

Ethnicity and Nationality in the Irish Labour Market

Evidence from the QNHS Equality Module 2010

Gillian Kingston, Philip J. O'Connell and Elish Kelly

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ISBN: 978-1-908275-60-8

Cover design by form

Produced in Ireland by Print Services

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FOREWORD

Ethnicity and Nationality in the Irish Labour Market: Evidence from the QNHS Equality Module 2010 draws on the Central Statistics Office's 2010 Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS), which collected data on ethnicity not usually included in the standard QNHS and which also included a module on equality and discrimination. This report examines objective measures of labour market outcomes to assess whether there are disparities between immigrant and Irish participants. It also examines people's subjective interpretations of their involvement in the labour market and draws on a dedicated series of questions about experiences of discrimination when looking for work and when in the workplace.

The findings of this report show that immigrants do not fare as well as Irish nationals in the Irish labour market. In addition, the results vary among immigrants according to nationality and ethnicity. The 'Black African', 'Ethnic Minority EU' and 'EU New Member States' groups fare worse than other national-ethnic groups in terms of both objective outcomes and subjective experiences of discrimination. Black African individuals experience the highest rate of unemployment and the lowest rates of employment and labour force participation; this group also has the highest odds of discrimination both in the workplace and when looking for work. Clearly there needs to be a renewed focus on public policy to promote equality for immigrants and for minority ethnic groups – both in the labour market and throughout society.

Authoritative evidence on the nature and extent of discrimination and inequality in Ireland provides an essential foundation for the work of the Equality Authority. On behalf of the Equality Authority I would like to thank the Central Statistics Office for making this report possible by facilitating access to the data. I would also like to record our particular thanks to the authors – Gillian Kingston, Philip O'Connell and Elish Kelly of the Economic and Social Research Institute – for their expert report. Thanks are also due to Laurence Bond, Head of Research at the Equality Authority, for his support to this project.

Renée Dempsey
Chief Executive Officer
The Equality Authority

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report was possible because the Central Statistics Office (CSO) granted access to micro-data files from the Equality Modules of the Quarterly National Household Survey, under a formal agreement. We are very grateful to the CSO for its continuing commitment to making data available for research on issues of national importance while protecting the confidentiality of respondents. We are particularly grateful to Brian Ring, Eithne Tiernan and Kieran Walsh of the CSO for their support and advice on the data. The research was supported by funding from the Equality Authority.

We are very grateful for the assistance of our colleagues Dorothy Watson and Frances McGinnity. We are also grateful for the insightful comments from an anonymous internal reviewer at the ESRI. Our several discussions with Laurence Bond of the Equality Authority were invaluable in structuring and organising the material into a coherent whole.

We would like to thank Jennifer Armstrong for copy-editing and Regina Moore for formatting the report.

Any remaining errors or omissions are the sole responsibility of the authors.

This publication is supported by the European Union Programme for Employment and Social Solidarity – PROGRESS (2007–2013).

This programme is implemented by the European Commission. It was established to financially support the implementation of the objectives of the European Union in the employment, social affairs and equal opportunities area, and thereby contribute to the achievement of the Europe 2020 Strategy goals in these fields.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Ireland experienced significant inward migration between the mid-1990s and 2007, during a period of rapid economic growth. Although the inflow has declined since the onset of the economic crisis, significant numbers of immigrants remain in Irish society and in the labour force. In other countries, immigrants have been found to lag significantly behind natives in terms of employment, wages and other indicators of integration (see, for example, Causa and Jean, 2007), giving rise to concerns about possible exploitation and discrimination in the workplace and in access to work.

This study draws on a special Equality Module of the 2010 Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS). The module collected data on respondents' experiences of discrimination, which, when matched with the regular QNHS data, offer a rich source of information to examine patterns of discrimination in Irish society. The present study focuses on the experiences of immigrants in the Irish labour market, while a parallel study, also based on the QNHS Equality Module, focuses more broadly on discrimination across a wide range of domains (McGinnity, Watson and Kingston, 2012).

In this study we address two related questions. First, do immigrants in Ireland face less favourable prospects than the native-born population in the labour market? Here we examine objective measures of labour market outcomes to assess whether there are disparities between immigrant and native Irish participants in the labour market. We focus in particular on access to employment, on the risk of unemployment, on the quality of occupations attained and on earnings from work. Second, do immigrants report higher levels of discrimination in the labour market? This focuses on people's subjective interpretations of their involvement in the labour market and draws on a dedicated series of questions about experiences of discrimination when looking for work and when in the workplace.

We also examine differences in both objective outcomes and subjective experiences for different groups of immigrants, looking in particular at variations between different national-ethnic groups.

An Equality Module of the QNHS was also collected in 2004, which allows us to compare the experiences of immigrants in the Irish labour market during the boom with those during the recession.

Differences in Employment and Unemployment

In many other countries, immigrants have been found to experience difficulties in the labour market and to have higher unemployment rates than the indigenous population (Causa and Jean, 2007; OECD, 2007b). Previous research confirms that similar patterns occur in Ireland, with non-Irish nationals showing lower average employment rates and higher unemployment rates than Irish nationals (Barrett and Duffy, 2008; O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008).

This study reveals important differences in the labour market experiences of different national-ethnic groups. Black African, Asian, Ethnic Minority EU, White UK and White non-EU individuals all have lower chances of employment than White Irish nationals, after controlling for a range of potentially influential socio-demographic characteristics. Black African immigrants have much higher rates of unemployment,

and White immigrants from the UK and from the newer EU member states (EU NMS) have somewhat higher rates of unemployment, than White Irish nationals.

Despite a significant increase in unemployment since the 2004 Equality Module was conducted, we find that there has been no change over time in the relative risks of unemployment between the different national-ethnic groups. We do, however, find some changes over time in relation to employment, particularly in relation to Black African individuals, who were less likely to be employed than White Irish in both 2004 and 2010, although the size of the negative effect had reduced by 2010.

In relation to subjective discrimination, we find that approximately 5 per cent of White Irish nationals report having experienced discrimination while looking for work and a similar proportion report discrimination in the workplace over the previous two years. Members of the Black African group are seven times more likely than those of the White Irish group to report experiencing discrimination when looking for work; the Ethnic Minority EU group also report a higher rate of discrimination when looking for employment. This is the case even when we control for differences in gender, age and education between the groups. It demonstrates that the differences in reported discrimination are not fully explained by differences in human capital endowments and personal characteristics.

Migrants who arrived in Ireland during the recession (i.e. in or after 2008) are more likely to report experiencing discrimination when looking for work. We also find that people in the 55–59 age group are more than twice as likely to report discrimination when looking for work, when compared with the reference category, aged 20 to 24 years. Respondents with third-level education are also more likely to report experiencing discrimination when looking for work.

We find little evidence of change between 2004 and 2010 in reports of experiencing discrimination when looking for work. White non-EU individuals were less likely to report experiencing discrimination in 2010, compared with 2004, but this could be due to changes in the composition of this group following EU enlargement in 2004.

Differences in Experiences at Work

Our analysis of differential treatment at work focused on two specific labour market outcomes: working in managerial or professional occupations; and membership of a high earnings group, i.e. earning in excess of €732 per week, net of taxes and social insurance contributions.

We find that individuals in the Black African, White EU NMS, Asian and Ethnic Minority EU groups are less likely than White Irish individuals to be in the most privileged occupations. These national-ethnic group patterns in occupational attainment, by and large, do not appear to have been affected by the recession.

We find that Black African and White EU NMS individuals are less likely than White Irish individuals to be high earners. In the absence of earnings information in the 2004 survey, it was not possible to investigate whether earnings patterns have changed over time.

Our analysis of discrimination in the workplace shows that there are large differences between national-ethnic groups in reported rates of discrimination. All national-ethnic groups, apart from the White UK and White EU-13 groups, report significant rates of discrimination in the workplace. Black African respondents are almost seven times

more likely than White Irish respondents to report experiencing discrimination in the workplace.

Policy Implications

This report shows that immigrants do not fare as well as Irish nationals in the Irish labour market, and that the results vary according to nationality and ethnicity. It is important that these disparities between Irish nationals and immigrants are acknowledged, and that suitable policy is implemented to enable immigrants to integrate into the Irish labour market.

Immigrants are among those most likely to be affected by the worsening of labour market conditions because they tend to be concentrated in industries that are more sensitive to such fluctuations. Experience of previous economic downturns indicates that the impact on immigrants' labour market outcomes may be long-lasting. It is vital that Ireland ensures equal employment opportunities for immigrants so that these gaps do not remain. In general then, our findings on the experiences of immigrants suggest the need for planned public policy to promote integration of immigrants, particularly in the labour market.

Black African, Ethnic Minority EU and EU NMS groups fare worse than other national-ethnic groups in terms of both objective outcomes and subjective experiences of discrimination. Black African individuals experience the highest rate of unemployment and the lowest rates of employment and labour force participation; this group also has the highest odds of subjective discrimination both in the workplace and when looking for work.

In the context of deep recession and high unemployment, it is important that programmes are implemented to ensure that vulnerable national-ethnic groups are integrated, particularly refugees who have been excluded from the labour market for an extended period of time. Targeted labour market and education programmes should concentrate on providing equal employment opportunities and on offering retraining and education. Such programmes are vital to ensure that immigrants have an equal chance to participate in the labour market.

We also find that discrimination is more widespread in the workplace than when looking for work, and that those national-ethnic groups reporting higher rates of discrimination in the workplace – including Black African, Ethnic Minority EU, Asian and EU NMS groups – are also less likely than White Irish nationals to work in professional and managerial occupations. This indicates an inefficient use of available human resources, and represents a failure on both efficiency and equity grounds. Part of the problem may be employer difficulty in recognising foreign educational qualifications, suggesting the utility of state assistance to employers in translating educational qualifications into their Irish equivalents. There may also be some value in policies to ensure that immigrants are fully informed about their rights under Irish law, particularly in relation to the labour market.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Ireland, historically a country of substantial net emigration, experienced significant inward migration between the mid-1990s and 2007, during a period of rapid growth in the economy and in employment. While the inflow has declined since the onset of the economic crisis, significant numbers of immigrants remain in Irish society and in the labour force. In other countries, immigrants have been found to lag significantly behind natives in terms of employment, wages and other indicators of integration (see, for example, Causa and Jean, 2007; OECD, 2007b), giving rise to concerns about possible exploitation and discrimination in the workplace and in access to work. Previous research in Ireland suggests that these concerns are well founded: immigrants fare less well than Irish nationals in the labour market (see, for example, O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008; Barrett, McGuinness and O'Brien, 2012).

Measures such as the Employment Equality Acts 1998–2007, the Equal Status Acts 2000–2004 and the Equality Act 2004 provide significant protection for immigrants in the labour market and in accessing goods and services. It is recognised that equality of access to employment, and equal conditions of employment, are essential to underpin a well-functioning labour market. Discrimination generates social cleavages and undermines labour market standards. It is also bad for business as it leads to inefficient allocation of labour and can generate reputational damage for discriminating firms. Moreover, discrimination is fundamentally incompatible with the values and principles of a democratic society.

This study draws on a special Equality Module of the 2010 Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS). The module collected data on respondents' experiences of discrimination, which, when matched with the regular QNHS data, offer a rich source of information to examine patterns of discrimination in Irish society. The present study focuses on the experiences of immigrants in the labour market, while a parallel study, also based on the QNHS Equality Module, focuses more broadly on discrimination across a wide range of domains (McGinnity, Watson and Kingston, 2012).

In this study we address two related questions. First, do immigrants face less favourable prospects than Irish nationals in the Irish labour market, as has been found to obtain in the past in Ireland (O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008) and in other countries? Here we examine objective measures of labour market outcomes to assess whether there are disparities between immigrants and native Irish participants in the labour market. We focus on access to employment, on unemployment, on the quality of occupations attained and on earnings from work. Second, do immigrants report higher levels of discrimination in the labour market? Here we focus on people's subjective interpretations of their experiences in the labour market and draw on a dedicated series of questions about experiences of discrimination when looking for work and when in the workplace.

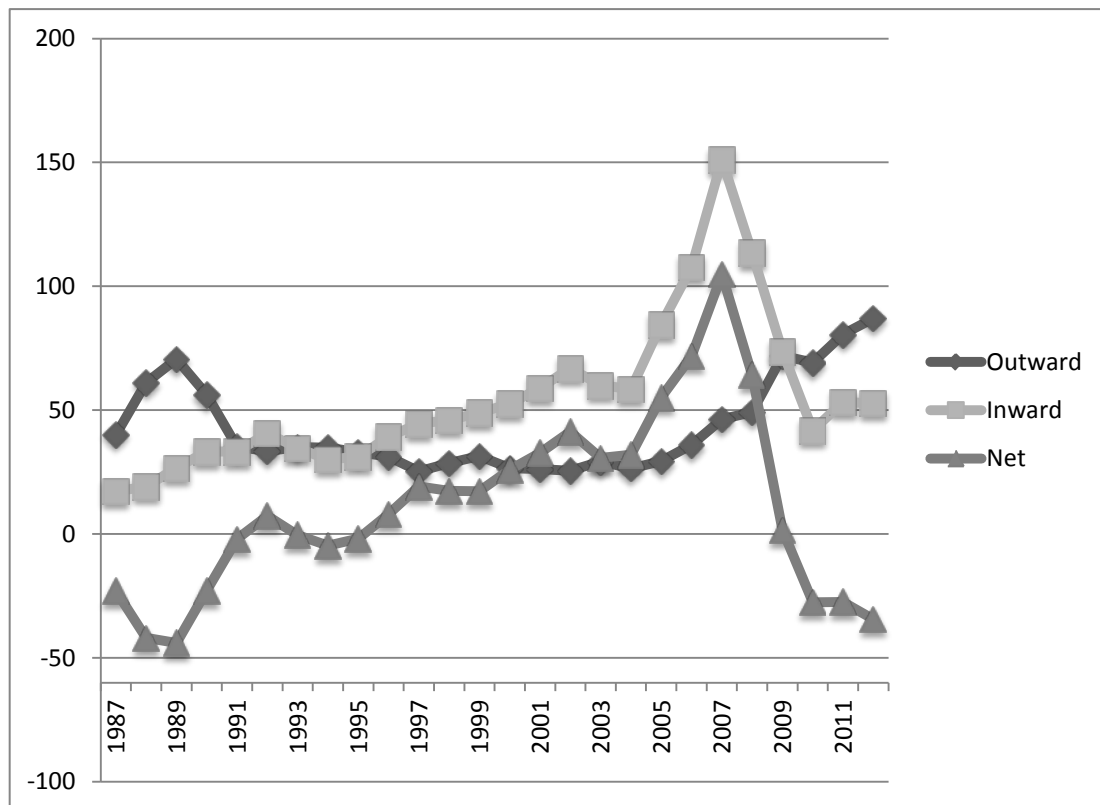
We also examine differences in both objective outcomes and subjective experiences for different groups of immigrants, looking in particular at variations between different national or ethnic groups.

An Equality Module of the QNHS was also collected in 2004, which allows us to compare the experiences of immigrants in the labour market during the boom with those during the recession.

1.2 Migration Flows

Gross inward migration increased from between 20,000 and 25,000 people per annum in the late 1980s to over 150,000 in the twelve months to April 2007, before declining with the deterioration in the labour market to 42,000 in the year to April 2010 and then increasing somewhat to about 53,000 in both twelve-month periods to April 2011 and April 2012. Gross outward migration declined from a peak of 71,000 in 1989 to 25,000 in 1997, and remained below 30,000 for most of the period until 2006. As a result, net migration was positive, contributing to an increasing population from 1996 to 2009. Substantial gross outflows in recent years, reaching 87,000 in the year to April 2012, have resulted in negative net migration of around 30,000 per annum since 2010 (see Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1: Gross and Net Migration Flows, 1987–2011



Source: CSO, *Population and Migration Estimates*, various years.

The years following European Union enlargement in 2004 saw a marked shift in the composition of the immigrant inflow, which had implications for the characteristics of immigrants in Irish society. There was a substantial increase in the inflow of people from the ten countries that joined the EU in 2004,¹ and the two countries that joined in 2007.² The inflow of people from these new member states (NMS)³ increased from 34,000 in 2004 to 85,000 in 2007, at which point they accounted for about half the total immigrant inflow.

¹ Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

² Bulgaria and Romania

³ In this report we refer to the group of post-enlargement countries as EU new member states (NMS). Where we refer to the 'EU-13', we mean the group of pre-enlargement member states (excluding Ireland and the UK) – Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Sweden.

