



Irish Emigration in an Age of Austerity

A report on an Irish Research Council funded study of contemporary Irish emigration. The study was jointly hosted by the Department of Geography and the Institute for the Social Sciences in the 21st Century at University College Cork

Irial Glynn, Tomás Kelly and Piaras MacÉinrí



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Hosting Institutions: Department of Geography and the Institute for the Social Sciences in the 21st Century, University College Cork.

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Authors

Piarras MacÉinrí (Principal Investigator)

Piarras is a Lecturer in the Department of Geography in UCC. After graduating from UCD, he held diplomatic postings for the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs in Brussels, Paris and Beirut. He subsequently examined the Irish in Paris in the late 1980s for his postgraduate work at *Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris 3* before arriving at UCC. He was the Director of the Irish Centre for Migration Studies at UCC between 1997 and 2003 and was involved in several of their key projects, including 'Breaking the Silence', which examined the lives of young people who did not emigrate from Ireland in the 1950s. He has published widely on immigration into and emigration out of Ireland.

Tomás Kelly (Researcher)

Tomás completed his BA, MA and MPhil in Geography at UCC. His Masters' theses involved studies of rurality in Kerry and West Cork, combining both qualitative and quantitative methods. His work in this regard developed his capabilities in utilising mixed methodologies, statistical analysis and Geographical Information Systems in Social Research. Prior to the Emigre project, Tomás had finished work as an Editorial Assistant on the *Atlas of the Great Irish Famine* project carried out by the Department of Geography at UCC (2012) - the most successful publication from Cork University Press.

Irial Glynn (Researcher)

Irial specialises in migration history. He co-edited, with J. Olaf Kleist, *History, Memory and Migration: Perceptions of the Past and the Politics of Incorporation* for Palgrave Macmillan (2012) and has recently written articles about the 1951 Refugee Convention in the *Journal of Refugee Studies* and the treatment of migrants in Europe during economic crises in *Comparative Population Studies*. Irial obtained his Ph.D. from the European University Institute, Florence, and has held visiting fellowships at the University of Oxford and New York University. Before starting work on the Emigre project, Irial worked as an adjunct lecturer for the School of History and Archives and the School of English at University College Dublin and taught Irish and European history on the UCD and Trinity Access programme. Irial will be a Marie Curie Fellow in Leiden University from January 2014.

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¹ davidmonahan.viewbook.com & thelillipution.blogspot.ie

II. Executive summary

Every generation of Irish society in the last two hundred years has been touched by extensive emigration. With the onset of the economic crisis and Ireland's subsequent bailout, this generation is no different. Our survey indicates that over 75% of the Irish population believes emigration is having a negative effect on Ireland today. Similarly, two thirds feel that their local communities are being negatively affected by recent emigration. In spite of this, there has been a paucity of research on today's generation of emigrants and public discourse on the matter has been quite superficial in many respects.

This research project adopted a complex and statistically precise sampling strategy to obtain a sample of households in Ireland, and emigrants abroad, that maximized representativeness. This is a critical difference between it and studies that have gone before, insofar as the statistics reported are built upon a solid statistical foundation and can be generalized to some degree. Furthermore, this report adopted a mixed methods approach which allowed statistics to be combined with quotations from emigrants to illustrate people's personal experiences of emigration. The depth of data generated is such that this report is something of a preliminary one, emphasising some of the most important of the key findings. The results that follow are generated from over 900 hundred responses from households scattered across Ireland, 1,500 responses to an online emigrant survey, 500 responses to a jobs fair survey and 55 in-depth interviews with emigrants abroad.

First and foremost, the results of this research have highlighted how complicated a topic emigration is and how nuanced individuals' experiences of emigration can be. There exists no 'typical' emigrant, and no single set of circumstances or experiences that can be prescribed as being typical of Irish emigrants today. In fact, there are a number of 'types' of emigrant, from the educated younger person often portrayed in the media, to less educated emigrants who felt forced to leave out of economic necessity, to older emigrants who have left mortgages and/or children at home in Ireland. This report aims to represent the variety of emigrants who are leaving Ireland today, their disparate motivations and experiences, and their concerns for the future. It is hoped that the findings outlined will stimulate a number of public, academic and policy level debates on emigration.

