; and
- effective routes out of homelessness.

This points to the need for regular structured data about the individuals affected and also about their overall experience of homelessness over a sustained period. We also need to capture the interaction between those affected by homelessness and the various social services in a way that focuses on the homeless person rather than divided up on the basis of different services. Finally, although there appears to be some relationship between homelessness and mental health, as well as perhaps intellectual disability, more information on these links would be particularly valuable in framing appropriate policy responses.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

This Social Portrait has focused on several particularly vulnerable groups in Ireland, namely:

• people living in areas of urban and rural disadvantage;

• migrants and ethnic minorities;

• the Traveller community; and

• the homeless.

The aims of the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion include building viable and sustainable communities and improving the lives of people living in areas or situations of poverty. The particular needs of these groups or communities need to be understood and addressed in that context.

Urban and rural disadvantage

Poverty is spatially widely spread throughout the country. However, some poor households in urban areas are living in communities where there are high levels of unemployment and concentrations of poverty and where environmental and social infrastructures may also be poor. Rural disadvantage, on the other hand, may be associated with limited employment opportunities, lack of transport and other services, high dependency levels and isolation. About 61% of the population live in cities or towns with a population of at least 1,500, while the remaining 39% live in what the CSO refer to as "aggregate rural areas". The population in rural areas has an older age profile and a higher dependency rate than urban areas. In addition, households in rural areas include more couples with children.

There are also marked differences between urban and rural areas in terms of educational attainment, the structure of employment, transport and access to services across a range of areas. Income levels are higher on average in urban areas, and income-based measures of poverty correspondingly lower. However, generalised deprivation levels are if anything higher in urban areas and thus consistent poverty lower in rural ones.

While home ownership rates are particularly high in rural areas, measures of housing-related deprivation are also high. Areas where disadvantage is particularly concentrated or pronounced are the focus of a range of policies and programmes aimed at building communities and meeting their specific needs.

Migrants and ethnic minorities

The economic boom in Ireland from the mid-1990s resulted in substantial immigration. The excess of immigrants over those migrating out of the country rose from 8,000 a year in 1996 to 70,000 in 2006. This made a significant contribution to population growth. The composition of migratory flows to Ireland has become increasingly diverse. Currently immigrants from the EU, other than the UK, and from the rest of the world account for a large proportion of the total inflow. This is very different from the situation that prevailed in the early 1990s.

Migrants come via a variety of legal channels, with those from outside the EU mostly being on work permits; the number of asylum-seekers peaked in 2002 and is now considerably lower. Migration has had a significant impact on the composition of the population by nationality and ethnic origin. In 2006, 10.1% of the usually resident population were not of Irish nationality, with 66% of those nationals coming from another EU country, 11% from Asia, 8% from Africa, and 5% from America. Those who are not Irish nationals are young relative to the "native" population, are relatively well-educated, and a higher proportion are at work. Access to health care, housing and education may be a particular concern for migrants and members of ethnic minorities.

It is also of concern that migrants may be experiencing discrimination in various aspects of life. Discrimination is a complex phenomenon, which is difficult to capture in statistical form. But the pattern found in specially designed surveys is broadly similar to that found in similar surveys in other European countries. Work-related discrimination and harassment on the street generally feature highly.

The Traveller community

Under the Equal Status Act, 2000 the "Traveller community" means the community of people who are commonly called Travellers and who are identified (both by themselves and others) as people with a shared history, culture and traditions, and historically, a nomadic way of life on the island of Ireland. Figures from the 2006 Census show 22,435 Travellers are living in the Republic of Ireland. The annual count carried out by local authorities in 2006 estimated that there were a total of 7,691 Traveller families in the State at that time. Given the average family size for Travellers, this suggests a larger number of people than the Census indicates.

The age profile of Travellers is markedly different from that of the population as a whole. More than 40% of Travellers are children aged between 0 and 14, which is twice as large as the corresponding figure for the population. While only about 3% of Travellers are aged 65 or over, compared with 11% for the population. There is a pronounced gap in life expectancy between Travellers and the rest of the population, as well as in other health indicators.