In contrast, inflows from non-EU countries have dropped steadily since 2004. The modest decline from 25,000 in 2003 to 19,000 in 2007 reflected, for the most part, the Irish policy of seeking to meet labour needs from within the enlarged EU. The subsequent decline in the numbers from the rest of the world, to a low of 6,000 in 2010, reflects the Irish labour market crisis, although inflows recovered somewhat during 2011 and 2012. The number of immigrants from the EU NMS fell to about 9,300 in 2010 and increased slightly to just over 10,000 in 2011 and 2012 (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1: Estimated Immigration by Nationality, 2000–2012

	Irish	UK	EU-13	EU NMS	Non-EU	Total
<i>12 months to:</i>			<i>1,000s</i>			
2000	24.8	8.4	8.2	0.0	11.1	52.6
2004	16.7	7.4	13.3	0.0	21.1	58.5
2005	18.5	8.9	9.3	34.1	13.7	84.6
2006	18.9	9.9	12.7	49.9	16.4	107.8
2007	30.7	4.3	11.8	85.3	19.0	151.1
2008	23.8	6.8	9.6	54.7	18.6	113.5
2009	23.0	3.9	11.5	21.1	14.1	73.7
2010	17.9	2.5	6.2	9.3	6.0	41.8
2011 [*]	19.6	4.1	7.1	10.1	12.4	53.3
2012 [*]	20.6	2.2	7.2	10.4	12.4	52.7
<i>12 months to:</i>			<i>%</i>			
2000	47.1	16.0	15.6	0.0	21.1	100
2004	28.5	12.6	22.7	0.0	36.1	100
2007	20.3	2.8	7.8	56.4	12.6	100
2008	21	6	8.6	48.2	16.4	100
2009	31.2	5.3	15.6	28.6	19.1	100
2010	42.8	6	14.8	22.2	14.4	100
2011 [*]	36.8	7.7	13.3	18.9	23.3	100
2012 [*]	39.1	4.2	13.7	19.7	23.5	100

Source: CSO, *Population and Migration Estimates*, various years.

Note: ^{*} Preliminary.

1.3 Immigrants in Irish Society

Data from the CSO's *Population and Migration Estimates* indicate that the number of non-Irish nationals in the population increased from 430,600 in 2006 to 575,600 in 2008, before falling to 560,000 in 2010 and to 550,400 in 2012 (see Table 1.2). The share of non-Irish nationals thus increased from less than 6 per cent of the population in 2002 to almost 13 per cent in 2008 before falling to 12 per cent in 2010.

Over 400,000 people living in Ireland in 2010 were nationals of other EU countries, representing almost 9 per cent of the total population and over 70 per cent of all non-Irish nationals. This is an important dimension of immigration to Ireland, since EU nationals enjoy a bundle of economic and social rights that in many respects approximate those of Irish citizens. These rights are significant for the integration of immigrants into Irish society in general and the labour market in particular. The fastest growing group has been from the EU NMS: from 132,500 people in 2006 (3 per cent of the total population) to 233,000 in 2010 (5 per cent).

Growth in the numbers of immigrants from outside the EU has been quite modest: increasing from 138,800 in 2006 to 162,500 in 2012.

Table 1.2: Total Population by Nationality, 2006–2012

	2006	2008	2010	2012
	<i>1,000s</i>			
Irish	3,802.4	3,909.5	3,994.7	4,035.0
UK	115.5	117.9	115.9	113.0
EU-13	43.8	50.8	52.4	45.5
EU NMS	132.5	247.7	233.0	229.4
Non-EU	138.8	159.2	158.7	162.5
Total Population	4,232.9	4,485.1	4,554.8	4,585.4
Total Non-Irish	430.6	575.6	560.0	550.4
	<i>%</i>			
% Non-Irish	10.2	12.8	12.3	12.0

Source: CSO, *Population and Migration Estimates*, April 2012.

1.4 Immigrants in the Irish Labour Market

Table 1.3 tracks the trends in employment by nationality since 2004. Given that supply and demand in the labour market are influenced by seasonality, we focus on the fourth quarter of each year so as to compare like with like.⁴

The role of immigrants in meeting the demand for labour in the booming Irish economy between 2004 and 2007 is clearly evident. The number of non-Irish nationals in employment increased from 164,400 at the end of 2004 to 341,500 at the end of 2007, at the peak of employment and immigration. This represented a very rapid increase, from less than 9 per cent to almost 16 per cent of total employment, between 2004 and 2007. Over that three-year period the total number of non-Irish nationals in employment more than doubled. The growth in numbers from the EU NMS was particularly strong: over 300 per cent.

After 2007, however, immigrants began to lose ground in the Irish labour market. Total employment fell by over 14 per cent between the end of 2007 and the end of 2011. While employment among Irish nationals fell by 13 per cent, it fell by 21 per cent among non-Irish nationals. Non-Irish nationals accounted for 16 per cent of total employment in 2007; this share had fallen below 15 per cent by the end of 2011. The biggest contraction in employment among non-Irish nationals took place among the EU NMS group, with employment falling by 27 per cent between 2007 and 2011. Employment among UK nationals also fell sharply, by 21 per cent, during this period. The largest employment losses occurred in construction, in the wholesale and retail trade, and in accommodation and food services; these sectors had expanded substantially, and with large increases in migrant labour, during the boom years.

⁴ Revised estimates of population and migration by nationality for 2007 to 2011 were published (CSO, 2012b) in line with the results of the 2011 Census. The population estimate for 2011 was revised upwards by 90,600, with smaller adjustments for 2007 to 2010. Immigration estimates were also revised upwards. Revised estimates of labour force data for the adult population (over 15 years) were published in late 2012 (CSO, 2012c).

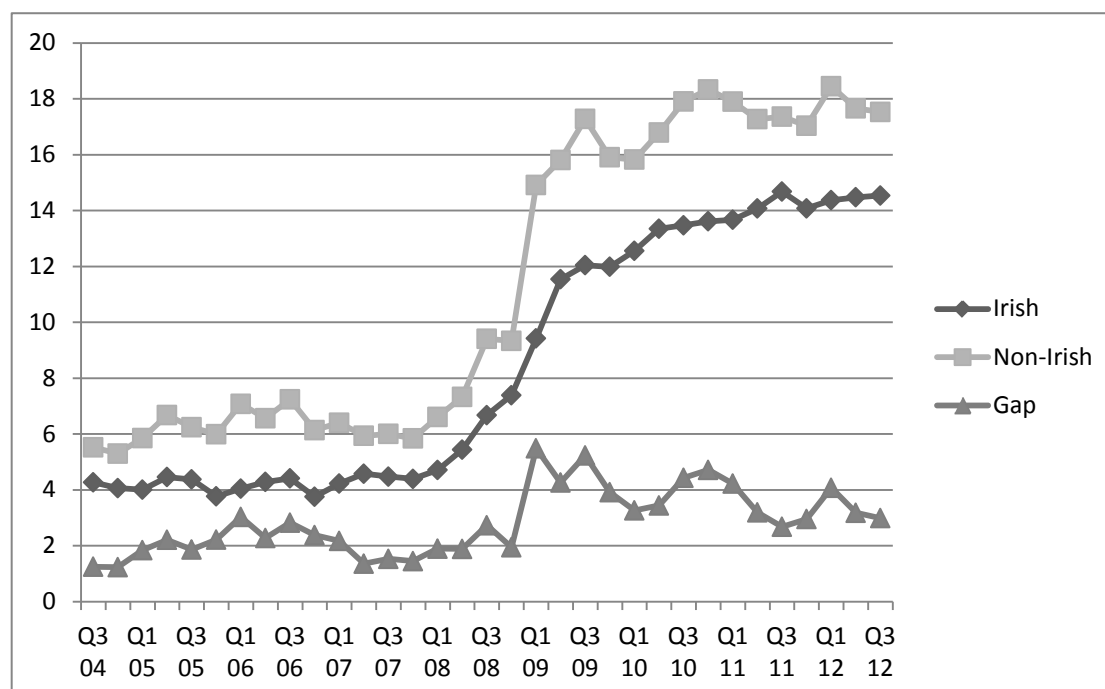
Table 1.3: Employment by Nationality, 2004–2011

	2004 Q4	2007 Q4	2010 Q4	2011 Q4	2004–2007	2007–2011
	<i>1,000s</i>				<i>% change</i>	
Irish	1,735.1	1,814.5	1,586.0	1,577.9	4.6	-13.0
Non-Irish	164.4	341.5	271.3	269.7	107.7	-21.0
<i>of which:</i>						
UK	43.6	56.8	48.3	44.6	30.3	-21.5
EU-13	27.3	32.4	30.6	29.6	18.7	-8.6
EU NMS	40.9	171.3	124.2	124.3	318.8	-27.4
Other	52.6	81.0	68.2	71.3	54.0	-12.0
Total Persons	1,899.5	2,156.0	1,857.3	1,847.7	13.5	-14.3
	<i>%</i>					
Non-Irish	8.7	15.8	14.6	14.6		

Source: CSO, Quarterly National Household Survey, various years.

The national unemployment rate increased from about 4 per cent of the labour force in the first quarter of 2007 to almost 15 per cent in the third quarter of 2012. Unemployment increased by 220,000 people overall, and by 185,000 among Irish nationals and 36,000 among non-Irish nationals. As the recession deepened, the gap in unemployment rates grew wider between Irish and non-Irish nationals (see Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.2: Unemployment Rates, Irish and Non-Irish Nationality, 2004–2012



Source: CSO, Quarterly National Household Survey, various years.

At the end of 2007 the unemployment rate among Irish nationals was 4.4 per cent, compared with 5.8 per cent among non-Irish nationals: a gap of less than 1.5 per cent. Following substantial job losses in late 2008 and early 2009, the unemployment rate among non-Irish nationals was 15 per cent in the first quarter of 2009, 5 per cent

higher than the unemployment rate among Irish nationals. Unemployment continued to grow through 2012, although the gap between Irish and non-Irish nationals declined somewhat, and in the third quarter of 2012, the unemployment rate was 17.7 per cent among non-Irish nationals and 14.5 per cent among Irish nationals (see Table 1.4).

Table 1.4: Unemployment Numbers and Rates by Nationality, 2007 and 2012

	2007 Q1		2012 Q3	
	1,000s	% Rate	1,000s	% Rate
Irish Nationals	79.3	4.2	265.1	14.5
Non-Irish Nationals	21.5	6.4	57.9	17.7
<i>of which:</i>				
UK	3.3*	5.4	11.7	20.6
EU-13	2.6*	7.6	3.2*	9.8
EU NMS	9.3	5.8	29.1	19.0
Other	6.2	7.6	13.7	16.3
Total Persons	100.7	4.6	323.0	15.0

Source: CSO, QNHS Release: Time Series Tables, Quarter 3, 2012, available online at www.cso.ie.

Note: * estimated.

In late 2012 UK nationals had the highest unemployment rate at over 20 per cent, followed closely by nationals of the EU NMS at 19 per cent. The unemployment rate among nationals of the EU-13 was below 10 per cent (4.5 per cent lower than among Irish nationals and 8 per cent lower than other non-Irish nationals).

Previous accounts of the impact of the recession, based on then-available QNHS data, suggested that substantial job losses among non-Irish nationals were followed by a marked contraction in the immigrant population, indicating that much of the reaction to job losses by immigrants was to emigrate (Barrett and Kelly, 2012; McGinnity *et al.*, 2012). Following Census 2011, the revised QNHS data suggest a very different interpretation in which more modest job losses were followed by higher unemployment and economic inactivity, and limited out-migration. Thus, for example, over the four-year period between the second quarters of 2008 and 2012, the revised QNHS data show that for non-Irish nationals, employment fell by 75,000, unemployment increased by 31,000, inactivity rose by 18,000 and the population contracted by 26,000. The recession appears to have resulted in markedly higher rates of unemployment among non-Irish nationals than among Irish nationals, as noted in previous accounts of the impact of the recession, and an increase in inactivity, but not a significant surge in outward migration.

1.5 Non-EU Nationals

In general, nationals of the European Economic Area (EEA), which includes citizens of the EU, Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein, do not require employment permits in order to take up employment in Ireland. The principal exception to this relates to Bulgaria and Romania. Although both countries joined the EU in 2007, their citizens were not accorded employment rights in Ireland. In most cases, Bulgarian and Romanian nationals must hold an employment permit to access the labour market at first instance.

The employment permits system, which governs employment of all non-EEA nationals, is employer-based and the employer must obtain the permit prior to the entry of the employee into the state. As Table 1.5 shows, the number of permits issued increased rapidly from just over 4,400 in 1995 to nearly 50,000 in 2003. Following EU enlargement in 2004, and the implementation of the new policy of meeting most Irish labour market demand from within the EU, the number of permits dropped steadily. The decline was particularly dramatic with the onset of the recession. The most marked fall occurred from 2007 to 2009 in respect of both new permits issued and renewals of existing permits (see Table 1.5).

Table 1.5: Employment Permits Issued and Renewed, 1995–2010

Year	New Permits Issued	Permits Renewed	Permits Issued (including Group Permits)
1995	2,563	1,646	4,409
2000	16,712	2,246	19,256
2003	24,073	25,111	49,744
2004	2,894	23,347	26,241
2007	9,943	13,166	23,109
2009	3,832	3,842	7,674
2010	3,541	3,935	7,476

Source: Derived from data supplied by the Department of Jobs, Enterprise and Innovation.

Notes: Data for the period 2000–2006 includes work authorisations and visas. Data may differ from published figures as per Department of Jobs, Enterprise and Innovation website: www.deji.ie.

A number of changes to the employment permits system were introduced in 2009 in response to the recession (O’Connell, Joyce and Finn, 2012). Most changes entailed increased restrictions on entry to the Irish labour market, including increased fees for employment permits and revised eligibility requirements. Eligibility requirements for employment permits under the Spousal/Dependent Scheme were also tightened and the labour market needs test was reintroduced. This latter regulation requires that all vacancies for which an application for a permit is made must be advertised with the FÁS/EURES employment network for at least eight weeks, in addition to local and national newspapers for six days.

Most of the revisions to the employment permits system increased restrictions on the access of non-EEA nationals to the Irish labour market; however, reforms were introduced in 2009 and 2010 to allow individuals who had been working in Ireland with a permit for at least five years and who had been made redundant to remain in Ireland for a six-month ‘grace period’ during which they may seek alternative work without a labour market needs test being applied.

The employment permits system means that most non-EU citizens (and Bulgarians and Romanians) operate under a distinct set of regulations in the Irish labour market, with the result that we may expect their experience of the labour market, and indeed of the recession, to be distinctive. As such, they are likely to be more exposed to less favourable treatment, and face greater risk of unemployment or under-employment. They are more likely than (other) EU nationals to experience discrimination.

1.6 Outline of the Report

Chapter 2 reviews the Irish and international research on labour market inequalities and discrimination among migrant workers. It also examines measurement issues in relation to discrimination.

Chapter 3 describes the special Equality Module of the 2010 QNHS, which provides the empirical basis for this study, and also outlines the national-ethnic groups used in the analysis.

Chapter 4 focuses on objective indicators of employment outcomes and in particular on disparities between migrants and natives in employment and unemployment rates, as well as in occupational attainment.

Chapter 5 shifts the focus to subjective indicators of discrimination, as experienced when looking for work as well as when in the workplace.

In both Chapters 4 and 5 we examine changes over time in patterns of disparity and discrimination by drawing on the 2004 QNHS Equality Module.

Chapter 6 presents conclusions and implications of the study.

2 INEQUALITY AND DISCRIMINATION IN THE IRISH LABOUR MARKET

2.1 Defining and Measuring Discrimination

Discrimination is commonly understood as differential treatment on the basis of group membership that unfairly disadvantages a group (Russell *et al.*, 2008). Discrimination is not an objectively defined criterion but one that has its roots in historical and present-day inequalities and societal norms (Al Ramiah *et al.*, 2010).

Employment equality is an issue of continued importance in Ireland and internationally. In the context of increasing diversity, there is now a significant body of evidence of discrimination and inequality in the Irish labour market on the grounds of nationality/ethnicity (Bond, McGinnity and Russell, 2010). The Employment Equality Acts 1998–2011 promote equality and prohibit discrimination (with some exceptions) on nine distinct grounds. These grounds are: gender, civil status, family status, age, disability, race, sexual orientation, religious belief and membership of the Traveller community. The aspects of employment covered include: advertising, equal pay, access to employment, vocational training and work experience, terms and conditions of employment, promotion or re-grading, classification of posts, dismissal and collective agreements.

Discrimination on the grounds of 'race' is defined in the legislation as the treatment of a person in a less favourable way than another person is, has been or would be treated in a comparable situation because they are of different race, colour, nationality or ethnic or national origins. In a simple definition, racial discrimination refers to unequal treatment of persons or groups on the basis of their race or ethnicity.

Measuring discrimination poses considerable challenges to researchers, as discriminatory behaviour is rarely observed directly (Blank, Dabady and Citro, 2004). There are various methods used to measure discrimination; however, there is no single approach to measurement that covers all facets of discrimination. Methods commonly used to measure discrimination include: field experiments, studies of perceptions, surveys, interviews, observational experiments, laboratory experiments and statistical analyses of data. Darity and Mason (1998) suggest analysis of court cases as another method of assessing discrimination. There are various pros and cons to each type of measurement and there is no stand-alone measurement that offers a definitive assessment of discrimination.

Despite their various complexities, field experiments can be the most effective approach to measuring discrimination in real-world contexts (Centeno and Newman, 2010). The field experiment can be said to be an all-encompassing approach as it relies on real contexts (such as actual job searches, health care and outcomes, house-hunting activities) for measuring outcomes (Pager, 2007).

McGinnity *et al.* (2009) conducted the first field experiment measuring discrimination in Ireland. They tested discrimination in recruitment. The premise of the experiment was simple: two individuals who are identical on all relevant characteristics, other than their name, apply for the same jobs. Responses are carefully recorded, and discrimination or the lack thereof is then measured as the extent to which one applicant is invited to interview relative to the other applicant. The experiment tested for any differences in responses to the minority candidates and the Irish candidates, and for any variation in the extent of discrimination between the minority groups.