The following are some of the key findings from the research project:

- Today's emigrants are much more likely to have a high standard of education than the population in general. While 47% of Irish people aged between 25-34 hold a tertiary qualification of three years or more, 62% of recent Irish emigrants hold the equivalent qualification, suggesting that graduates are over-represented amongst those leaving.
- Despite not necessarily experiencing the same level of unemployment as Spain or Greece, Ireland appears to have experienced significantly higher levels of emigration per capita than other Western European countries affected by the Eurozone crisis. Portuguese emigration comes closest to resembling the scale of Irish emigration.

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- Over 17% of Irish emigrants worked in Ireland before departure in the construction or construction-related industry. These people comprised tradesmen, civil engineers, architects, quantity surveyors and many others.
 - Emigration continues to have a greater effect on rural parts of Ireland than on urban areas. At least one household in four in the most rural areas has been directly affected by the emigration of at least one member since 2006.
 - Contrary to what many people might expect, 47% of today's emigrants were in fact employed in full-time jobs before leaving. Just under 40% of these emigrants left because they wanted to travel and to experience another culture. These were often people with qualifications that other countries coveted, such as valuable IT skills or health professionals. A significant proportion left to find another job or to attain job experience not available to them at home (43.6% combined).
 - Underemployment was a major driving factor, with 13% of emigrants working in part-time jobs before their departure. Many were recent graduates who left to obtain job experience.
 - Almost 23% of those leaving were unemployed before departing. The great majority of those unemployed left to find a job (76%) or to gain work experience (8%).
 - The vast majority, over 70%, of emigrants are aged in their twenties when they depart. There is a roughly equal divide between the 20-24 and 25-29 age cohorts. Over 15% of emigrants are aged in their thirties, with approximately twice as many aged in their early thirties (30-34) than their later thirties (35-39).
 - The UK and Australia are the two most popular destinations for Irish emigrants. Canada is becoming an increasingly important destination, especially as 10,700 2-year working holiday visas will be available for Irish citizens in 2014.
 - On the more positive side, emigration has clearly been an enriching experience for many emigrants. Whilst emigrants gave an average rating of 5.5 out of ten for their quality of life at home before departure, the equivalent average rating for their quality of life abroad measured 7.9 out of ten.
 - 15.9% of households believe that it is extremely likely that someone will emigrate from their residence within the next three years.
 - 28% of emigrants had previous experience of living abroad, which may have helped them to settle in their more recent destinations.
 - Irish emigrants have high levels of acceptance in the communities which they now reside in. 80% agree or strongly agree that they are accepted by people in the country that they live in.
 - Another group that cannot afford to be overlooked are those left behind by emigration. 16% of households have experienced the emigration of a member since 2006. The emigration of a family member can be a difficult experience for many left behind.
 - Emigrants are generally extremely well informed about current affairs in Ireland. Over 70% of emigrants frequently read Irish newspapers online.
 - Ireland trails behind the rest of Europe, and many countries worldwide in its attitude toward emigrant voting. The research revealed that the overwhelming majority of the

Irish population support the right of emigrants to vote in presidential (79%) and general elections (69%) in some form or another.

- Although 39.5% out of all recent emigrants would like to return to Ireland in the next three years, only 22% see it as likely. 82% of all emigrants said that improvements to the Irish economy would improve their likelihood of returning.
- Emigrants living in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and America often hold visas of a limited duration. Less than 10% of emigrants on visas of a fixed duration intend to return to Ireland when their visas expire. 68% would like to extend their visas if possible. It is difficult to predict whether people will always be successful in obtaining an extension or permanent residency as it often depends on the specificities of immigration policies in the host country and these may change.
- Irish emigrants maintain strong connections with home via social networks, texts, Skype, email and telephone calls. Over 70% of emigrants use Skype and telephone calls to regularly maintain contact with family and friends in Ireland. Over 90% of emigrants use Facebook and other social network sites to keep updated.