Census 2006 also indicates more than 66% of Travellers aged 15 or over had only completed education to primary level. Only 14% of Travellers of working age are recorded as being in work, compared with 65% of the population as a whole. About 28% of Traveller households in 2006 were in what the Census defines as "temporary housing units" – a caravan, mobile home or other temporary dwelling. The 2006 annual count by local authorities estimates that about three-quarters of Traveller families were in accommodation provided by local authorities or with local authority assistance. Discrimination experienced by Travellers is an on-going concern, although it is difficult to capture its scale and nature statistically.

The homeless

Homelessness represents one of the most extreme forms of social exclusion, and those affected are also highly vulnerable across many other dimensions. Measuring the extent of homelessness is difficult, but the assessments of housing need carried out by local authorities showed the total number of homeless households in the State in 2005 as 2,399. About 63% of these were in Dublin, and 87% comprised a single adult. To complement this 'point-in-time' assessment of homelessness, the Homeless Agency is developing a more comprehensive internet-based information system. It records information on people who present themselves to homeless services in Dublin, and is intended to produce more accurate and up-to-date information.

There are many different routes into homelessness, but examples of life events or crisis points that can act as a trigger include marital or relationship breakdown, leaving institutional care, leaving prison, eviction, a sharp deterioration of mental health, and increased drug or alcohol misuse. The length of time spent homeless is a critical aspect. Many of those counted as homeless in Dublin had been homeless for a very substantial length of time.

Homelessness may involve sleeping rough, in a hostel, in a refuge, or in bed-and-breakfast, the accommodation used mostly by local authorities as emergency accommodation. Migrants may also be vulnerable to homelessness, with a 2006 study showing that between 60 and 120 nationals from the EU 10 were seeking support from services to homeless people in Dublin on an average day.

GLOSSARY

'At risk of poverty' thresholds: Income thresholds derived as proportions of median income, for example, 60% of the median income in a sample

Asylum seeker: A refugee from another country who is seeking protection and permission to remain, in this context from the Irish government

Consistent poverty: Originally, a measure of poverty of those who were 'at risk of poverty' and deprived of **at least one out of the following eight items** considered necessary to ensure a basic standard of living:

- Two pairs of strong shoes
- A warm waterproof overcoat
- Buy new not second-hand clothes
- Eat meals with meat, chicken, fish (or vegetarian equivalent) every second day
- Have a roast joint or its equivalent once a week
- Had to go without heating during the last year through lack of money
- Had a day in the last two weeks without a substantial meal due to lack of money
- Experienced debt problems arising from ordinary living expenses

Now a measure of poverty of those who are 'at risk of poverty' and deprived of **at least two out of the following 11 items:**

- Without heating at some stage in the past year due to lack of money
- Unable to afford two pairs of strong shoes
- Unable to afford a roast joint (or its equivalent) once a week

- Unable to afford a meal with meat, chicken or fish (or vegetarian equivalent) every second day
- Unable to afford new (not second-hand) clothes
- Unable to afford a warm waterproof coat
- Keep the home adequately warm
- Presents for family or friends at least once a year
- Replace any worn out furniture
- Have family or friends for a drink or meal once a month
- Have a morning, afternoon or evening out in the last fortnight, for entertainment

Dependency rate or ratio: Generally used to refer to the number of children plus older people in the population as a proportion or percentage of the population of working age

Discrimination: Generally used to refer to unfair treatment of a person on the basis of their membership of a particular group, in terms of, for example, gender, nationality or race

EEA: The European Economic Area comprises all member states of the EU plus Iceland, Lichtenstein, Norway and Switzerland

Ethnic minority: Generally used to describe a group of the same race or nationality who share a distinctive culture that is different from most of the population

EU-SILC: European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions; in Ireland an annual survey carried out by the Central Statistics Office since 2003

EU 10: The 10 member states who acceded to the EU on 1 May 2004, namely Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia

EU 12: The EU 10 plus the two new member states who acceded to the EU on 1 January 2007, namely Bulgaria and Romania

EU 15: Member States of the European Union prior to the accession of 10 new member states on 1 May 2004: namely Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom

Homeless: The legal definition of homelessness in the 1988 Housing Act states that a person shall be regarded as being homeless if:
a) there is no accommodation available which, in the opinion of the authority, he, together with any other person who normally resided with him or might be reasonably expected to reside with him, can reasonably occupy or remain in occupation of; or
b) he is living in a hospital, county home, night shelter or other such institution, and is so living because he has no accommodation of the kind referred to in paragraph (a), and he is, in the opinion of the authority, unable to provide accommodation from his own resources.