Discrimination against three minority groups was measured: Africans, Asians and Europeans (Germans). The research also tested whether discrimination varies across the labour market. Occupations were chosen that required written applications (sending CVs) and that had many vacancies, in order to generate enough responses to ensure that all observations were systematic. To avoid detection, the CVs issued were not identical, but all relevant personal and employment characteristics other than national or ethnic origin were matched: age (young adults), gender (male for accountancy jobs, female for lower administration and retail sales), education (in Ireland), previous labour market experience (in Ireland) and additional skills.

The experiment found that candidates with Irish names were over twice as likely to be invited to interview for advertised jobs as candidates with identifiable non-Irish names, even when both had submitted similar and comparable CVs. The research did not find significant differences in the degree of discrimination faced by candidates with Asian, African or German names; all three groups were around half as likely to be invited to interview as Irish candidates. The results indicated strong discrimination against minority candidates, and this applied broadly across all sectors and occupations tested. The discrimination rate did not vary within the period of testing. The extent of discrimination observed in this experiment demonstrates that equality does not exist for minorities in terms of access to the labour market. Observations show that individuals with minority backgrounds do not have equal access to employment in the Irish labour market.

Other research methods can be extremely effective at measuring discrimination. When measuring discrimination using representative surveys, the two principal methods used are subjective indicators of discrimination and the statistical analysis of observational data. We discuss these methods in detail below and review their use in other research. First, we consider studies that measure and analyse subjective discrimination, both in Ireland and abroad. Then we discuss objective discrimination and review literature available on inequality and objective disadvantage.

2.2 Subjective Discrimination

Subjective discrimination is self-reported discrimination; the discrimination is not measured directly, but is perceived by the victim (Blank, Dabady and Citro, 2004).

Survey data can be extremely informative by providing a portrait of group differences, in a wide variety of settings and domains, and allowing analysis of change over time. The primary strengths of this methodology are its breadth and the representative nature of the results (Russell *et al.*, 2010). Survey data do not provide direct observations of actual discrimination, but they can measure reported experiences, perceptions and attitudes that involve discrimination (Blank, Dabady and Citro, 2004). Self-reports are explicit measures of prejudice; these measures presume that the participants involved in the research are conscious of their evaluations and behavioural tendencies (Al Ramiah *et al.*, 2010).

When using survey data, researchers need to be sensitive to methodological factors and research bias. The subjective nature of self-reports is the fundamental weakness of this methodology. For example, previous research shows that highly educated people tend to report more discrimination in a range of situations, despite being objectively advantaged (McGinnity *et al.*, 2006). This may be due to their sensitivity to equality-related issues. It may also reflect their higher expectations or their greater knowledge of their rights.

Subjective reports are based on perceived discrimination rather than on objective evidence of discrimination; perceptions of discrimination may over- or under-estimate the actual incidence of discrimination (Pager and Shepherd, 2008). The measure of perceived subjective discrimination is not proof of objective discrimination. Self-reports of discrimination may be subject to incomplete information and bias. As Russell *et al.* (2010) discuss, there is no independent arbitrator to assess whether discrimination took place according to a set of defined criteria and evidence. Subjective discrimination may be under-reported where a person has no knowledge of his/her rights and does not perceive the act of discrimination as discrimination. It may be over-reported where a person perceives discrimination that is not necessarily discrimination. Discrimination can be viewed as personal, when really it is due to institutional factors; for example, people may feel discriminated against if they are not approved for local authority housing, when in fact it may be because they are not at the top of the waiting list or did not pass the obligatory means test.

2.2.1 Research on Subjective Discrimination among Migrants in Ireland

In recent years a body of research has been built up on the subjective experience of migrants in Ireland. McGinnity *et al.* (2006) conducted a survey to assess the prevalence and degree of discrimination experienced by recent migrants to Ireland. The survey measured perceived discrimination in a range of different situations: in the workplace, in public places, in shops/restaurants, in commercial transactions and in contact with institutions. It was the first large-scale nationally representative sample of immigrants' experiences of racism and discrimination in Ireland. The survey sampled a broad range of non-EU adult migrants who were either work permit holders or asylum seekers. Migrants were divided into groups according to broad region or, in the case of South/Central Africans, race. This resulted in five regional groups: Black South/Central Africans, White South/Central Africans, North Africans, Asians and non-EU East Europeans. Each group contained nationals from a number of different countries. In general, the study found marked differences between ethnic and regional groups in the experience of discrimination, with Black South/Central Africans experiencing the most discrimination of all the groups studied, and non-EU East Europeans the least discrimination. Among those entitled to work, insults or other forms of harassment at work were the second most common category of reported discrimination.

Russell *et al.* (2008) examine the subjective experience of discrimination across a range of domains and grounds in their analysis of the first Equality Module of the Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS), which was conducted by the CSO in the fourth quarter of 2004. The study found that both ethnicity and nationality were linked to reports of experience of discrimination in any domain in the two years prior to the survey. Some 24 per cent of non-Irish nationals felt that they had been discriminated against over the two years preceding the survey, just over twice the rate for Irish nationals. Respondents of Black ethnicity had the highest 'raw' risk of discrimination among the four ethnic categories identified in the survey, with 40 per cent of those surveyed reporting experience of discrimination (compared with 12 per cent of White and 25 per cent of Asian respondents). The higher likelihood of reported discrimination among non-Irish nationals persisted in both of the work and four of the service domains (housing, shops/pubs/restaurants, financial services and transport), but was particularly pronounced in relation to job searches. Black respondents were found to be more vulnerable to repeat discrimination than White respondents.

In a further analysis of the 2004 QNHS Equality Module, O'Connell and McGinnity (2008) focus on immigrants at work, analysing ethnicity and nationality in the Irish

labour market. This survey was the first representative data source that included information on ethnicity; making it the first systematic baseline study to examine labour market experiences of migrants to Ireland distinguished by ethnicity. It also examined whether the experiences of immigrants from English-speaking countries differed from those of immigrants from non-English-speaking countries, using data from the Survey of Migrant Experiences of Racism and Discrimination in Ireland (SMERDI). The research investigated objective labour market outcomes such as occupational status and wages, and respondents' subjective assessments of their experiences.

The research found that non-Irish nationals were three times more likely to report having experienced discrimination while looking for work than Irish nationals, even after controlling for differences in gender, age and education between the groups. When distinguishing between immigrants, the study found that all groups differed significantly from Irish nationals, though the effect was smaller for Asian respondents and White respondents from English-speaking countries. Compared with Irish nationals, Black respondents were found to be seven times more likely to report experiencing discrimination when looking for work. In the workplace, non-Irish nationals were twice as likely to report experiencing discrimination as Irish nationals. Distinguishing between groups, the research showed that language of country of origin plays a clear role. White respondents from English-speaking countries were no more likely to report experiencing discrimination at work than Irish nationals. However, immigrants from non-English-speaking countries were more likely to report experiencing discrimination.

In 2009 the Fundamental Rights Agency conducted the EU-MIDIS: European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. The EU-MIDIS is an EU-wide survey of immigrant and ethnic minority groups' experiences of discrimination and victimisation in everyday life. The survey examined experiences of discriminatory treatment, racist crime victimisation, migrants' awareness of rights, and reporting of complaints in Ireland and other EU member states (Fundamental Rights Agency, 2009).

2.3 Inequality and Objective Discrimination in the Labour Market

Research on objective discrimination has focused mainly on the labour market, looking at ethnic and racial differences in occupational attainment, wages, etc. Sociological research has shown that ethnic minority applicants tend to suffer from an 'ethnic penalty', whereby they experience net disadvantage, after controlling for their educational qualifications and experience in the labour market (Heath and McMahon, 1997). Coleman, Darity and Sharpe (2008) find that nearly all Black workers who report experiencing discrimination in work also show statistical evidence of wage discrimination. Altonji and Blank (1999) find that Black Americans are more likely to experience unemployment, to work for lower wages, to have lower wage growth over time and to accumulate less wealth relative to White Americans.

When using datasets, a widely employed approach to measuring discrimination is to estimate some form of regression model. A regression model can control for factors such as age, occupation and human capital characteristics such as education. These controls ensure that all possible influences, net of discrimination, on labour market outcomes are taken account of in order that the residual can be appropriately attributed to discrimination rather than to other unobserved differences between the groups. The focus is on the coefficients of the binary variables measuring group membership: if these are negative and significant, then this suggests discrimination according to a specific group characteristic. Using multivariate modelling allows the

researcher to identify systematic disparities between different groups. The magnitude and statistical significance of the coefficients are typically interpreted as a measurement of discrimination against that group. Differences may be identified through an interaction between race and one or more human capital characteristics, suggesting differential returns to human capital investments on the basis of race (Oaxaca, 1973).

Part of the observed labour market disadvantage could be due to group differences in abilities, skills and experience, although previous research suggests that a residual difference still exists after these are controlled for. In statistical analyses of labour market outcomes, for example, even after controlling for standard human capital variables (e.g. education, work experience), a number of employment-related characteristics typically remain unaccounted for. Many factors, such as motivation, reliability, interpersonal skills and punctuality, are important in finding and keeping a job, but are often hard to distinguish with survey data (Farkas and Vicknair, 1996; Pager and Shepherd, 2008).

Ruhs and Vargas-Silva's (2012) analysis suggests that immigration is more likely to have a negative impact on the employment of UK-born workers during economic downturns. We expect that this likelihood of a negative impact on employment may influence immigrants' experiences of discrimination in Ireland during the current recession, as discrimination may increase when jobs are scarce and natives feel threatened. Ruhs and Vargas-Silva also find that the impact of immigration on the labour market critically depends on the skills of migrants, the skills of existing workers and the characteristics of the host economy. The wage effects of immigration are likely to be greatest for resident workers who are migrants themselves. Barrett and Bergin (2009) demonstrate how immigration may have negatively impacted upon the earnings of low-skilled workers in Ireland. Lucchino, Rosazza-Bondibene and Portes's (2012) examination of the relationship between immigration and unemployment using National Insurance number registration data in the UK did not find an association between migrant inflows and claimant unemployment.

Ethnic minorities appear to fare less well in OECD labour markets than employees belonging to majority groups (OECD, 2007a). Empirical evidence indicates that, in addition to factors determining labour supply and demand, discrimination in the labour market may be one of the forces behind these large and persistent inequalities. The *OECD Employment Outlook 2008* provided an important overview of research on labour market discrimination on the grounds of gender and ethnicity. The report showed that the available evidence suggests that racial discrimination in the labour market is still significant in a number of OECD countries. The researchers found that the analysis of ethnic labour market inequalities can be difficult due to the fact that explicit collection of data on race is illegal in many OECD countries, which limits the number of countries for which racial disparities and inequalities can be observed and analysed. Evidence from research on Canada, the UK and USA found that even though racial employment gaps appear to be substantial, educational attainment plays a role in explaining cross-country differences. This does not seem to be the case when analysing the racial wage gap. Evidence is presented suggesting that several factors other than discrimination account for part of the observed ethnic gaps in employment and wages. However, labour market discrimination may also play a role. The OECD found that this discrimination could be an explanatory factor for these disparities; observable reasons for disadvantage typically leave unexplained at least one-quarter of ethnic gaps.

2.3.1 Research on Objective Discrimination among Migrants in Ireland

Ireland is a relatively new country of inward migration, having previously experienced a period of strong outward migration. What makes Ireland interesting is that a large group of immigrants rapidly entered a relatively small labour market that had been almost exclusively White and Irish. Census 2011 shows that the overall percentage of people living in Ireland with a nationality other than Irish is 12 per cent, compared with just over 10 per cent in 2006. The largest increases in group size were among EU NMS nationalities: Poles, Lithuanians and Romanians. There were also large percentage increases among Hungarian, Indian and Brazilian national groups. The overall number of non-Irish nationals grew from around 420,000 in 2006 to just over 540,000 in April 2011 – an increase of 30 per cent (CSO, 2012a). Migration to Ireland, although still a relatively new phenomenon, has already become a stable and enduring feature of Irish society and there is now an extensive body of quantitative research on migration and on migrants and the Irish labour market.

Immigration to Ireland has been mainly driven by labour market demand and the expansion of the EU. There is a growing body of evidence pointing to the labour market disadvantage of immigrants in Ireland. As shown in Chapter 1, the impact of the economic downturn has been particularly severe for immigrants: between 2007 and 2011, total employment fell by more than 35 per cent among non-Irish nationals, compared with less than 12 per cent among natives. Barrett and Kelly (2012) find that a higher rate of job loss for immigrants remains when they control for factors such as age and education. Apart from earlier arrived immigrants from the EU-13, all other immigrant groupings are less likely than natives to be employed, with the marginal effects indicating that the impact is bigger for more recently arrived immigrants. They find that female immigrants are less likely to be employed than their Irish counterparts. McGinnity *et al.* (2011; 2012) find that, overall, immigrants have been harder hit by the recession than Irish nationals.

A body of research focuses on how immigrants are employed at occupational levels below their qualifications (Barrett, Bergin and Duffy, 2006) and on differences in occupation and earnings. Immigrants are found to be more likely to report working in jobs below their skill level, and even highly skilled migrants tend to be in occupations below their skill level, suggesting a problem with 'brain waste' (Barrett, Bergin and Duffy, 2006; Barrett and Duffy, 2008). Barrett and Duffy (2008) demonstrate how the 'occupational gap' is largest for immigrants from the EU NMS, and indicate that the gap does not seem to decline for this group the longer they spend in Ireland. Barrett and Bergin (2009) also find that whilst immigrants in Ireland generally have high skill levels, many are working in less skilled occupations and therefore high-skilled immigrants may be competing in the labour market with low-skilled natives. They conclude that immigrants are competing with low-skilled natives to a greater extent than had previously been thought.

In their analysis of immigrants at work in the Irish labour market, using the 2004 QNHS Equality Module data, O'Connell and McGinnity (2008) find that Black respondents are significantly more likely to experience unemployment and to occupy lower level occupational positions. These results hold true even when education, work experience and nationality are controlled for. The analysis shows lower employment rates among both Black and Asian respondents. Regression analysis of labour market participants reveals a higher risk of unemployment for immigrants from non-English-speaking countries – of White, Asian and Other ethnicities – compared with Irish nationals. O'Connell and McGinnity find that, in general, non-Irish nationals are somewhat less likely than Irish nationals to secure the more privileged jobs in the occupational structure. They also find a significant gender wage gap among

migrants, with non-Irish national women earning about 15 per cent less per month than their male counterparts, even when other key influential variables are controlled for. Taken as a whole, they find that non-Irish nationals are three times more likely to report having experienced discrimination while looking for work than Irish nationals.

Turner (2010) finds that controlling for human capital characteristics, non-Irish nationals are three times less likely than Irish nationals to be in high-skill occupations. The analysis shows little difference in the effect of education for EU-15⁵ respondents compared with Irish nationals on the likelihood of being employed in high-skilled and intermediate jobs. Compared with Irish nationals, the possession of education qualifications for immigrants, particularly those from the EU NMS, does not appear to confer the same advantages. Turner concludes that the evidence indicates a significant degree of occupational downgrading among non-Irish nationals.

Another focus of research on migration has been on the wages of immigrants. In analysis of the 2005 EU Survey of Income and Living Conditions (SILC) dataset, Barrett and McCarthy (2008) find that immigrants earn 15 per cent less than comparable native employees. For immigrants from non-English-speaking countries, the wage disadvantage is 20 per cent; the corresponding figure for immigrants from the EU NMS is 31 per cent. The authors find a double disadvantage for immigrant women, with the earnings of female immigrants being 14 per cent less than those of comparable native female employees. This double disadvantage is concentrated among female immigrants with third-level degrees.

A body of research has also developed focusing on the extent to which immigrants make demands on welfare systems (Barrett and McCarthy, 2008; Barrett, Joyce and Maître, 2011; Barrett and Maître, 2011; Barrett, 2012; Zimmerman *et al.*, 2012). Barrett and McCarthy (2008) analyse immigrant welfare use in Ireland and the UK, and find that immigrants in the UK appear to use welfare more intensively than natives, but the opposite appears to be the case in Ireland. Barrett, Joyce and Maître (2011) generally find lower rates of welfare receipt among immigrants than natives and suggest that this is consistent with the operation of the habitual residency condition. Barrett (2012) finds that although some groups of immigrants may be attracted to welfare-generous states, the effect is unlikely to be significant in terms of public budgets. Zimmerman *et al.* (2012) find that migrants from the EU-12⁶ are just as likely to obtain family-related benefits as native Irish-born people. However, they are substantially less likely to receive unemployment or disability-related payments. While 27.5 per cent of natives received an unemployment or disability payment in 2007, only 13 per cent of EU-12 migrants received such a payment, even controlling for socio-economic characteristics. Analysis of the situation in Ireland thus indicates that, on average, migrants do not use welfare more than natives.

2.4 Research Questions

Contemporary forms of discrimination are often subtle and covert, posing problems for social scientific measurement (Pager and Shepherd, 2008). Self-reported data alone cannot establish the incidence and distribution of discrimination but it can be used in conjunction with other data and sources to assess discrimination in Ireland (Russell *et al.*, 2010). Survey measures capture reported experiences, perceptions and attitudes about discrimination, but do not measure objective 'real' discrimination. Direct measures of discrimination are probably best used in conjunction with

⁵ Pre-enlargement states (i.e. EU-13 plus Ireland and UK).

⁶ States that joined the EU in 2004 and 2007 (i.e. EU NMS).

analyses of the objective outcomes of migrants in the labour market in order to assess how migrants are faring.