The authors would like to thank all of those who made this research possible, particularly all of the emigrants who participated. We welcome discussions and enquiries about the research from any and all audiences. Every effort has been made to adequately and accurately represent the views and experiences of emigrants.

Chapter 1. Introduction

‘Most countries send out oil or iron, steel or gold, or some other crop, but Ireland has had only one export and that is its people.’

John F. Kennedy on his presidential visit to Ireland, June 1963

No country in Europe has been as affected by emigration over the last two centuries as Ireland. Approximately ten million people have emigrated from the island of Ireland since 1800.¹ Considering the island’s population today stands at 6.4 million people, the amount of people who have left in the last 200 years is extraordinary. As a result, emigration has had an enormous impact on Irish society. Every generation of Irish people in the last two centuries has had some experience of migration, whether it be their own migration abroad or that of family members and friends.

From the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1814 to the start of the Great Irish Famine (1845-1852), between 800,000 and 1 million Irish sailed for North America with roughly half settling in Canada and the other half in the United States.² Regularly forgotten is the fact that it was only from the early 1830s onwards that annual departures by Catholics began to exceed those of Dissenters and Anglicans combined.³ Thereafter, Catholics greatly outnumbered Protestants. The scale of departure skyrocketed from the mid-1840s onwards with the onset of the Famine. During that disaster, over one million people died and around 1.25 million people fled the island.⁴ As a result of death and emigration, the country’s population dropped from a high of almost 8.5 million in the mid-1840s to 6.5 million in 1851.⁵ Millions more followed, particularly in the 1850s and 1880s, so that the island’s population stood at only 4.4 million in 1911.

At a time when most Western European countries saw their populations increase substantially, Ireland saw its decrease to a considerable degree. The emigration of so many during the Famine led to the establishment of huge Irish communities abroad, particularly in the United States – by then the clear destination of choice for the vast majority. No other European country contributed as many emigrants per capita to the New World during the so-called ‘age of mass migration’ between the mid-nineteenth century and the start of the First World War as Ireland.⁶

Despite the southern two-thirds of the island gaining its independence in 1922, emigration continued – although this time most people went to England rather than America. During the Second World War, as many as 150,000 Irish travelled across the Irish Sea.⁷ Even more were to follow. Commentators have variously referred to the 1950s in Ireland as the decade of ‘doom

¹ Enda Delaney, *Irish Emigration since 1921* (Dublin, 2002), 1.

² See Joel Mokyr, *Why Ireland Starved: A Quantitative and Analytical History of the Irish Economy, 1800-1850* (London, 1983), 230 and Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland: A New Economic History 1780-1939* (Oxford, 1995), 74.

³ Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles. Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford, 1985), 193-8.

⁴ William J. Smyth, ‘The story of the Great Irish Famine 1845-1852: A geographical perspective’, in John Crowley, William J. Smyth & Mike Murphy (eds.), *Atlas of the Great Irish Famine* (Cork, 2012), 4-12, 4.

⁵ Timothy Hatton and Jeffrey Williamson, ‘After the Famine: Emigration from Ireland, 1850-1913’, *The Journal of Economic History* 53.3 (1993), 575–600, 575.

⁶ Cormac Ó Gráda, ‘Across the Briny Ocean: Some Thoughts on Irish Emigration to America, 1800–1850’, in Thomas M. Devine et al. (eds.), *Ireland and Scotland, 1600–1850* (Edinburgh, 1983), 118–130, 118.