Household: A household is usually defined for statistical purposes as either a person living alone or a group of people (not necessarily related) living at the same address with common housekeeping arrangements – that is, sharing at least one meal a day or sharing a living room or sitting room

Infant mortality: Deaths within the first year of life as a proportion of total births

Labour force participation: The labour force participation rate is a measure of the proportion of the working-age population that engages actively in the labour market, either by working or looking for work

Life expectancy: The number of years that a person could expect to live on average, based on the mortality rates of the population in a given year

LIIS: Living in Ireland Survey, a household survey carried out by the Economic and Social Research Institute between 1994 and 2001

Lone parent: A parent who has primary custody of a dependant child and is not living with the other parent

Mean: the average value (for example, the average income in a sample obtained through a household survey)

Median: The value that divides a sample in half, for example the income level exactly in the middle of a scale of income from highest to lowest

Migrant: Someone who moves from one region or, in the context of this social portrait, from one country to another

Perinatal mortality: Stillbirths and deaths during the first week of life

Planning region: The eight regions into which Ireland has been divided for certain planning and administrative purposes

Quintile: One-fifth of a sample divided into five equal parts to show how income, for example, is spread throughout the population; each quintile represents where a person's or household's income is located

Risk of poverty: A term used by the European Union to denote whether a household falls below the 60% median income threshold

Social capital: A term that has a variety of meanings, but broadly speaking describes the pattern and intensity of networks among people and the shared values, which arise from those networks. While definitions of social capital vary, the main aspects are:

- citizenship;
- neighbourliness;
- trust and shared values;
- community involvement;
- volunteering;
- social networks; and
- civic participation

Social welfare transfers: Cash paid from various social welfare schemes to individuals or households

Temporary housing units: Defined in the Census of Population as a caravan, mobile home or other temporary dwelling

Traveller community: Under the Equal Status of Act, 2000 the "Traveller community" means the community of people who are commonly called Travellers and who are identified (both by themselves and others) as people with a shared history, culture and traditions including, historically, a nomadic way of life on the island of Ireland

Urban/rural location: In EU-SILC, each country is divided into eight levels based on population density. These areas are further grouped into urban and rural areas as follows:

- Urban:
  - Cities, suburbs of cities, mixed urban/rural areas bordering on the suburbs of cities, towns and surrounding areas with populations of 5,000 or over (large urban);
  - mixed urban/rural areas bordering larger towns; and
  - towns and surrounding areas with a population of 1,000 to 5,000 (other urban)
- Rural:
  - mixed urban/rural areas, and rural areas

Work permit: In general, someone from outside the European Economic Area (EEA) needs an employment permit to be allowed work legally in Ireland; this may take the form of a work permit, working visa or work authorisation

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND
FURTHER READING

Barrett, A., A. Bergin and D. Duffy (2006), "The Labour Market Characteristics and Labour Market Impact of Immigrants in Ireland", *The Economic and Social Review,* vol. 37, no. 1, pp 1-26.

Barry, J., B. Herity and J. Solan (1989), *The Travellers Health Status Study: Vital Statistics of Travelling People 1987*, Health Research Board: Dublin.

Brousse, C. (2005), *The Production of Data on Homelessness and Housing Deprivation in the European Union: Survey and Proposals,* Report for Eurostat: Luxembourg.

Central Statistics Office (2004), *Census 2002 Volume 8: Irish Traveller Community,* Stationary Office: Dublin/Cork.

Central Statistics Office (2004), *Population and Labour Force Projections, 2006-2036,* Stationery Office: Dublin/Cork.

Central Statistics Office (2005), *Population and Migration Estimates April 2005,* Stationery Office: Dublin/Cork.

Central Statistics Office (2005b), *Quarterly National Household Survey Quarter 4 2004: Equality,* Stationery Office: Dublin/Cork.

Central Statistics Office (2006, 2007) *Census of Population 2006, Volumes 1-11,* Stationery Office: Dublin/Cork.

Department of Education and Science (2005), *Survey of Traveller Educational Provision,* Stationery Office: Dublin.

Department of Education and Science (2007), *Annual Report 2006,* Stationery Office: Dublin.

Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government (2006), Housing Needs Assessment 2005, Detailed Results, http://www.environ.ie/en/Publications/StatisticsandRegularPublications/HousingStatistics/

Department of the Environment Heritage and Local Government (2007), *Annual Bulletin of Housing Statistics 2006*, Stationery Office: Dublin.

Department of Health (2002), *Travellers National Health Strategy 2002-2005,* Department of Health: Dublin.

Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform (2005), *Immigration and Residence in Ireland: Outline Policy Proposals for an Immigration and Residence Bill,* Stationery Office: Dublin.

Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform (2000), *Integration: A two way process,* Dublin.

Doyle, N., G. Hughes, and E. Wadensjö (2006), *Freedom of Movement for Workers from Central and Eastern Europe: Experiences in Ireland and Sweden,* Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies: Stockholm.

Fitz Gerald, J., A. Bergin, I. Kearney, A. Barrett, D. Duffy, S. Garrett, Y. McCarthy (2005), *Medium-Term Review 2005-2012,* The Economic and Social Research Institute: Dublin.

Fitzpatrick Associates (2006), *Review of the Implementation of the Government's Integrated and Preventative Homeless Strategies,* Report for the Minister for Housing and Urban Renewal: Dublin.

Haase T., J. Pratschke (2005), *Deprivation and its spatial articulation in the Republic of Ireland: new measures of deprivation based on the Census of Population, 1991, 1996 and 2002,* Area Development Management: Dublin.

Homeless Agency (2005), *Counted In 2005,* Homeless Agency: Dublin.

Homeless Agency (2006), *Annual Report 2005: Making it Home,* Homeless Agency: Dublin.

McGinnity, F., P. O'Connell, E. Quinn, and J. Williams (2006), *Migrants' Experience of Racism and Discrimination in Ireland,* The Economic and Social Research Institute: Dublin.

MacLachlan, M., and M. O'Connell (eds.), (2000) *Cultivating Pluralism: Psychological, Social and Cultural Perspectives on a Changing Ireland,* Oaktree Press: Dublin.

Murphy, M. (2005), *Review of Implementation of Traveller Health National Strategy 2002-2005,* Conference Presentation at RCSI, October.

National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (2004), NCCRI *Progress Report 2002-2004 and Strategy Statement 2005-2007,* NCCRI: Dublin.

National Economic and Social Council (2006a), *Migration Policy,* NESDO: Dublin.

National Economic and Social Council (2006b), *Managing Migration in Ireland: A Social and Economic Analysis, A Report by the International Organization for Migration,* NESDO: Dublin.

National Traveller Accommodation Consultative Committee (2002), *Annual Report 2002,* NTACC: Dublin.

National Traveller Accommodation Consultative Committee (2004a), *Annual Report 2004,* NTACC: Dublin.

National Traveller Accommodation Consultative Committee (2004b), *Review of the Operation of the Housing (Traveller Accommodation) Act 1988: Report to the Minister for Housing and Urban Renewal,* NTACC: Dublin.

Nolan, B., C. T. Whelan (2000), "Urban Housing and the Role of 'Underclass' Processes: the Case of Ireland", *Journal of European Social Policy,* Vol. 10., No. 1, pp 5 – 21.

Nolan, B., C.T. Whelan, J. Williams (1998), *Where Are Poor Households? The Spatial Distribution of Poverty and Deprivation in Ireland,* Oak Tree Press in association with Combat Poverty Agency: Dublin.

Nolan, B., C.T. Whelan, J. Williams (1999), "Spatial Aspects of Poverty and Deprivation in Ireland", in D. Pringle, J. Walsh and M. Hennessy (eds.), *Poor People and Poor Places: A Geography of Poverty and Deprivation in Ireland,* Oak Tree Press: Dublin.

Task Force Report on the Travelling Community (1995).

TSA Consultancy (2006), *Away from home and homeless,* Homeless Agency: Dublin.

Watson, D., C.T. Whelan, J. Williams, and S. Blackwell (2005), *Mapping Poverty: National, Regional and County Patterns,* Institute of Public Administration & Combat Poverty Agency: Dublin.

Williams, J. and S. Gorby (2002), *Counted In 2002,* Homeless Agency: Dublin.

Williams, J. and M. O'Connor (1999), *Counted In: The Report of the 1999 Assessment of Homelessness in Dublin, Kildare and Wicklow,* Homeless Initiative/The Economic and Social Research Initiative: Dublin.