As discussed, when investigating labour market discrimination in Ireland there are good reasons for adopting a 'mixed methodology' that looks at both subjectively reported discrimination and objective conditions. For example, research that points to both an ethnic penalty in terms of labour market outcomes and higher levels of self-reported discrimination can provide more robust evidence of labour market discrimination.

This research sets out to answer the following questions:

- To what extent does the labour market penalty for migrants (including employment and occupation) still exist once human capital characteristics are controlled for? Previous analysis of the QNHS data (O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008; Barrett and Kelly, 2012) has shown that migrants fare worse in the labour market in terms of wages, occupation and employment status. We will assess the labour market outcomes of migrants in Ireland, and consider whether they are experiencing objective labour market discrimination.
- Does the immigrant penalty vary between different national-ethnic groups, and if so to what extent? O'Connell and McGinnity (2008) find a much higher risk of unemployment for Black respondents. Using the new and comprehensive nationality data available to us, we will examine the discrimination of national-ethnic groups and analyse how this varies between groups.
- Do immigrants report experiencing higher levels of subjective labour market discrimination when compared with White Irish nationals?
- Are immigrants who arrived in Ireland during the recession (i.e. in or after 2008) worse off in terms of their objective and subjective experiences of labour market discrimination?

3 DATA

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter we describe the Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS) Equality Modules for Quarter 4, 2004 and 2010, which are the data sources on which the results presented in this report are based. We also outline how we define immigrants and the various migrant and national-ethnic groups that are analysed in the report. A key advantage of survey data is that it provides a representative sample of the population, and allows us to draw conclusions about that population, which is not possible using qualitative data. Surveys also tend to contain information on a range of additional characteristics for individuals and, in the case of the QNHS, their jobs. That said, migrants are a difficult group to reach and some of the challenges of measuring them using surveys are discussed below.

3.2 Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS)

The main data source for this report is the Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS). The QNHS is undertaken by the Central Statistics Office (CSO) and its main objective is to provide estimates on short-term indicators of the labour market such as employment and unemployment. It is the CSO's second-largest statistical project (after the Census).

The survey is continuous and targets all private households in the state. The total sample per thirteen-week quarter is 39,000, which is achieved by interviewing 3,000 households per week. Households are asked to take part in the survey for five consecutive quarters before being replaced. As one-fifth of the households surveyed are replaced in each quarter, the QNHS sample involves an overlap of 80 per cent between consecutive quarters and 20 per cent between the same quarters in consecutive years. Participation is voluntary, and the response rate is quite high (approximately 85 per cent).⁷ The results are weighted to agree with population estimates broken down by age, sex and region.

While the main purpose of the QNHS is the production of quarterly labour force estimates, there is also provision for the collection of data on social topics through the inclusion of special survey modules. In the fourth quarter of 2004 the QNHS included an Equality Module. This extra set of questions was asked of approximately 24,600 QNHS respondents. This sub-sample was aged 18 years and over and was interviewed directly. In the fourth quarter of 2010⁸ a module on the topic of equality and discrimination among people was again included in the QNHS. This time the module involved just over 16,800 respondents aged 18 years and over. The 2010 Equality Module was a repeat of the 2004 module, with some additions to the questionnaire.

Three of the Equality Module questions focused specifically on work-related discrimination. They did not probe in detail the circumstances of subjective

⁷ Information provided by the CSO.

⁸ In 2009 the QNHS moved from seasonal to calendar quarters; thus, the fourth quarter period covered by the 2010 survey differs from that used in 2004. The 2004 Equality Module took place from September to November 2004, and the reference period for experiencing discrimination was September to November 2002 to the same time point in 2004. The 2010 Equality Module was carried out between October and December 2010, with the reference period beginning in October 2008. This discrepancy in survey period should be borne in mind when comparing the 2004 and 2010 results presented in this report.

discrimination, but they sought a broad picture of its incidence among different groups. The questions, which ask about discrimination in specific domains and in a specific timeframe, follow the guidelines for best practice in this area. (See Chapter 2 for the overall strengths and weaknesses of this type of measure of discrimination.)

The first of these questions was:

In the past two years, have you personally felt discriminated against in the workplace?

- Yes
- No
- Not applicable (don't work, haven't been working in the past two years)
- Don't know.

Those respondents who reported that they had experienced discrimination in the workplace were then asked:

Which of the following best describes the focus of the discrimination you experienced at work in the last two years?

- Pay
- Promotion
- Work conditions
- Lost job/made redundant
- Bullying or harassment
- Other.

The third work-related discrimination question was:

In the past two years, have you personally felt discriminated against while looking for work?

- Yes
- No
- Not applicable (don't work, haven't been working in the past two years)
- Don't know.

The QNHS also provides data on a range of more objective indicators of jobs and working conditions, such as occupation, sector, type of contract (permanent or temporary), income and unsocial working hours. Various measures of labour market participation are also available.

The measure of discrimination is based on the individual's own assessment. Respondents were provided with the following definition of discrimination prior to being asked about their own experiences:

Under Irish law, discrimination takes place when one person or a group of persons are treated less favourably than others because of their gender, marital status, family status, age, disability, 'race' (race, skin colour, nationality or ethnic origin), sexual orientation, religious belief and/or membership of the Traveller Community. When the term discrimination is used in this questionnaire it refers to this legal definition only. If you believe you were treated less favourably than someone else but it was for another reason (e.g. your qualifications, being over an income limit or because you are further back in a queue for something), this is not considered discrimination under Irish law.

We focus in this report on people of working age (20–64 years inclusive).

For a number of the analyses in Chapters 4 and 5, we pool the 2004 and 2010 data in order to examine the extent to which any observed changes in labour market situation or in the experience of discrimination over time were statistically significant when we control for characteristics such as level of education.

3.3 Defining Migrants in the QNHS

Information on nationality and country of birth is collected in the QNHS. In this report we use nationality to define our migrant population. Specifically, we identify those of any nationality other than Irish as the migrant population. Out of a total sample of 16,821 in the 2010 Equality Module, 1,651 individuals are non-Irish nationals (10 per cent of the total population sample); the remaining 15,170 are Irish nationals. This is a lower proportion than the 12 per cent of the national population that the CSO (2012b) estimates were non-Irish nationals in 2010 (see Chapter 1, Table 1.2).

Possible reasons for non-response to social surveys of this nature among migrants include: (a) literacy/language problems; (b) mistrust of institutions perceived as being from the state (i.e. CSO); (c) concern about what will be done with the information they give in the questionnaire (i.e. that it may be passed on to other parties); (d) not seeing the value of such a survey, thus low motivation; and (e) not being used to filling out questionnaires of this nature.

Although the QNHS data provide the most comprehensive picture of migrants in Ireland, apart from the Census, the possibility remains that the sample could be biased in some way that may influence the results presented in this report. In particular, it is likely that the QNHS does not include many illegal migrants, a group we would expect to fare particularly badly in the labour market (see Chapter 2). Furthermore, the questionnaire is administered in English so non-English speakers are likely to be underestimated. Nevertheless, research by Barrett and Kelly (2008) shows that the QNHS provides a reliable profile of Ireland's immigrants, based on comparisons between the QNHS from the second quarter of 2006 and the Census of 2006.

It should also be noted that the QNHS, as a survey of private households, will not survey asylum seekers living in institutional settings on full-board direct provision provided by the Reception and Integration Agency (McGinnity *et al.*, 2006). Given that asylum seekers are not legally permitted to work, those who do work are likely to be vulnerable to exploitation, and the sample used in this report may underestimate the degree of disadvantage of such migrants in the Irish labour market.

3.4 Distinguishing Groups of Migrants

In Chapter 2 we raised a number of research questions regarding immigrants in the Irish labour market. For example, does the immigrant penalty vary between different national-ethnic groups, and if so to what extent? To investigate these questions, we need to further divide the migrant sample.

Previous work (McGinnity *et al.*, 2006; O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008) stresses the role of ethnic background in subjective reports of discrimination among migrants in Ireland. Fortunately, the 2010 QNHS Equality Module included a question on

ethnicity – which is not usually collected in the standard QNHS – and this information is provided in this dataset.

The specific ethnicity question in the QNHS special module questionnaire was:

What is your ethnic group?

- A. White
 - Irish
 - Irish Traveller
 - Any other White background
- B. Black or Black Irish
 - African
 - Any other Black background
- C. Asian or Asian Irish
 - Chinese
 - Any other Asian background
- D. Other, including mixed background

The QNHS dataset responses to this question are simply grouped to distinguish: 'White' (97.5 per cent of cases), 'Black' (0.8 per cent), 'Asian' (0.9 per cent) and 'Other' (0.7 per cent).

The QNHS data also include a series of nationalities and national groups, as shown in Table 3.1. Irish nationals account for 90 per cent of the sample, nationals of the EU NMS for 4 per cent, and UK nationals for just over 2 per cent. No other national group or region exceeds 1 per cent of the sample.

Table 3.1: Sample Population by Country/Region of Nationality, 2010

Country/Region of Nationality	Number	%
Ireland	15,160	90.2
UK	367	2.2
EU-13	160	1.0
EU NMS	673	4.0
Africa	167	1.0
North America and Oceania	50	0.3
Asia	161	1.0
Rest of Europe	34	0.2
Rest of World	35	0.2
Total	16,807	100.0

Source: Constructed with data from the CSO, Quarterly National Household Survey Special Module on Equality, Quarter 4, 2010.

Note: Results based on unweighted data.

As we expected both objective and subjective discrimination to vary by ethnic as well as national background, we subdivided the nationality sample on an ethnic dimension. We also combined certain categories in order to generate sufficient cases to support analysis since the numbers in the QNHS data for some countries/regions are very small (see Table 3.1). The resulting eight main national-ethnic groups

analysed in this report are: White Irish, White UK, White EU-13, White EU MNS, White non-EU, Black African, Asian, and Ethnic Minority EU (see Table 3.2).

The total number of cases in the 2010 sample is 16,725. White Irish nationals account for about 90 per cent of the sample and White UK nationals account for another 2 per cent. White nationals of the older EU states (EU-13) account for less than 1 per cent, and those of the newer EU states (NMS) account for almost 4 per cent. The 'White non-EU' category refers to people of White ethnicity from a range of countries outside the EU, including North America, Australia, New Zealand and Asia; most are likely to be English-speaking and, with White ethnicity, can be expected to share similar labour market experiences. Black African, Asian and EU nationals of non-White ethnicity each account for less than 1 per cent. Irish nationals of non-White ethnicity are categorised in the Ethnic Minority EU group.

Table 3.2: National-Ethnic Groups in QNHS Equality Modules, 2004 and 2010

National-Ethnic Groups	2004		2010	
	1,000s	%	1,000s	%
White:				
Irish	23,047	93.6	15,095	89.7
UK	475	1.9	355	2.1
EU-13	188	0.8	147	0.9
EU NMS*	161	0.7	644	3.8
Non-EU	275	1.1	150	0.9
Black African	97	0.4	111	0.7
Asian	100	0.4	104	0.6
Ethnic Minority EU	144	0.6	119	0.7
Subtotal	24,487	99.5	16,725	99.4
Unallocated	114	0.5	82	0.5
Ethnicity Information Missing	9	0.0	14	0.1
Total	24,610	100	16,821	100

Source: Constructed with data from the CSO, Quarterly National Household Survey Special Module on Equality, Quarter 4, 2004 and 2010.

Notes: Results based on unweighted data. * Relates to EU-10 (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) in 2004 data and EU-12 (EU-10 plus Bulgaria and Romania, which joined the EU in 2007) in the 2010 data.

Table 3.2 includes information on the classification of the 2004 sample, as we also investigate change over time (i.e. between 2004 and 2010) in this report.

A small but extremely diverse 'unallocated' group makes up about 0.5 per cent of each sample. This group is based on a combination of minority ethnicity with a wide range of regions outside Europe that did not lend itself to a meaningful national-ethnic classification for the purposes of this analysis; thus, this group has been excluded from the study.

4 DIFFERENCES IN EMPLOYMENT, UNEMPLOYMENT, OCCUPATION AND EARNINGS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter we examine objective indicators of discrimination in relation to employment and work among those aged between 20 and 64 years. We begin by assessing differences in access to employment and in unemployment among the eight national-ethnic groups defined in Chapter 3: White Irish, White UK, White EU-13, White EU MNS, White non-EU, Black African, Asian, and Ethnic Minority EU (see Table 4.1). Initially we compare employment and unemployment rates among the different national-ethnic groups. Then we undertake multivariate analysis⁹ to isolate the individual impact of nationality and ethnicity on a person's likelihood of being employed or unemployed.

Table 4.1: National-Ethnic Groups

National-Ethnic Groups	Ethnicity	Country/Region of Nationality
White Irish	White	Ireland
White UK	White	United Kingdom
White EU-13	White	Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain or Sweden
White EU NMS*	White	Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria or Romania
White Non-EU	White	Australia and Oceania, United States and Canada, Africa, Asia, Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, other Europe, Central and South America, Middle East and Near East or other Rest of World
Black African	Black	Africa
Asian	Asian	Asia
Ethnic Minority EU	Black, Asian or Other	Irish, UK, EU-13 and EU NMS

Note: * Relates to EU-10 only in 2004 (i.e. excluding Bulgaria and Romania, which were part of the White non-EU category in 2004).

Turning to differential treatment at work, we examine disparities in occupational attainment and high earnings. As with the labour market analysis, we begin by looking at the occupational profile of the various national-ethnic groups and then carry out regression analysis¹⁰ to separately identify the impact of nationality and

⁹ A technique that allows for the isolation of relationships between a dependent variable (e.g. employment) and an independent variable (e.g. national-ethnic group), holding the effects of all other independent variables that may affect the dependent variable (e.g. gender, age, education) constant.

¹⁰ This term, along with econometric, is used interchangeably with multivariate analysis throughout the chapter.

ethnicity on an individual's chances of being in a high occupational category (defined here as managerial and professional occupations) or in a high earnings group, which relates to those who earn, net of taxes, €732 and above per week.

To conclude this chapter we consider whether the effects of nationality and ethnicity have changed over time. This work is conducted using econometric interaction models to compare results from the 2004 QNHS Equality Module with those derived from the 2010 QNHS Equality Module. This is an interesting issue to examine, given that the Irish economy was in recession when the 2010 data were collected but the country was experiencing strong labour demand in a booming economy when the 2004 survey was conducted. In particular, we are interested in whether certain national-ethnic groups are more exposed than others to discrimination during the recession, in terms of accessing employment or treatment at work.

Before addressing the various research topics highlighted above, we begin this chapter by examining the demographic characteristics of each of the eight national-ethnic groups, specifically in terms of their age and gender profiles.

4.2 Demographic Profile of National-Ethnic Groups

Table 4.2 compares the age structure of each of the eight national-ethnic groups, including the overall age make-up of the 2010 sample population. Just over 50 per cent of the sample is concentrated in the prime working age group (20–40 years); however, there is considerable variation across the national-ethnic categories. Less than half of the White Irish and UK citizens are in this age group, whereas the other national-ethnic groups are disproportionately concentrated in this category – over 70 per cent, with a figure of 90 per cent for White EU NMS and Asian individuals. Almost one-quarter of the White Irish and UK groups are aged over sixty, compared with less than 11 per cent for each of the other national-ethnic groups.

Table 4.2: Age Profile of National-Ethnic Groups, 2010 (%)

Age band	White:		Black African	Asian	Ethnic Minority EU	All			
	Irish	UK					EU-13	EU NMS	Non-EU
15–19	3.0	0.5	1.3	2.8	4.1	–	1.9	1.6	3.0
20–24	7.5	2.4	12.7	14.5	9.9	7.1	11.7	11.6	7.9
25–34	20.3	15.8	35.4	59.8	28.7	27.9	54.0	31.1	22.9
35–44	19.5	24.5	25.5	15.3	32.2	45.9	23.8	34.5	20.0
45–54	17.8	23.8	12.5	5.9	17.3	17.5	7.5	12.4	17.1
55–59	7.8	8.4	1.9	0.9	2.7	0.8	1.1	4.2	7.2
60–64	7.0	8.5	3.2	0.2	1.6	–	–	2.9	6.4
65+	17.0	16.1	7.6	0.6	3.6	0.9	–	1.8	15.5
Sample* (n)	15,095	355	147	644	150	111	104	119	16,821
Population (1000s)	2,947	64	33	161	33	24	27	26	3,340

Source: Constructed with data from the CSO, Quarterly National Household Survey Special Module on Equality, Quarter 4, 2010.

Note: * The national-ethnic group sample used in this study consists of 16,725 individuals. This number differs from the full sample in the special module (16,821), on which the 'All' percentages are based, due to the exclusion of non-European minority individuals (82) and those who did not report ethnicity (14).

In relation to gender (see Table 4.3), there are more females in the White Irish and Black African sample populations, particularly the Black African sample (63 per cent¹¹), and there is an even gender division in the White UK sample. Males predominate in each of the other national-ethnic groups.

Table 4.3: Gender Profile of National-Ethnic Groups, 2010 (%)

	Male	Female	Sample (n)
White:			
Irish	48.3	51.7	15,095
UK	50.5	49.5	355
EU-13	55.1	44.9	147
EU NMS	53.8	46.2	644
Non-EU	57.0	43.0	150
Black African	37.5	62.5	111
Asian	55.0	45.0	104
Ethnic Minority EU	60.7	39.4	119
All	48.9	51.1	16,725

Source: Constructed with data from the CSO, Quarterly National Household Survey Special Module on Equality, Quarter 4, 2010.