⁷ Enda Delaney, *The Irish in Post-War Britain* (Oxford, 2007), 17.

and gloom', the 'worst decade since the famine' and the 'lost decade'.⁸ In 1950s Ireland, agriculture still accounted for approximately two-fifths of the working population. But the small farm rural economy, especially in the west of Ireland, was in an irreversible decline. The state dedicated insufficient effort to developing new industries to fill the gap this created. As a consequence, little work was available for thousands of young people coming of age. Unemployment remained high and national growth was minimal in comparison with other Western European countries, many of whom experienced a post-war economic boom.⁹ Many young people knew that the only way to secure steady employment – and the lifestyle that went with it – involved crossing the Irish Sea.¹⁰ As the Commission on Emigration (discussed in further detail in 2.1) noted in the mid-1950s, emigration became 'a part of the generally accepted pattern of life'.¹¹

In the 1950s, over 400,000 people (net) emigrated. Roughly three out of every five children who grew up in 1950s Ireland left the country at some stage.¹² Considering the recently founded Republic of Ireland's population then stood at less than 3 million, to lose almost 15% of the population in one decade – most of whom were very young and left to gain employment abroad – was astonishing. Indeed, Ireland shared the ignominy of being the only country in Europe, apart from East Germany to see its population decline in the 1950s.¹³ Although Italy, Spain and Greece also saw large swathes of their populations emigrate in the decades after the Second World War, no other European country experienced it on the same scale as occurred in Ireland during the 1950s – apart, perhaps from Portugal for a short period in the late 1960s and early 1970s.¹⁴ Although they had departed the country in their droves, Irish emigrants still made a massive contribution to life at home through remittances, which constituted 3.2% of national personal income in 1960. For certain counties, such as Mayo, remittances were an essential part of the economy, making up 10.5%, for example, of personal income in the county.¹⁵

As the economy developed in the 1960s, emigration decreased from the massive numbers leaving in the 1950s. By the 1970s, following Ireland's entry into Europe, more people returned than left the country in a welcome break from the past. Unfortunately, years of huge borrowing and spending in the 1970s, along with a second oil price crisis in 1979, led to huge economic problems developing in 1980s Ireland. National debt rocketed whilst the number of people at work remained relatively static despite a huge growth in the labour market caused by the 1960s baby boom. Increased unemployment was followed by increased emigration. Over 200,000 (net) left Ireland in the 1980s – with the majority leaving in the latter part of the decade as Ireland

⁸ Cormac Ó Gráda, *A Rocky Road. The Irish economy since the 1920s* (Manchester, 1997); Brian Girvin, 'Political culture, political independence and economic success in Ireland', *Irish Political Studies*, 12:1 (1997), 48-77, 61; and Dermot Keogh, Finbarr O'Shea and Carmel Quinlan (eds.), *The Lost Decade. Ireland in the 1950s* (Cork, 2004).

⁹ Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (London, 2004), 463.

¹⁰ Enda Delaney, *The Irish in Post-War Britain*, 20.

¹¹ Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems 1948-54, *Reports* (Dublin, 1956), 137.

¹² Enda Delaney, *The Irish in Post-War Britain*, 12-13.

¹³ Mary Daly, *Slow Failure. Population Decline and Independent Ireland, 1920-1973* (Wisconsin, 2006), 183.

¹⁴ Maria Ioannis Baganha, 'Portuguese Emigration After World War II', in António Costa Pinto (ed.), *Contemporary Portugal, Politics, Society and Culture* (New York, 2003), 139-158. See also Enda Delaney, 'Placing Post-war Irish Migration to Britain in a Comparative European Perspective, 1945-1981', in Andy Bielenberg (ed.), *The Irish Diaspora* (London, 2000), 331-356.

¹⁵ Miceal Ross, 'Further data on county incomes in the sixties', ESRI Papers No. 64 (1972). Referenced in NESI (National Economic and Social Council), *The Economic and Social Implications of Emigration* (Dublin, 1991), 241.

remained in recession whilst other countries recovered.¹⁶ A decline in manufacturing jobs led to increased unemployment rather than increased emigration because of the elderly demographic affected. However, the enormous rise in third-level graduates combined with a marked decrease in civil service recruitment led to growth both in unemployment and in emigration. Similarly, the falloff in the construction industry in Ireland and the expansion of that same sector across the Irish Sea also saw emigration rise.

People departed from all over, with NESC concluding that ‘the propensity to emigrate is now much more equal in the eastern and western, and the urban and rural counties, than was previously the case’.¹⁷ More males than females moved abroad in the 1980s because of the construction downturn and the increasing integration of women into the Irish labour force.¹⁸ England, particularly the south-east of the country, remained the main destination for emigrants but America, too, proved a popular draw for many – documented and undocumented.¹⁹ Most of those leaving in the 1980s were young, with more than two-thirds of emigrants aged between 15 and 24.²⁰ In contrast to the 1950s, many of those emigrating in the 1980s were much better educated than their predecessors. But this represented the changing face of Ireland rather than any marked change in emigration; although certain graduates, such as accountants and engineers, did leave in disproportionate numbers.²¹

Ireland experienced an unprecedented period of economic growth from the early 1990s to 2007. Having reached a peak of over 70,000 in 1989, annual emigration decreased substantially thereafter. Nonetheless, it never came to a halt. Even at the height of the ‘boom’, Irish people still left – but in much smaller numbers than in the late 1980s or the present day. They emigrated for many reasons: for love, for adventure, to see the world, to study, to join friends or family, and to find more attractive employment opportunities abroad. Importantly, most of those leaving did not feel that they had to go. Bertie Ahern noted in his resignation speech in April 2008, at a time when unemployment hovered at just over 5%, that he was proud as Taoiseach to have ‘delivered a modern economy with sustainable growth in employment and brought an end to the days of forced emigration’.²² Today the unemployment rate remains stubbornly high at 13.5% and the number of Irish people leaving the country since then has almost quadrupled.

In the wake of the collapse of the Irish banking system in 2008 and the downturn in the economy, the return of high levels of emigration has become one of the most debated and sensitive social topics in Ireland today. There is an urgent need for an informed policy debate which recognises the complexity of the issues that this presents. Our research is of relevance, therefore, not only to an academic audience but to the wider political, policy and public community throughout the country.

¹⁶ Damien Courtney estimates that between 1982 and 1993, 472,300 people emigrated from the country, with 263,500 people coming in to Ireland in the same time period. See Damien Courtney, ‘Demographic Structure and Change in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland’, in Patrick Clancy et al. (eds.), *Irish Society: Sociological Perspectives* (Dublin, 1995), 39-89, 68-9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 256.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 255.

¹⁹ See Padraig Yeates, ‘A new breed of emigrant’, *Irish Times*, 16 June 1988.

²⁰ NESC, *The Economic and Social Implications of Emigration*, 255.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Bertie Ahern, ‘An Taoiseach’s Resignation Speech’, 2 April 2008. Available at <http://www.rte.ie/news/special-reports/2008/0402/101535-ahernspeech/>.

Apart from aggregate statistics and a considerable volume of media coverage, not that much is known about the current generation of Irish emigrants. Projects such as Emigre are needed to provide a clearer picture of contemporary emigration from Ireland. Various state and non-state organisations and scholars have carried out surveys and reports on past and present emigration from Ireland, as will be described in Chapter 2. But this is, we argue, one of the most representative studies done. We wanted to discover exactly who was leaving and why. We sought to explain what kind of experience they were having abroad, if they intended to return to Ireland in the future, and whether the current exodus was different from previous decades or just another reoccurrence of an all too familiar pattern. We also aimed to highlight the effect that emigration has had on the families and communities left behind.

The methodology adopted to achieve these goals is a far reaching one. A ‘mixed methods’ approach, that combined qualitative and quantitative methods, was used to generate findings that were of value to a range of audiences. In the past, it has proven difficult to develop a methodology which combined the richness of qualitative research with the robustness, in terms of sampling, of a study which would enable conclusions to be generalised. Social research is traditionally divided into two categories and purist academics tend to fall on either one side or the other. On one side, quantitative research emphasises the power of numbers and the scientific method to describe a phenomenon under study. On the other, qualitative research emphasises the diversity of human experience and the significance of perception. Questionnaires are a common tool used by quantitative social researchers, whereas in-depth interviews are often used by those with qualitative leanings.