4.3 Employment and Unemployment Experiences

In terms of national-ethnic groups' experiences in the labour market, we begin by examining employment and economic activity, as defined by the International Labour Organisation (ILO).¹² Table 4.4 shows labour force participation, employment and unemployment rates for each national-ethnic group. Labour force participation and employment rates are expressed as percentages of the population in the 20–64 age group. The unemployment rate is expressed as a percentage of the labour force aged 20–64.

Overall, the labour force participation rate was 73 per cent among the sample population in 2010. The rates for White Irish, White UK and Asian individuals are similar to the average. The rates for White EU-13 and EU NMS individuals are much higher, and the rates for White non-EU, Black African and Ethnic Minority EU individuals are lower.

With regards to employment rates, again White Irish and Asian individuals had similar rates to the sample population (61 per cent). White EU-13 and EU NMS individuals recorded higher employment rates, but the employment rate was lowest among Black African individuals (38 per cent).

The average unemployment rate for the sample population was 16 per cent. At 9.5 per cent, White EU-13 individuals recorded the lowest unemployment rate, followed by Asians at 12.3 per cent. White EU NMS, Ethnic Minority EU and Black African individuals recorded much higher rates, particularly Black Africans (36 per cent).

¹¹ The corresponding figure in 2004 was 52 per cent.

¹² The ILO regards an individual as being in employment if he/she worked in the week before the survey for one hour or more for payment or profit, and includes all persons who had a job but were not at work in the week before because of illness, holidays, etc. The ILO defines an unemployed person as someone who, in the week before the survey, was without work but was available for work and had taken specific steps in the preceding four weeks to find work (i.e. was looking for work).

Table 4.4: Labour Force Participation, Employment and Unemployment Rates (ILO) of National-Ethnic Groups (20–64 age group), 2010 (%)

	Labour Force Participation Rate	Employment Rate	Unemployment Rate	Sample (n)
White:				
Irish	71.9	61.2	14.9	11,658
UK	72.0	58.7	18.5	284
EU-13	84.5	76.5	9.5	131
EU NMS	86.2	67.7	21.5	631
Non-EU	67.8	55.6	18.0	139
Black African	60.0	38.2	36.4	110
Asian	72.9	63.9	12.3	103
Ethnic Minority EU	65.0	50.8	21.8	114
All	72.5	61.2	15.6	13,260

Source: Constructed with data from the CSO, Quarterly National Household Survey Special Module on Equality, Quarter 4, 2010.

Table 4.5 shows another measure of economic activity, namely a person's principal economic status (PES). This is a self-perception question in that respondents classify themselves according to how they see their economic situation. Given that this measure of economic activity is based on self-assessment, the PES results do not match directly with those based on the ILO measure. For example, a full-time student with a part-time job could be classified as working under the ILO definition, but as a student under the PES classification.

Table 4.5: National-Ethnic Groups by Principal Economic Status (20–64 age group), 2010 (%)

	At Work	Unemployed	Student	On Home Duties	Retired	Other	Sample (n)
White:							
Irish	59.8	12.6	4.7	15.1	3.1	4.7	11,658
UK	58.1	15.0	0.8	16.3	3.7	6.1	284
EU-13	72.2	7.2	11.9	7.5	–	1.2	131
EU NMS	66.7	18.4	2.5	9.9	–	2.5	631
Non-EU	55.6	14.4	8.8	18.3	0.7	2.2	139
Black African	38.3	22.0	5.7	31.4	–	2.6	110
Asian	63.8	7.5	10.3	14.8	–	3.6	103
Ethnic Minority EU	50.8	15.3	8.1	17.9	0.6	7.2	114
All	59.9	13.0	4.8	15.0	2.8	4.5	13,260

Source: Constructed with data from the CSO, Quarterly National Household Survey Special Module on Equality, Quarter 4, 2010.

Examining the PES information helps us to understand some of the ILO-based data presented in Table 4.4, particularly the situation regarding the Black African and Asian categories. In relation to Black African individuals, under the ILO definition (Table 4.4) a small proportion of this national-ethnic group are in employment, while the PES information (Table 4.5) reveals that a large percentage are involved in home

duties. With regards to Asian individuals, over 12 per cent of this group are unemployed according to the ILO definition, but based on the PES measure a much smaller proportion (7.5 per cent) is unemployed and a more substantial number are actually students (10 per cent).

Table 4.6 presents the results from our logistic regression model of employment; we specifically show the national-ethnic group results here and present the results for the other covariates that we included in our model in Appendix Table A1. Using White Irish as the reference category, the results indicate that Asian, White non-EU¹³ and Ethnic Minority EU individuals have about half the chance of being employed when compared with White Irish individuals. White UK citizens are also less likely to be in employment than White Irish individuals (odds of .65). Black African individuals have the lowest probability of being employed relative to White Irish individuals (odds of .30).

The other covariates¹⁴ that we included in our employment specification all conform to expectations (see Table A1). For example, the higher an individual's educational attainment then the more likely that he/she is to be employed compared with those who left school early – individuals with a third-level qualification are 4.5 times more likely to be employed than those with a Junior Certificate qualification or less. Individuals who arrived to live in Ireland during the recession (recession arrival variable) have a lower probability of being employed, which is as we expected.

Table 4.6: Logistic Regression of Employment (ILO): Effects of Nationality and Ethnicity (20–64 age group), 2010

National-Ethnic Group (Ref: White Irish)	Odds	Significance
White UK	0.65	0.00
White EU-13	N.S.	0.34
White EU NMS	N.S.	0.84
Black African	0.30	0.00
Asian	0.56	0.01
White Non-EU	0.53	0.00
Ethnic Minority EU	0.52	0.00
Observations		13,184

Note: N.S. means not significant.

The results from our logistic regression of unemployment are presented in Table 4.7. Again, we use White Irish as our reference category. Controlling for gender, age, educational attainment and a range of other factors that can affect someone's likelihood of being unemployed, we find that Black African individuals are over four times more likely to be unemployed when compared with White Irish individuals. White UK and EU NMS individuals also have a higher probability than White Irish individuals of being unemployed.

Some other interesting results emerged from this model, particularly in relation to geographic location (see Table A2). We find that individuals from the Mid-West,

¹³ Given the diversity of the White non-EU national-ethnic group, as a sensitivity check we re-ran our model with 'Rest of Europe' and 'Rest of World' individuals excluded from this group. Apart from a small fall in the odds ratio (to .46), the 'White non-EU' result continued to be highly significant (p-value = 0.00). This sensitivity check was carried out on the unemployment, high occupation and high earnings models as well but there was no change from the 'White non-EU' results derived in the original specifications.

¹⁴ This term is used interchangeably with 'control variables' and 'independent variables' in this report.

South-East, Midlands, West and Mid-East all have a significantly higher likelihood of being unemployed than those from Dublin. Also, those individuals who arrived in Ireland during the recession are not more likely to be unemployed.

Table 4.7: Logistic Regression of Unemployment (ILO): Effects of Nationality and Ethnicity (20–64 age group), 2010

National-Ethnic Group (Ref: White Irish)	Odds	Significance
White UK	1.79	0.00
White EU-13	N.S.	0.38
White EU NMS	1.60	0.00
Black African	4.28	0.00
Asian	N.S.	0.13
White Non-EU	N.S.	0.34
Ethnic Minority EU	N.S.	0.22
Observations		9,149

Note: N.S. means not significant.

4.4 Occupational Attainment

Turning to the quality of jobs that individuals from different national-ethnic groups are employed in, Table 4.8 shows the results for occupational attainment. Apart from White EU NMS individuals, all other White nationality groups (Irish, UK, EU-13 and non-EU) are considerably more likely than non-White groups to be employed in managerial and professional occupations. White EU NMS individuals are more concentrated in the occupational categories: other, plant and machine operatives, sales, personal and protective services, and craft. The main occupation for Black African individuals is personal and protective services (31 per cent), and for Asian individuals it is associate professional and technical jobs (45 per cent).

These descriptive findings suggest quite an amount of disparity in occupational attainment across national-ethnic groups. One might assume that such differences are driven by discrimination; however, the disparities could be due to other important factors that can influence a person's occupation, such as educational attainment and age. To get a more accurate picture of the impact of nationality and ethnicity on occupational attainment, we used regression analysis to control for other important determinants of a person's occupational status. We combined the top two occupational groups – managers and administrators, and professionals – into a single group and estimated a logistic regression of membership of this single 'high' occupation group, controlling for other influential factors. The results from this econometric model, which is estimated on those in employment aged 20–64, are presented in Table 4.9.

The findings confirm the descriptive results presented in Table 4.8: White EU NMS, Black African, Asian and, to a lesser extent, Ethnic Minority EU individuals have a lower likelihood of securing a more privileged job in the Irish labour market, as defined by membership of either a managerial or professional occupation, compared with White Irish citizens. There is no difference between the other national-ethnic groups and White Irish individuals in relation to occupying more advantaged positions in the occupation structure in Ireland. Males are more likely to be in a high occupation job than females (see Table A3); as are those individuals with a high level of educational attainment, specifically third-level qualifications.

Table 4.8: National-Ethnic Groups by Occupation (20–64 age group), 2010 (%)

Occupation:	Irish	UK	White:			Black African	Asian	Ethnic Minority EU	All
			EU-13	EU NMS	Non-EU				
Managers and Administrators	16.4	14.0	20.1	4.4	15.1	2.2	4.0	8.4	15.3
Professional Associate	16.0	16.8	14.0	1.5	14.1	7.4	9.8	14.9	14.9
Professional and Technical	11.7	18.7	18.1	5.5	15.6	7.5	45.0	12.0	11.9
Clerical and Secretarial	13.1	13.9	8.8	6.7	3.8	8.2	9.4	9.1	12.4
Craft and Related	8.6	6.8	5.0	12.1	9.2	3.9	2.7	–	8.6
Personal and Protective Service	13.7	12.5	13.0	13.2	13.1	30.6	19.7	19.4	14.0
Sales	7.8	7.6	12.3	14.0	10.4	10.3	6.0	9.9	8.3
Plant and Machine Operative	6.3	2.7	4.0	19.4	8.6	22.1	1.1	9.7	7.1
Other	6.4	7.1	4.7	23.2	10.2	7.8	2.4	16.6	7.5
Sample (n)	6,929	152	97	411	77	42	65	57	7,871

Source: Constructed with data from the CSO, Quarterly National Household Survey Special Module on Equality, Quarter 4, 2010.

Table 4.9: Logistic Regression of Membership of Managerial and Professional Occupations: Effects of Nationality and Ethnicity (20–64 age group), 2010

National-Ethnic Group (Ref: White Irish)	Odds	Significance
White UK	0.71	0.08
White EU-13	N.S.	0.33
White EU NMS	0.15	0.00
Black African	0.13	0.00
Asian	0.18	0.00
White Non-EU	N.S.	0.14
Ethnic Minority EU	0.57	0.09
Observations		7,852

Note: N.S. means not significant.

4.5 Earnings

Another measure of job quality is a person's earnings. Since Quarter 3 of 2007 the QNHS has collected information on respondents' weekly take-home pay,¹⁵ specifically for direct employees only. This information allows us to look at whether

¹⁵ Weekly take-home pay refers to pay after the deduction of Pay Related Social Insurance (PRSI) and tax but before the deduction of items such as health insurance, union dues, income continuance, etc. It includes regular overtime, tips and commission.

there is variation in earnings by national-ethnic group.¹⁶ In particular, we look at the impact of nationality and ethnicity on membership of a high earnings group, which we define here as net earnings of €732 and above per week.¹⁷ Again, we estimate a logistic regression model and control for other influential factors that can affect a person's pay (e.g. age, gender, education). The results are presented in Table 4.10.

The findings indicate that both White EU NMS and Black African individuals have a lower likelihood of being high earners (i.e. of earning at least €732 per week) than White Irish individuals; White UK citizens have a higher probability of earning €732 or more per week.¹⁸

Table 4.10: Logistic Regression of Membership of High Earning Group: Effects of Nationality and Ethnicity (20–64 age group), 2010

National-Ethnic Group (Ref: White Irish)	Odds	Significance
White UK	1.73	0.05
White EU-13	N.S.	0.35
White EU NMS	0.19	0.00
Black African	0.19	0.03
Asian	N.S.	0.54
White Non-EU	N.S.	0.11
Ethnic Minority EU	N.S.	0.52
Recession Arrival	N.S.	0.74
Constant	0.01	0.00
Observations		4,966

Note: N.S. means not significant.

Males are four times more likely than females to be high earners (see Table A4). Individuals with a third-level qualification are considerably more likely to be high earners when compared with those with a Junior Certificate qualification or less (odds of 17.32). Perhaps unsurprisingly, apart from individuals who reside in the Mid-East, those living in regions outside Dublin are less likely to be high earners than those living in Dublin.

4.6 Changes between 2004 and 2010

In order to assess whether the effects of nationality and ethnicity on employment and work changed between the 2004 and 2010 QNHS Equality Modules, we estimated logistic regression models of employment, unemployment and membership of a high occupation group for both sets of data and included interaction terms to test for

¹⁶ The earnings distribution of the QNHS income data was compared with that of a similar net income measure in the 2009 EU Survey of Income and Living Conditions (SILC), which is another CSO-conducted survey that collects information on a broad range of issues in relation to income and living conditions. The shapes of both data sources' income distributions are comparable.

¹⁷ The earnings data in the QNHS are banded, so we selected the top two bands (€732–€889 and €890 and above) to create our high earnings category. The number of cases associated with the highest income band (€890 and above) was too small to permit a meaningful analysis of this band on its own.

¹⁸ We undertook some sensitivity checks on our high earnings group membership model. We controlled for usual hours worked per week in one specification, and in a second we restricted the sample to full-time workers only. The results for White EU NMS and Black African groups remained significant when we undertook both of these sensitivity checks. The model with the hours worked per week control found that White non-EU individuals were significantly less likely to be in a high earnings group than White Irish individuals (odds of .42 and p-value=0.5).

significant differences in the coefficients over time.¹⁹ The national-ethnic group results from this work are presented in Tables 4.11 to 4.13. The results for the other covariates included in each model are presented in Tables A5 to A7 in the Appendix.

The 2010 results in these three tables are not identical to the results presented in previous tables due to the exclusion of the recession arrival variable from the models underlying Tables 4.11 to 4.13. This variable could not be included in the 2004 model, or the analysis over time, as it measures arrivals from 2008 onwards. Another important point to bear in mind is that in the 2004 QNHS data Bulgarians and Romanians were defined as 'Rest of Europe' citizens, and therefore included in the White non-EU national-ethnic group, whereas in the 2010 survey they form part of the White EU NMS group. It is not possible to make adjustments for this nationality re-categorisation, and the issue needs to be borne in mind when interpreting the following results.

In relation to employment (see Table 4.11), the results indicate that White EU-13 individuals had a lower probability of being in employment when compared with White Irish individuals in 2004, whereas there is no difference in these two national-ethnic groups' employment probabilities in 2010. The results from the interaction model indicate that this change between 2004 and 2010 is significant.

Compared with 2010, Black African individuals had a much lower likelihood of being in employment relative to White Irish individuals in 2004 (odds of .10, compared with .31 in 2010). Again, the results from the interaction model indicate that the slight improvement that has taken place over time for Black African individuals is significant, albeit they are still less likely than White Irish individuals to be in employment.

The employment prospects of White non-EU individuals also appear to have improved over time – the odds of being in employment relative to White Irish individuals in 2010 are not as low as they were in 2004; however, when we conducted a sensitivity check on this result by excluding 'Rest of Europe' and 'Rest of World' individuals from the White non-EU group, this change was no longer significant.

Table 4.11: Logistic Regressions of Employment (ILO): Changes in Effects of Nationality and Ethnicity (20–64 age group), 2004 and 2010

National-Ethnic Group (Ref: White Irish)	2004		2010		Δ 2004–2010 Significant Difference
	Odds	Sig.	Odds	Sig.	
White UK	0.73	0.01	0.62	0.00	No
White EU-13	0.57	0.00	1.11	0.64	Yes
White EU NMS	0.88	0.58	0.98	0.85	No
Black African	0.10	0.00	0.31	0.00	Yes
Asian	0.31	0.00	0.54	0.00	No
White Non-EU	0.30	0.00	0.52	0.00	Yes
Ethnic Minority EU	0.52	0.00	0.50	0.00	No
Observations	19,172		13,184		32,356

Note: Sig. denotes significance.

¹⁹ It was not possible to look at earnings because QNHS collection of income information did not begin until 2007.

Regarding unemployment (see Table 4.12), there was no significant change over time in the national-ethnic group results, which is an interesting finding given the significant rise in unemployment over the recessionary period. As the national unemployment rate increased from about 5 to 14 per cent, the *relative* risk of unemployment between White Irish nationals and other groups did not change. The estimated odds of Black African individuals being unemployed compared with White Irish individuals fell considerably, from 10.56 in 2004 to 4.28 in 2010. However, this result is not statistically significant.²⁰ Thus, the underlying situation for Black African individuals has not changed over the course of the recession, in that the members of this national-ethnic group are still more likely than White Irish individuals to be unemployed in 2010, as they were in 2004.

Table 4.12: Logistic Regressions of Unemployment (ILO): Changes in Effects of Nationality and Ethnicity (20–64 age group), 2004 and 2010

National-Ethnic Group (Ref: White Irish)	2004		2010		Δ 2004–2010 Significant Difference
	Odds	Sig.	Odds	Sig.	
White UK	1.44	0.20	1.82	0.00	No
White EU-13	1.67	0.20	0.80	0.52	No
White EU NMS	1.59	0.24	1.65	0.00	No
Black African	10.56	0.00	4.28	0.00	No
Asian	1.89	0.23	1.76	0.11	No
White Non-EU	2.32	0.01	1.36	0.30	No
Ethnic Minority EU	2.60	0.01	1.54	0.17	No
Observations	13,054		9,149		22,203

Note: Sig. denotes significance.

We also found that there was no change over time in the national-ethnic group relativities regarding membership of a high occupational category (see Table 4.13).

Table 4.13: Logistic Regressions of Membership of Managerial and Professional Occupations: Changes in Effects of Nationality and Ethnicity (20–64 age group), 2004 and 2010

National-Ethnic Group (Ref: White Irish)	2004		2010		Δ 2004–2010 Significant Difference
	Odds	Sig.	Odds	Sig.	
White UK	0.80	0.13	0.72	0.08	No
White EU-13	0.90	0.59	0.81	0.36	No
White EU NMS	0.17	0.00	0.15	0.00	No
Black African	0.50	0.20	0.13	0.00	No
Asian	0.47	0.02	0.18	0.00	No
White Non-EU	0.99	0.96	0.68	0.15	No
Ethnic Minority EU	0.70	0.16	0.57	0.09	No
Observations	12,515		7,852		20,367

Note: Sig. denotes significance

²⁰ This could be due to small numbers in the sub-sample, although it may also reflect the fact that unemployment rates increased by proportionately more among White Irish individuals (from 5 to 15 per cent, on average) than among Black African individuals (from 25 to 36 per cent) between 2004 and 2010.

4.7 Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter we looked at objective measures of labour market disadvantage among our national-ethnic groups, specifically in terms of accessing employment and the quality of jobs.

In relation to access to employment, we find that White individuals from both the EU-13 and the EU NMS have much higher labour force participation and employment rates than the other national-ethnic groups, whereas Black African individuals have the lowest labour force participation and employment rates. The corollary of this last national-ethnic result is that Black African individuals have the highest unemployment rate. However, White EU NMS and Ethnic Minority EU individuals also have quite high unemployment rates.

The employment regression analysis reveals that White UK, Black African, Asian, White Non-EU and Ethnic Minority EU individuals all have lower employment probabilities than White Irish individuals. In relation to unemployment, White UK, Black African and White EU NMS individuals are more likely to be unemployed than White Irish individuals, with Black Africans having the highest odds ratio (4.28). Interestingly, however, we find that there has been no change in the national-ethnic group unemployment results over time, despite a significant increase in unemployment during the recession.

With regard to the quality of work, we find that White EU NMS, Black African, Asian and Ethnic Minority EU individuals are less likely to secure the more privileged positions in the occupational structure – identified in this study as being in managerial and professional occupations – when compared with White Irish individuals. Again, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, we find that there has been no significant change over time in the national-ethnic group occupation position results. We also investigated membership of a high earnings group and find that White EU NMS and Black African individuals are less likely than White Irish individuals to be high earners.

Some very minor changes occurred in the national-ethnic group results between 2004 and 2010: this was confined to the employment analysis, with slight improvements for White EU-13, Black African and White Non-EU individuals over time. Nevertheless, Black African and White Non-EU individuals still had lower employment prospects in 2010 when compared with White Irish individuals.

5 SUBJECTIVE DISCRIMINATION IN THE WORKPLACE

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we examine subjective discrimination in the workplace and the extent to which immigrants report discrimination in the workplace. From our research objectives, discussed in Chapter 2, we derived the following questions about immigrants to Ireland:

- Do immigrants experience higher levels of subjective discrimination whilst looking for work?
- Do immigrants experience higher levels of subjective discrimination whilst in work?
- Do these reported levels of discrimination vary between different national-ethnic groups?
- Are immigrants who arrived during the recession (i.e. in or after 2008) worse off in terms of their subjective experience of labour market discrimination?

Drawing from these questions, and previous literature, we developed the following hypotheses:

- We expect that immigrants experience higher levels of discrimination both in work and when looking for work.
- We expect this experience of discrimination to vary by national-ethnic group.
- We expect that immigrants who arrived during the recession may be at higher risk of discrimination.

This chapter concerns discrimination reported by the national-ethnic groups described in Chapter 3. First, we present descriptive findings, then regression models.

The tables in this chapter are based on the following questions in the QNHS Equality Module:

In the past two years, have you personally felt discriminated against in the workplace?

If respondents reported experiencing workplace discrimination, they were then asked:

Which of the following best describes the focus of the discrimination you experienced at work in the last two years?

All respondents were asked:

In the past two years, have you personally felt discriminated against while looking for work?

The analysis of subjective experience of discrimination in the workplace is conducted for those who responded to the relevant questions. It is important to note that the analysis only applies to the eligible population and does not include those respondents who answered 'not applicable' to one of the questions. All analysis is based on respondents aged 20–64 (inclusive). The number of cases is presented for each analysis.

5.2 Subjective Discrimination when Looking for Work

Table 5.1 shows that 4.6 per cent of White EU-13 individuals experienced discrimination whilst looking for work; this is the lowest rate of any national-ethnic group. White Irish nationals experienced the second lowest rate of discrimination at 5.4 per cent, followed by White EU NMS (5.9 per cent) and Asian (6.6 per cent) individuals. A much higher proportion (22 per cent) of the Black African population experienced discrimination while looking for work, the highest rate of any group considered. These results show that there are clear differences between national-ethnic groups in terms of discrimination whilst looking for work.

Individuals of Black or 'other' ethnicity are the most disadvantaged in terms of experiencing discrimination when looking for work. As demonstrated in Chapter 4 and in previous research, Black African individuals face lower employment rates (O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008). Many Black Africans in Ireland entered the country as asylum seekers and spent lengthy periods during which they were not permitted to work, which would have undermined their subsequent labour market prospects. This may explain why a large proportion of this group report that they have been discriminated against whilst looking for work.

When interpreting these results it should be noted that the rate of immigrant discrimination we uncover may underestimate the true underlying rate of discrimination. We are comparing a largely settled population of Irish nationals with an immigrant population that has already demonstrated its propensity to mobility. In any assessment of a migrant population there is the possibility that some of those who have experienced less favourable treatment or outcomes in a destination country may emigrate again, thus improving the average measured experience of the remaining migrant population.

Table 5.1: Reported Experience of Discrimination when Looking for Work by National-Ethnic Group (20–64 age group), 2010²¹

	White Irish	White UK	White EU-13	White EU NMS	White Non-EU	Asian	Black African	Ethnic Minority EU
No (%)	94.6	91.7	95.4	94.1	92.7	93.4	77.9	82.7
Yes (%)	5.4	8.3	4.6	5.9	7.3	6.6	22.1	17.3
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N of Cases	5,392	144	87	595	96	76	77	75

Source: CSO, Quarterly National Household Survey Special Module on Equality, Quarter 4, 2010.

5.3 Subjective Discrimination in the Workplace

Respondents were asked whether they had been personally discriminated against in the workplace in the previous two years. Table 5.2 shows that the White Irish national-ethnic group experienced the lowest rate of discrimination, 4.8 per cent, in the workplace. On the other hand, 28 per cent of the Black African group reported experiencing discrimination in the workplace; this rate is nearly six times the rate for the White Irish group, and is more than double the rate for the Asian group (12 per cent). As demonstrated in the analysis of discrimination whilst looking for work, Black

²¹ As our analysis is based on a sample aged 20–64 (inclusive), results differ from those presented in *Analysing the Experience of Discrimination in Ireland: Evidence from the QNHS Equality Module 2010* (McGinnity, Watson and Kingston, 2012).

African individuals experience disproportionately high rates of discrimination compared with the rest of the population.

Table 5.2: Reported Experience of Discrimination in the Workplace by National-Ethnic Group (20–64 age group), 2010

	White Irish	White UK	White EU-13	White EU NMS	White Non-EU	Asian	Black African	Ethnic Minority EU
No (%)	95.2	94.6	95.0	91.1	88.4	88.0	72.0	89.0
Yes (%)	4.8	5.4	5.0	8.9	11.6	12.0	28.0	11.0
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N of Cases	9,030	204	121	688	121	100	82	91

Source: CSO, Quarterly National Household Survey Special Module on Equality, Quarter 4, 2010.

Table 5.3 shows the focus of discrimination among those Irish and non-Irish nationals who reported experiencing discrimination in the workplace.²² The main focus of work-based discrimination for Irish nationals was bullying/harassment (29 per cent). Non-Irish nationals reported work conditions (27 per cent) and ‘other’ reasons (27 per cent) as the main types of work-based discrimination.

Table 5.3: Focus of Discrimination Experienced in the Workplace (20–64 age group), 2010

	Irish National	Non-Irish National	All
	%		
Pay	6.5	2.7	5.7
Promotion	8.6	9.9	8.9
Work Conditions	22.8	27.0	23.7
Bullying or Harassment	29.1	26.1	28.5
Lost Job/Made Redundant	11.4	7.2	10.6
Other	21.4	27.0	22.6
Total	100	100	100
N of Cases	429	111	540

Source: CSO, Quarterly National Household Survey Special Module on Equality, Quarter 4, 2010.

5.4 Multivariate Modelling of Discrimination among Immigrants

In this section we examine whether the patterns of discrimination reported are maintained when we account for other differences between the national-ethnic groups such as age, gender and human capital characteristics. The same modelling strategy of logistic regression is used for analysis of discrimination in the workplace and when looking for work.²³ In order to perform this logistic regression analysis we created dummy dependent variables. These dependent variables are coded 1 if the respondent had experienced discrimination in the previous two years, and 0 if the respondent had not.

²² Analysis was restricted to Irish and non-Irish nationals as the number of cases was too small to report national-ethnic groups.

²³ We do not estimate models of the focus of discrimination as the number of cases was too small for the non-Irish national groups.

First, we estimate the difference when looking for work between national-ethnic groups, asking the question: are certain national-ethnic groups more likely to report experiencing discrimination whilst looking for work? We disaggregate the non-Irish national sample by national-ethnic group as set out above, and as discussed in detail in Chapter 3. We include covariates for age, educational attainment, national-ethnic group and gender as controls. It is important to note that, as for the descriptive findings, the sample in all the models is limited to the 20–64 age group. Respondents for whom the question did not apply, or who had missing values on any of the covariates, are also excluded from the models.

5.4.1 Discrimination when Looking for Work

Table 5.4 presents the results of a logistic regression model analysing the odds of different national-ethnic groups experiencing discrimination when looking for work in the two years prior to the survey. The result show that members of the Black African national-ethnic group are over seven times more likely than Irish nationals to report experiencing discrimination when looking for work.

Table 5.4: Logistic Regression of Discrimination when Looking for Work: Effects of Nationality and Ethnicity (20–64 age group), 2010

	Odds	Significance
Female	0.89	0.31
Age (Ref: Age 20–24)		
Age 25–34	0.87	0.55
Age 35–44	1.01	0.98
Age 45–54	1.50	0.10
Age 55–59	2.13	0.01
Age 60–64	1.42	0.26
Educational Attainment (Ref: Junior Cert or Less)		
Leaving Certificate	0.76	0.09
Post-Leaving Certificate	0.86	0.42
Third-Level	0.67	0.01
Education Not Stated	0.69	0.30
National-Ethnic Group (Ref: White Irish)		
White UK	1.46	0.23
White EU-13	0.98	0.97
White EU NMS	1.28	0.29
Black African	7.29	0.00
Asian	1.16	0.81
White Non-EU	1.24	0.65
Ethnic Minority EU	4.16	0.00
Recession Arrival	1.94	0.04
Constant	0.06	0.00
Observations	5,787	

Source: CSO, Quarterly National Household Survey Special Module on Equality, Quarter 4, 2010.

The Ethnic Minority EU group are four times more likely than the White Irish group to experience discrimination. The Ethnic Minority EU group comprises respondents who are of Black, Asian and Other ethnicities. Given that these individuals share EU nationality with other White individuals who do not report experiencing discrimination to the same extent, this finding strongly suggests that the discrimination is due to ethnicity.

The odds for those who migrated to Ireland during or after 2008 are also significant, suggesting that they are nearly twice as likely to report discrimination while looking for work. Newly arrived immigrants are in a more vulnerable position in the labour market, especially during a recession when unemployment levels have risen. As Barrett and Kelly (2012) show, more recently arrived immigrants are less likely to be employed.

People in the 55–59 age group are more than twice as likely to report discrimination when looking for work as those in the reference category (20–24 age group). Previous research has shown that workers aged fifty or older are less likely than younger workers to lose their jobs, but they are taking longer to find work when they become unemployed in the recession (Johnson and Park, 2011).

Respondents with third-level education are more likely to report experiencing discrimination when looking for work. It has been demonstrated in previous research that more highly educated people are more likely to report discrimination (McGinnity *et al.*, 2006), this could be due to a combination of reasons including that they are more knowledgeable of their rights.

5.4.2 Discrimination in the Workplace

Turning to reported discrimination in the workplace, will we find similar differences between different national-ethnic groups? Table 5.5 presents the results of a logistic regression model examining the odds of experiencing discrimination at work.

Once again we see that the Black African group is the most likely to report experiencing discrimination at work. Black African individuals are almost seven times more likely than White Irish individuals to report experiencing discrimination in the workplace. Furthermore, Ethnic Minority EU and Asian individuals were both over twice as likely as White Irish individuals to report experiencing discrimination in the workplace. Both White EU NMS and White non-EU groups were almost twice as likely as the White Irish group to report experiencing discrimination. Overall, ethnicity and nationality play a major role in reported discrimination in the workplace.

Previous research has shown that ethnic minorities remain disadvantaged relative to White native populations in terms of their labour market opportunities. In general, they experience higher rates of unemployment and tend to be under-represented in higher paid, non-manual occupations (Carmichael and Woods, 2000). Research has demonstrated that immigrants in Ireland tend to be in occupations below their skill level (Barrett and Bergin 2009; Turner, 2010). This situation could lead to immigrants reporting that they are discriminated against in the workplace.

The model also shows that women are 1.55 times more likely than men to report experiencing discrimination in the workplace. Russell *et al.* (2009) find that men are twice as likely as women to occupy senior and middle management positions. Barrett and Kelly (2012) find that female immigrants are less likely than their Irish counterparts to be employed.

Table 5.5: Logistic Regression of Discrimination in the workplace: Effects of Nationality and Ethnicity (20–64 age group), 2010

	Odds	Significance
Female	1.55	0.00
Age (Ref: Age 20–24)		
Age 25–34	0.98	0.91
Age 35–44	1.13	0.58
Age 45–54	1.25	0.33
Age 55–59	0.85	0.56
Age 60–64	1.15	0.62
Educational Attainment (Ref: Junior Cert or Less)		
Leaving Certificate	0.84	0.27
Post-Leaving Certificate	1.25	0.18
Third-Level	1.16	0.28
Education Not Stated	1.58	0.08
National-Ethnic Group (Ref: White Irish)		
White UK	0.78	0.50
White EU-13	1.16	0.73
White EU NMS	1.94	0.00
Black African	6.67	0.00
Asian	2.25	0.04
White Non-EU	1.95	0.05
Ethnic Minority EU	2.64	0.01
Recession Arrival	0.78	0.49
Constant	0.03	0.00
Observations	9, 776	

Source: CSO, Quarterly National Household Survey Special Module on Equality, Quarter 4, 2010.

5.5 Changes between 2004 and 2010

In this section we use interaction effects to analyse the data from the 2004 and 2010 QNHS Equality Modules. Interaction effects allow us to explore whether there has been change in reported experiences of discrimination over time, and whether this change is significant. An interaction effect occurs when the effect of one independent variable on the dependent variable depends on the level of the second independent variable. If the reported interaction effect is significant, then there has been change over time. We include the interaction terms to test for significant differences in the coefficients over time: if an interaction effect is significant, we know that discrimination has increased or decreased significantly for that national-ethnic group between 2004 and 2010.

The 2010 results in the interaction tables below are not identical to the results presented in previous tables due to the exclusion of the recession arrival variable from the previous 'looking for work' and 'in the workplace' models. This variable could not be included in the 2004 model or the analysis over time because it measures arrivals from 2008 onwards.

Another important point is that Bulgarians and Romanians are categorised in the White non-EU group in the 2004 data, whereas in the 2010 data these nationalities form part of the White EU NMS group. It is not possible to make adjustments for this nationality re-categorisation, and the issue needs to be remembered when interpreting the results.

Table 5.6 presents the interaction model results for 2004 and 2010 for reported discrimination when looking for work. The model demonstrates that there has been a significant change over time for the 55–59 age group. People in this age group were more than twice as likely to report discrimination when looking for work in 2010 than in 2004. Previous research has shown that workers aged fifty and older are less likely than younger workers to lose their jobs, but are taking longer to find work when they become unemployed in the recession (Johnson and Park, 2011).

Table 5.6: Interaction Effects between 2004 and 2010 Data: Reported Discrimination when Looking for Work (odds) (20–64 age group)

	2004		2010		Δ 2004–2010
	Odds	Sig.	Odds	Sig.	Significant Difference
Female	0.71	0.00	0.89	0.33	No
Age (Ref: Age 20–24)					
Age 25–34	0.78	0.15	0.84	0.46	No
Age 35–44	0.84	0.31	0.96	0.88	No
Age 45–54	1.12	0.51	1.43	0.14	No
Age 55–59	0.90	0.65	2.05	0.01	Yes
Age 60–64	0.68	0.17	1.34	0.32	No
Educational Attainment (Ref: Junior Cert or Less)					
Leaving Certificate	0.56	0.00	0.76	0.10	No
Post-Leaving Certificate	0.64	0.01	0.87	0.43	No
Third-Level	0.74	0.02	0.67	0.01	No
Education Not Stated	0.92	0.76	0.72	0.35	No
National-Ethnic Group (Ref: White Irish)					
White UK	2.04	0.00	1.60	0.13	No
White EU-13	3.12	0.00	1.24	0.68	No
White EU NMS	1.95	0.04	1.40	0.14	No
Black African	6.92	0.00	7.42	0.00	No
Asian	2.27	0.09	1.33	0.64	No
White Non-EU	5.13	0.00	1.34	0.52	Yes*
Ethnic Minority EU	2.21	0.04	4.47	0.00	No
Observations	7, 931		7,852		

Source: CSO, Quarterly National Household Survey Special Module on Equality, Quarter 4, 2010.

Note: * Please note change in composition of this group.

There has also been a significant change for the White non-EU group in reporting discrimination when looking for work. People in this group were more likely to report experiencing discrimination in 2004 than in 2010; indeed, the odds of this group reporting discrimination had significantly lowered by 2010. As stated above, it is important to note that the composition of this group has changed. In 2004 this group

comprised people of a diverse range of nationalities who had migrated to Ireland to work under the employment permit system, including, inter alia, large numbers from Eastern Europe and South America with limited educational attainment, as well as high-skilled migrants, mainly from North America and Oceania. Following the shift in Irish labour market policy to meet labour shortages from within the enlarged EU while meeting skills shortages from outside Europe, the majority of White non-EU migrants in 2010 were likely to be highly skilled and to have secured jobs before migrating to Ireland, and, as such, were much less likely to report experiencing discrimination while looking for work.

Table 5.7 presents the logistic regression model results for discrimination in the workplace in 2004 and 2010, and the results of the interaction model testing for significant differences in reported discrimination over time. The table demonstrates that there has been very little change over time in the reported rates of discrimination in the workplace. The only significant change occurred for the group who have third-level education. People in this group were significantly less likely to report experiencing discrimination in 2010 than they were in 2004. Previous research has shown that job satisfaction for this group increases over time (O’Connell *et al.*, 2010).

Table 5.7: Interaction Effects between 2004 and 2010 Data: Reported Discrimination in the Workplace (odds) (20–64 age group)

	2004		2010		Δ 2004–2010
	Odds	Sig.	Odds	Sig.	Significant Difference
Female	1.46	0.00	1.55	0.00	No
Age (Ref: Age 20–24)					
Age 25–34	1.04	0.81	0.99	0.96	No
Age 35–44	1.07	0.66	1.15	0.53	No
Age 45–54	1.09	0.61	1.27	0.30	No
Age 55–59	0.76	0.18	0.87	0.60	No
Age 60–64	0.63	0.08	1.17	0.58	No
Educational Attainment (Ref: Junior Cert or Less)					
Leaving Certificate	1.12	0.34	0.84	0.27	No
Post-Leaving Certificate	1.28	0.09	1.25	0.18	No
Third-Level	1.68	0.00	1.16	0.28	Yes
Education Not Stated	1.36	0.26	1.58	0.08	No
National-Ethnic Group (Ref: White Irish)					
White UK	1.46	0.12	0.77	0.48	No
White EU-13	2.06	0.01	1.10	0.82	No
White EU NMS	2.73	0.00	1.89	0.00	No
Black African	2.34	0.08	6.63	0.00	No
Asian	2.74	0.01	2.20	0.04	No
White Non-EU	2.22	0.00	1.90	0.06	No
Ethnic Minority EU	2.82	0.00	2.59	0.01	No
Observations	13, 876		9,776		0.49

5.6 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter examined how subjective discrimination differs between national-ethnic groups both in the workplace and whilst looking for work. Overall, we find that nationality and ethnicity play a large role in the subjective experience of work-based discrimination. The Black African national-ethnic group is the most vulnerable group in terms of reporting experiences of discrimination when looking for work and when in the workplace. Black African individuals are over seven times more likely than White Irish individuals to experience discrimination when looking for work, and almost seven times more likely to report discrimination in the workplace. This is the case even when we control for differences in gender, age and education between the groups, which demonstrates that the differences in reported discrimination are not fully explained by different human capital endowments and personal characteristics.

Why are Black Africans reporting the highest rates of discrimination? Carmichael and Woods (2000) find that at least some of the disadvantage experienced by ethnic minorities in the British labour market can be attributed to discriminatory selection practices by employers. This could also be the case in Ireland. Another reason could be detachment from the labour market.

We also find that the Ethnic Minority EU group is more likely than the White Irish group to experience discrimination when looking for work and when in the workplace. This national-ethnic group comprises respondents who are of Black, Asian and Other ethnicities. Given that this group shares EU nationality with White groups that do not report discrimination to the same extent, this finding strongly suggests that the discrimination is due to ethnicity.

We find that, overall, ethnicity and nationality play a major role in reported discrimination in the workplace. All national-ethnic groups aside from the White UK and White EU-13 groups report experiencing discrimination in the workplace. The White UK and EU-13 groups have had access to the Irish labour market for quite some time and therefore may be less likely to experience discrimination in the workplace because they are more integrated. Previous research has shown that ethnic minorities remain disadvantaged relative to White natives in terms of their labour market opportunities. In general, they experience higher rates of unemployment and tend to be under-represented in higher paid, non-manual occupations (Carmichael and Woods, 2000). Research has demonstrated that immigrants in Ireland tend to be in occupations below their skill level (Barrett and Bergin, 2009; Turner, 2010).

Migrants who arrived in Ireland during or after 2008, when the recession began, are looking for work in an unstable labour market with high rates of unemployment. These immigrants are almost twice as likely as White Irish nationals to report discrimination when looking for work. This mirrors findings from Barrett and Kelly (2012), whose analysis of the QNHS finds that all immigrant groupings (aside from the EU-13 group) are less likely than natives to be employed, with the marginal effects indicating that the impact is greater for more recently arrived immigrants.

We find that there has been very little significant change between 2004 and 2010 in reported discrimination in the workplace and when looking for work. People in the 55–59 age group were more likely to report experiencing discrimination when looking for work in 2010 compared with 2004; this result is significant. People in the White non-EU group were less likely to report experiencing discrimination when looking for work in 2010 compared with 2004; this could be due to the changed composition of the group. Within the workplace, only one significant result was found in the

interaction model: people with third-level education were less likely to report discrimination in work in 2010 compared with 2004. This means that patterns of subjective discrimination have mostly not changed over time, which is interesting in light of the large-scale changes in the Irish labour market between 2004 and 2010.

6 CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

This study addresses the question of how immigrants fare in the Irish labour market. We investigate objective labour market outcomes, such as employment, unemployment and the quality of jobs, as well as respondents' subjective reports of experiencing discrimination in the workplace and when looking for work. We also examine differences in both objective outcomes and subjective experiences for different groups of migrants, looking in particular at variations between national-ethnic groups. In addition, we explore how these patterns have changed over time.

Ireland, historically a country of substantial net emigration, experienced significant inward migration between the mid-1990s and 2007, during a period of rapid growth in the economy and in employment. While the inflow has declined since the onset of the economic crisis, significant numbers of immigrants remain in Irish society and in the labour force. International experience suggests that immigrants can experience difficulties in host-country labour markets (OECD, 2007b), giving rise to concerns about possible exploitation and discrimination in the workplace and in access to work. Previous research in Ireland indicates that these concerns are well founded: migrants fare less well than Irish nationals in the labour market (see, for example, O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008; Barrett, McGuinness and O'Brien, 2012).

The role of immigrants in meeting the demand for labour in the booming economy between 2004 and 2007 was evident. The number of non-Irish nationals in employment increased dramatically, from 164,400 at the end of 2004 to 341,500 at the end of 2007. Over this three-year period the number of non-Irish nationals in employment more than doubled and the growth in the number of immigrants from the newer EU member states (EU NMS) was particularly strong: over 300 per cent. Immigrants were hit very hard by the recession. Total employment fell by over 14 per cent between the end of 2007 and the end of 2011: employment among Irish nationals fell by 13 per cent, but employment among non-Irish nationals fell by over 21 per cent. The EU NMS group experienced the sharpest drop in employment: they lost almost 50,000 jobs, a 27 per cent contraction. The national unemployment rate increased from less than 5 per cent of the labour force at the end of 2007 to almost 15 per cent in late 2012. The unemployment rate among non-Irish nationals was higher, and increased from 6 per cent to almost 18 per cent over the same period. UK nationals had the highest unemployment rate in 2012 (21 per cent), followed by EU NMS nationals (19 per cent).

6.2 Main Findings

6.2.1 Access to Employment

When we assessed differences in access to employment among our eight national-ethnic groupings, we found that White EU individuals (from Ireland, UK, EU-13 and NMS) in 2010 had much higher labour force participation and employment rates than the other national-ethnic groups. Black African individuals recorded the lowest labour force participation and employment rates and the highest unemployment rate. However, White EU NMS individuals also had quite a high unemployment rate.

Controlling for a range of potentially influential socio-demographic characteristics, the econometric analysis revealed that White UK, Black African, Asian, White non-EU and Ethnic Minority EU individuals all had lower chances of employment when

compared with White Irish individuals. The association between national-ethnic group membership and unemployment differed slightly: with Black African, White UK and White EU NMS individuals having higher probabilities of unemployment than White Irish people.

Despite the significant increase in unemployment that took place between the 2004 and 2010 QNHS Equality Modules, we find that there has been no change over time in the relative risks of unemployment between different national-ethnic groups. In relation to employment, while White EU-13 individuals had a lower likelihood of employment than White Irish nationals in 2004, this was no longer the case in 2010. We also find that while Black African individuals were less likely than White Irish nationals to be employed both in 2004 and in 2010, the size of the negative effect was not as large in 2010.

In relation to subjective discrimination, we find that Black African individuals are seven times more likely than White Irish nationals to report experiencing discrimination when looking for work. Our analysis demonstrates that migrants who arrive during the recession (in or after 2008) are more likely to report experiencing discrimination when looking for work. We also find that people in the 55–59 age group are more than twice as likely to report discrimination when looking for work, compared with the reference category group (20–24 age group). The Ethnic Minority EU group also fare worse in terms of reported rates of discrimination when looking for employment. This is the case even when we control for differences in gender, age and education between the groups. The differences in reported discrimination are not fully explained by differences in human capital endowments and personal characteristics. Respondents with third-level education are more likely than those with other levels of educational attainment to report experiencing discrimination when looking for work.

Our interaction model shows little change between 2004 and 2010 in reported rates of experiencing discrimination when looking for work. People in the 55–59 age group were more likely to report experiencing discrimination when looking for work in 2010 compared with 2004. People in the White non-EU group were less likely to report experiencing discrimination in 2010 compared with 2004. This could be due to changes in the composition of the group. In 2004 the non-EU group was more diverse with respect to skills, qualifications and occupations. After EU enlargement, people in the non-EU group are more likely to be highly skilled and to have secured jobs, and work permits, before migrating to Ireland, and, as such, are less likely to report experiencing discrimination while looking for work.

6.2.2 Immigrants in the Workplace

Our examination of how different national-ethnic groups are treated at work focused on two specific measures: membership of a high occupational category, which we define as managerial and professional occupations; and membership of a high earnings groups, which we classify as those who earn, net of taxes, €732 and above per week.

In relation to occupational attainment, we find that White UK, White EU NMS, Black African, Asian and Ethnic Minority EU individuals are less likely than White Irish individuals with equivalent characteristics to be in the most privileged occupational category. These national-ethnic group patterns, by and large, have not been affected by the recession.

With regard to earnings, we find that White EU NMS and Black African individuals are less likely than White Irish individuals to be high earners. In the absence of available earnings information in the 2004 survey, it was not possible to investigate whether the national-ethnic group earnings patterns have changed since the onset of the recession.

Our analysis of discrimination in the workplace shows that there are large differences between national-ethnic groups in reported rates of experiencing discrimination. All national-ethnic groups, apart from the White UK and White EU-13 groups, report substantial rates of discrimination in the workplace. Black African individuals are over six times more likely than White Irish individuals to report that they have experienced discrimination in the workplace. One significant change occurred over time: people with third-level education were less likely to report experiencing discrimination in 2010 than in 2004.

6.2.3 Differential Treatment and Discrimination

An important and enduring issue in research on discrimination is the extent to which reported subjective experiences of discrimination are consistent with observed objective differences in outcomes. For this study, we developed statistical models that control for potentially influential covariates (e.g. age, education) in examining the association between national-ethnic groups and labour market outcomes related to access to employment and the quality of jobs. Part of the remaining unexplained variation in objective outcomes associated with national-ethnic group may be due to discrimination, or to other factors – such as knowledge of local labour markets or the quality of networks within and beyond an immigrant community – that are not observed and thus not included in the models.

As argued in Chapter 2, measuring discrimination poses particular challenges since discriminatory behaviour is rarely observed directly, and there is always the possibility that objectively differential outcomes are due to an unobserved factor. In this context, it is useful to consider whether there is evidence of consistency in the broad patterns of objective outcomes and subjective reports of discrimination revealed by analysis of a single data set. Our results indicate certain marked and consistent patterns.

The results for the Black African group stand out. With regard to *access* to employment, controlling for other influential factors, Black African individuals are much less likely than White Irish individuals, and indeed individuals from any other national-ethnic group, to be in employment; they are more than four times as likely to be unemployed and seven times more likely to report having experienced discrimination when looking for work. Among those *at work*, Black African individuals are much less likely than White Irish individuals to be in a professional/managerial occupation or in a high-earning group, and are almost seven times more likely to report experiencing discrimination in the workplace. Thus, the objective and subjective experiences of Black African individuals in the Irish labour market are consistently and starkly negative.

We suggest that part of the severe disadvantages suffered by Black African individuals may be due, in part, to the fact that many Black Africans in Ireland are refugees. People who enter the country as asylum seekers spend a considerable period of time excluded from the labour market, and in many respects excluded from

participation in Irish society, under the direct provision system.²⁴ Long-term non-employment can have a scarring effect on subsequent employment prospects (Ruhm, 1991; Layte *et al.*, 2000). Research in Sweden has found that refugees are more likely to be unemployed, have temporary jobs and lower income (Bevelander, 2011).

Unfortunately, the QNHS provides no information on the visa/residency status of non-Irish nationals, so we cannot measure how many Black African individuals are refugees, nor attribute the respondents' labour market situation to their residency status. Nevertheless, further analysis of the data reveals that about 80 per cent of Black African respondents to the 2010 survey were resident in Ireland prior to 2004. Many would have entered Ireland as asylum seekers and eventually had their asylum claims recognised or achieved residency, and access to the labour market, under the 'Irish-Born Child Scheme' for immigrant parents of Irish children born before January 2005. Coakley (2012), in his study of the impact of this scheme, shows that this group of immigrant parents has particularly high levels of unemployment and under-employment, and of working below their skills levels in low-paid work. However, he argues that 'it is less a problem of discriminatory conditions in the labour force but a problem of the inability to work at an adequate level on foot of a status category that separates families and forces status holders to operate as de-facto single parents'.

If a substantial proportion of Black African individuals are refugees, or resident under the Irish-Born Child Scheme, then at least part of their manifest disadvantage in the labour market may be attributed to the long-term effects of an asylum system that consigns asylum seekers to protracted periods of exclusion from Irish society and the labour market. Of course, not all Black African immigrants entered Ireland as asylum seekers, and the survey evidence clearly indicates that Black African respondents interpret their manifest difficulties in the labour market in terms of discrimination.

The Ethnic Minority EU group also displays broad consistency between objective labour market outcomes and subjective reports of discrimination. This group consists of EU nationals of Black, Asian or Other ethnicities, and, as such, most of its members share with Black Africans the characteristic of being visibly different from the White Irish majority. Ethnic Minority EU individuals are half as likely as White Irish individuals to be in employment and four times more likely to report experiencing discrimination while looking for work. They are also half as likely to be in professional or managerial occupations than White Irish individuals,²⁵ even when controlling for education and other potentially influential factors. They are 2.6 times more likely than White Irish individuals to report that they have experienced discrimination at work. Given that members of this group share EU nationality with White groups that do not report experiencing discrimination to the same extent, the findings indicate that discrimination may be attributed to ethnicity rather than nationality.

Our findings also suggest that the EU NMS group suffers both occupational and earnings disadvantages when compared with White Irish nationals. This is consistent with previous research (Barrett and Duffy, 2008; Barrett, McGuinness and O'Brien, 2012; O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008). People in the EU NMS group are also twice as likely to report experiencing discrimination in the workplace.

²⁴ Direct provision is a means of meeting the basic needs of food and shelter for asylum seekers directly while their claims for refugee status are being processed. Asylum seekers are not allowed to work or study, and depend on personal allowances of €19.10 per adult and €9.60 per child per week.

²⁵ This effect is at the margins of statistical significance, although this may be due to the small number of cases in this sub-sample.

More generally, the Black African and Ethnic Minority EU groups are the only two groups to display significantly high levels of subjective discrimination in looking for work, and they have lower employment rates; and in the case of Black Africans, much higher unemployment rates. Discrimination at work is rather more widespread across national-ethnic groups: in addition to Black African and Ethnic Minority EU individuals, who have elevated levels of discrimination and low occupational attainment, EU NMS and Asian individuals also combine higher rates of discrimination with lower rates of employment in the more privileged professional and managerial occupations.

6.3 Policy Implications

The key findings of this report are that immigrants do not fare as well as Irish nationals in the Irish labour market, although the results vary according to nationality and ethnicity. These labour market disparities can be due to a number of factors, including lack of familiarity with local labour market opportunities, networks and conditions, or lack of recognition of immigrants' human capital characteristics such as skills and education levels that can be difficult to transfer. Immigrants may find it hard to establish networks when they are new to a country. Language skills may also be a factor. While immigrants who arrived during or after 2008 entered a very difficult labour market with high unemployment rates, those who arrived before 2008 were concentrated in jobs and industries that subsequently collapsed, such as construction, sales and accommodation and food services.

Previous research has also demonstrated that immigrants do not fare as well in the labour market as Irish nationals (O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008; McGinnity *et al.*, 2009; Barrett and Kelly, 2012). Ireland has experienced inward migration for a number of years, and this continues in the recession. It is important that disparities between Irish nationals and immigrants are acknowledged, and that suitable policy is implemented so that immigrants can integrate into the Irish labour market. Immigrants tend to be concentrated in industries that are more sensitive to fluctuations and therefore are among those most likely to be affected by the worsening of labour market conditions. Experience from previous economic downturns suggests that the impact on immigrants' labour market outcomes may be long-lasting, particularly for those who entered the labour market most recently and for those displaced from declining industries (OECD, 2009a and 2009b). It is vital that we ensure equal employment opportunities for immigrants so that these gaps do not remain. In general then, our findings on the experiences of immigrants suggest the need for planned public policy to promote integration of employees, particularly in the labour market.

Our research shows that Black African, Ethnic Minority EU and EU NMS groups fare worse than the other national-ethnic groups in terms of both objective outcomes and subjective experiences of discrimination. Black African individuals experience the highest rate of unemployment, and the lowest rates of employment and labour force participation; they also report the highest odds of subjective discrimination both in the workplace and when looking for work. Although Ireland is currently in the depths of a deep recession with mass unemployment, it is important that programmes are implemented to ensure that vulnerable national-ethnic groups are integrated, particularly refugees who have been excluded from the labour market for an extended period of time. Targeted labour market and education programmes that concentrate on providing equal employment opportunities, and offer retraining, education, and language and cultural supports, are vital for ensuring that these groups have an equal chance to participate in the labour market.

We also find that discrimination is more widespread in the workplace than when looking for work, and that those national-ethnic groups reporting higher rates of discrimination in the workplace – including Black African, Ethnic Minority EU, Asian and EU NMS individuals – are also less likely than White Irish individuals to work in professional and managerial occupations, even when other influential factors, such as age and education, are controlled for. Indicating an inefficient use of available human resources, this represents a failure on both efficiency and equity grounds. Part of the problem may be employer difficulty in recognising educational qualifications earned outside Ireland, suggesting the utility of state assistance to employers in translating educational qualifications into their Irish equivalents. There may also be some value in policies to ensure that immigrants are fully informed about their rights under Irish laws, particularly those relating to the labour market.

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APPENDIX

Table A1: Logistic Regression of Employment (ILO), 2010

	Odds	Significance
Male	1.76	0.00
Age (Ref: Age 20–24)		
Age 25–34	2.17	0.00
Age 35–44	2.08	0.00
Age 45–54	2.42	0.00
Age 55–59	1.56	0.00
Age 60–64	0.71	0.00
Marital Status (Ref: Single)		
Married	0.87	0.05
Widowed	N.S.	0.10
Divorced	N.S.	0.57
Family Type (Ref: Not in Family Unit)		
Couple with No Children	1.47	0.00
Couple with Children	N.S.	0.86
Lone Parent	0.69	0.00
Educational Attainment (Ref: Junior Cert or Less)		
Leaving Certificate	1.81	0.00
Post-Leaving Certificate	1.93	0.00
Third-Level	4.55	0.00
Education Not Stated	1.90	0.00
Region (Ref: Dublin)		
Border	0.78	0.00
Mid-East	N.S.	0.22
Midlands	0.69	0.00
Mid-West	0.74	0.00
South-East	0.74	0.00
South-West	0.88	0.06
West	N.S.	0.17
Location Type (Ref: Rural)		
Urban	0.90	0.02
Disability	0.26	0.00
National-Ethnic Group (Ref: White Irish)		
White UK	0.65	0.00
White EU-13	N.S.	0.34
White EU NMS	N.S.	0.84
Black African	0.30	0.00
Asian	0.56	0.01
White Non-EU	0.53	0.00
Ethnic Minority EU	0.52	0.00
Recession Arrival	0.65	0.01
Constant	0.48	0.00
Observations		13,184

Note: N.S. means not significant.

Table A2: Logistic Regression of Unemployment (ILO), 2010

	Odds	Significance
Male	1.88	0.00
Age (Ref: Age 20–24)		
Age 25–34	0.59	0.00
Age 35–44	0.59	0.00
Age 45–54	0.49	0.00
Age 55–59	0.42	0.00
Age 60–64	0.34	0.00
Marital Status (Ref: Single)		
Married	0.75	0.01
Widowed	0.52	0.02
Divorced	N.S.	0.63
Family Type (Ref: Not in Family Unit)		
Couple with No Children	0.76	0.02
Couple with Children	N.S.	0.64
Lone Parent	1.30	0.02
Educational Attainment (Ref: Junior Cert or Less)		
Leaving Certificate	0.54	0.00
Post-Leaving Certificate	0.73	0.00
Third-Level	0.31	0.00
Education Not Stated	0.50	0.00
Region (Ref: Dublin)		
Border	N.S.	0.17
Mid-East	1.31	0.03
Midlands	1.58	0.00
Mid-West	1.78	0.00
South-East	1.77	0.00
South-West	N.S.	0.17
West	1.44	0.01
Location Type (Ref: Rural)		
Urban	N.S.	0.20
Disability	1.47	0.01
National-Ethnic Group (Ref: White Irish)		
White UK	1.79	0.00
White EU-13	N.S.	0.38
White EU NMS	1.60	0.00
Black African	4.28	0.00
Asian	N.S.	0.13
White Non-EU	N.S.	0.34
Ethnic Minority EU	N.S.	0.22
Recession Arrival	N.S.	0.22
Constant	0.32	0.00
Observations		9,149

Note: N.S. means not significant.

Table A3: Logistic Regression of Membership of Managerial and Professional Occupations, 2010

	Odds	Significance
Male	1.50	0.00
Age (Ref: Age 20–24)		
Age 25–34	1.78	0.00
Age 35–44	2.06	0.00
Age 45–54	2.64	0.00
Age 55–59	2.79	0.00
Age 60–64	3.10	0.00
Marital Status (Ref: Single)		
Married	N.S.	0.45
Widowed	0.56	0.02
Divorced	N.S.	0.13
Family Type (Ref: Not in Family Unit)		
Couple with No Children	0.82	0.06
Couple with Children	0.71	0.00
Lone Parent	0.74	0.01
Educational Attainment (Ref: Junior Cert or Less)		
Leaving Certificate	1.42	0.00
Post-Leaving Certificate	N.S.	0.76
Third-Level	5.85	0.00
Education Not Stated	1.71	0.03
Region (Ref: Dublin)		
Border	0.75	0.01
Mid-East	N.S.	0.73
Midlands	0.78	0.07
Mid-West	N.S.	0.10
South-East	0.77	0.01
South-West	0.75	0.00
West	0.73	0.01
Location Type (Ref: Rural)		
Urban	0.81	0.00
Disability	N.S.	0.35
National-Ethnic Group (Ref: White Irish)		
White UK	0.71	0.08
White EU-13	N.S.	0.33
White EU NMS	0.15	0.00
Black African	0.13	0.00
Asian	0.18	0.00
White Non-EU	N.S.	0.14
Ethnic Minority EU	0.57	0.09
Recession Arrival	N.S.	0.74
Constant	0.11	0.00
Observations		7,852

Note: N.S. means not significant.

Table A4: Logistic Regression of Membership of High Earning Group, 2010

	Odds	Significance
Male	3.97	0.00
Age (Ref: Age 20–34)		
Age 35–44	3.02	0.00
Age 45–54	3.56	0.00
Age 55–64	2.95	0.00
Marital Status (Ref: Single)		
Married	2.10	0.00
Widowed	N.S.	0.17
Divorced	N.S.	0.57
Family Type (Ref: Not in Family Unit)		
Couple with No Children	0.56	0.00
Couple with Children	0.48	0.00
Lone Parent	0.63	0.04
Educational Attainment (Ref: Junior Cert or Less)		
Leaving Certificate	3.65	0.00
Post-Leaving Certificate	2.89	0.00
Third-Level	17.32	0.00
Education Not Stated	3.67	0.02
Region (Ref: Dublin)		
Border	0.42	0.00
Mid-East	N.S.	0.30
Midlands	0.51	0.01
Mid-West	0.44	0.00
South-East	0.41	0.00
South-West	0.61	0.00
West	0.40	0.00
Location Type (Ref: Rural)		
Urban	N.S.	0.78
Disability	N.S.	0.16
National-Ethnic Group (Ref: White Irish)		
White UK	1.73	0.05
White EU-13	N.S.	0.35
White EU NMS	0.19	0.00
Black African	0.19	0.03
Asian	N.S.	0.54
White Non-EU	N.S.	0.11
Ethnic Minority EU	N.S.	0.52
Recession Arrival	N.S.	0.74
Constant	0.01	0.00
Observations		4,966

Note: N.S. means not significant.

**Table A5: Logistic Regressions of Employment (ILO) in 2004 and 2010:
Changes in Effects of Nationality and Ethnicity**

	2004		2010		Δ 2004–2010 Significant Difference
	Odds	Sig.	Odds	Sig.	
Male	3.48	0.00	1.73	0.00	Yes
Age (Ref: Age 20–24)					
Age 25–34	1.95	0.00	2.09	0.00	No
Age 35–44	1.87	0.00	1.94	0.00	No
Age 45–54	1.69	0.00	2.15	0.00	No
Age 55–59	0.81	0.02	1.37	0.00	No
Age 60–64	0.30	0.00	0.62	0.00	No
Marital Status (Ref: Single)					
Married	0.70	0.00	0.89	0.10	Yes
Widowed	0.86	0.15	1.29	0.05	Yes
Divorced	1.05	0.51	1.03	0.75	No
Family Type (Ref: Not in Family Unit)					
Couple with No Children	1.40	0.00	1.54	0.00	No
Couple with Children	0.89	0.16	1.05	0.55	No
Lone Parent	0.73	0.00	0.72	0.00	No
Educational Attainment (Ref: Junior Cert or Less)					
Leaving Certificate	2.01	0.00	1.95	0.00	No
Post-Leaving Certificate	2.71	0.00	2.05	0.00	Yes
Third-Level	4.83	0.00	4.95	0.00	No
Education Not Stated	2.46	0.00	1.94	0.00	No
Region (Ref: Dublin)					
Border	0.83	0.00	0.75	0.00	No
Mid-East	0.86	0.02	0.87	0.07	No
Midlands	0.78	0.00	0.68	0.00	No
Mid-West	0.92	0.25	0.75	0.00	Yes
South-East	0.73	0.00	0.72	0.00	No
South-West	0.71	0.00	0.85	0.01	Yes
West	0.81	0.00	0.84	0.04	No
Location Type (Ref: Rural)					
Urban	0.81	0.00	0.86	0.00	No
National-Ethnic Group (Ref: White Irish)					
White UK	0.73	0.01	0.62	0.00	No
White EU-13	0.57	0.00	1.11	0.64	Yes
White EU NMS	0.88	0.58	0.98	0.85	No
Black African	0.10	0.00	0.31	0.00	Yes
Asian	0.31	0.00	0.54	0.00	No
White Non-EU	0.30	0.00	0.52	0.00	Yes
Ethnic Minority EU	0.52	0.00	0.50	0.00	No
Observations	19,172		13,184		32,356

Note: Sig. denotes significance.

**Table A6: Logistic Regressions of Unemployment (ILO) in 2004 and 2010:
Changes in Effects of Nationality and Ethnicity**

	2004		2010		Δ 2004–2010 Significant Difference
	Odds	Sig.	Odds	Sig.	
Male	1.28	0.01	1.88	0.00	Yes
Age (Ref: Age 20–24)					
Age 25–34	0.60	0.00	0.59	0.00	No
Age 35–44	0.52	0.00	0.58	0.00	No
Age 45–54	0.52	0.00	0.49	0.00	No
Age 55–59	0.46	0.00	0.43	0.00	No
Age 60–64	0.30	0.00	0.35	0.00	No
Marital Status (Ref: Single)					
Married	0.68	0.03	0.75	0.01	No
Widowed	0.46	0.06	0.51	0.02	No
Divorced	0.92	0.66	1.06	0.63	No
Family Type (Ref: Not in Family Unit)					
Couple with No Children	0.69	0.04	0.75	0.01	No
Couple with Children	0.99	0.94	0.94	0.58	No
Lone Parent	1.62	0.00	1.30	0.02	No
Educational Attainment (Ref: Junior Cert or Less)					
Leaving Certificate	0.48	0.00	0.54	0.00	No
Post-Leaving Certificate	0.54	0.00	0.73	0.00	No
Third-Level	0.31	0.00	0.31	0.00	No
Education Not Stated	0.29	0.00	0.50	0.00	No
Region (Ref: Dublin)					
Border	1.85	0.00	1.19	0.18	Yes
Mid-East	1.03	0.87	1.31	0.03	No
Midlands	1.93	0.00	1.57	0.00	No
Mid-West	1.66	0.01	1.77	0.00	No
South-East	2.32	0.00	1.77	0.00	No
South-West	2.01	0.00	1.16	0.17	Yes
West	2.23	0.00	1.45	0.00	Yes
Location Type (Ref: Rural)					
Urban	1.98	0.00	1.10	0.18	Yes
National-Ethnic Group (Ref: White Irish)					
White UK	1.44	0.20	1.82	0.00	No
White EU-13	1.67	0.20	0.80	0.52	No
White EU NMS	1.59	0.24	1.65	0.00	No
Black African	10.56	0.00	4.28	0.00	No
Asian	1.89	0.23	1.76	0.11	No
White Non-EU	2.32	0.01	1.36	0.30	No
Ethnic Minority EU	2.60	0.01	1.54	0.17	No
Observations	13,054		9,149		22,203

Note: Sig. denotes significance.

Table A7: Logistic Regressions of Membership of Managerial and Professional Occupations in 2004 and 2010: Changes in Effects of Nationality and Ethnicity

	2004		2010		Δ 2004–2010 Significant Difference
	Odds	Sig.	Odds	Sig.	
Male	1.75	0.00	1.50	0.00	Yes
Age (Ref: Age 20–24)					
Age 25–34	1.90	0.00	1.77	0.00	No
Age 35–44	2.85	0.00	2.05	0.00	No
Age 45–54	3.37	0.00	2.61	0.00	No
Age 55–59	4.14	0.00	2.77	0.00	No
Age 60–64	4.64	0.00	3.06	0.00	No
Marital Status (Ref: Single)					
Married	0.96	0.60	1.08	0.45	No
Widowed	0.92	0.63	0.56	0.02	No
Divorced	0.71	0.00	0.83	0.13	No
Family Type (Ref: Not in Family Unit)					
Couple with No Children	0.91	0.30	0.82	0.06	No
Couple with Children	0.91	0.31	0.71	0.00	No
Lone Parent	0.78	0.01	0.74	0.01	No
Educational Attainment (Ref: Junior Cert or Less)					
Leaving Certificate	1.47	0.00	1.43	0.00	No
Post-Leaving Certificate	1.20	0.04	0.96	0.77	No
Third-Level	6.28	0.00	5.86	0.00	No
Education Not Stated	1.58	0.02	1.71	0.03	No
Region (Ref: Dublin)					
Border	0.74	0.00	0.74	0.01	No
Mid-East	0.83	0.02	0.96	0.70	No
Midlands	0.74	0.00	0.78	0.07	No
Mid-West	0.92	0.32	0.84	0.10	No
South-East	0.74	0.00	0.77	0.01	No
South-West	0.92	0.22	0.75	0.00	No
West	0.79	0.01	0.73	0.00	No
Location Type (Ref: Rural)					
Urban	0.68	0.00	0.81	0.00	Yes
National-Ethnic Group (Ref: White Irish)					
White UK	0.80	0.13	0.72	0.08	No
White EU-13	0.90	0.59	0.81	0.36	No
White EU NMS	0.17	0.00	0.15	0.00	No
Black African	0.50	0.20	0.13	0.00	No
Asian	0.47	0.02	0.18	0.00	No
White Non-EU	0.99	0.96	0.68	0.15	No
Ethnic Minority EU	0.70	0.16	0.57	0.09	No
Observations	12,515		7,852		20,367

Note: Sig. denotes significance.

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