One of the key strengths to quantitative research is that findings from a properly constructed sample can be generalised, at least to some degree, for the entire population. Unfortunately, there is a lack of generalisable research findings on Ireland’s current emigration. Using the new Small Area (SA) statistical dataset, our intention has been to develop as accurate and detailed a profile of today’s generation of Irish emigrants as possible. A national sampling frame was constructed to determine the typical levels of emigration for persons of various social backgrounds across urban, suburban and rural Ireland. The results from the nationwide household survey were then used to statistically reweight the responses to our online survey so as to ensure that the statistics reported represented the characteristics of the overall emigrant population with the greatest accuracy.

The strength of qualitative research, by contrast, is attributable to the depth and detail that it can provide. Emigration is an individual and personal decision, motivated by a wide range of factors that are often difficult to summarise or generalise to the entire population. The emotional experience involved in the act of emigrating, or experiences thereafter, can never be represented by a statistic. However, in-depth descriptions of individuals’ experiences can make it easier for those who have not experienced emigration to look at it through a lens similar to that of an actual emigrant. A descriptive quotation or deep insight can evoke a more emotional response than a statistic, allowing people to understand the personal experiences of emigrants, at least to some extent. For that reason, we carried out a range of in-depth qualitative interviews with a large number of Irish emigrants based abroad.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Before partition, prominent Irish nationalist politicians often blamed emigration on British misrule and the landlord class.¹ The promise of an independent state was meant to stem the exodus. Emigration, however, has remained a central feature of the Irish experience in the southern two-thirds of the island post-independence. People have left Northern Ireland since partition in significant numbers also; however, it was not on the same scale and has not garnered the same attention, partly because migration from Northern Ireland to England and Scotland is technically internal migration rather than international migration, as will be explored in further detail in 7.2 of this report. Scholars and state agencies have written extensively about the departure of so many people from independent Ireland. These reports and studies recorded who had left, why they had done so and where they moved to, since the 1930s. We hope that our report can serve the same purpose for the present period.

2.1 Post-independence emigration, 1930s – 1960s

In late 1937, the government of the day launched an inquiry into Irish seasonal migration, following the deaths of ten young migration workers from Achill in Kirkintilloch in Scotland. The report produced went on to describe how large amounts of ‘Connachtmen’, ‘Achill-workers’ and ‘Donegalmen’ regularly travelled to Britain every year to pick potatoes, turnips and carry out general farm work. ‘Tattie hookies’, as they were sometimes referred to, worked mostly in northern England and especially southern Scotland.² Responsibility for improved employment conditions for these workers, the inquiry concluded, lay solely in the hands of the workers. Furthermore, provision for suitable accommodation – which remained a core issue, considering the seasonal workers had died in a bothy fire – remained a matter for the UK government.³

Despite increased emigration throughout the Second World War, when approximately 150,000 Irish people left to fill the considerable employment void left by so many young British men enlisting in the British armed forces, debate remained muted due to censorship during the war. Subsequently, however, emigration featured prominently in political debates, reaching something of a crescendo in the run up to the 1948 general elections. Accordingly, the first Inter-Party government established a commission to examine emigration and rural depopulation shortly after taking office. Incredibly, it took six years for the Commission to release its findings. When it did release its conclusions, it argued that the fundamental cause of emigration was economic.⁴ The bulk of emigrants, it noted, consisted of unskilled workers from rural Irish areas who went to urban centres in Britain.⁵

It is imperative for people reading this report to remember that the standard of education most people attained in 1950s Ireland bears little or no resemblance to education levels today. Few progressed from primary school to secondary school. Whilst approximately 57,000 students

¹ Enda Delaney, ‘State, politics and demography: The case of Irish emigration, 1921-1971’, *Irish Political Studies* 13.1 (1998), 25-49, 25.

² *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Seasonal Migration to Great Britain, 1937-8* (Dublin, 1938).

³ *Ibid*, 23.

⁴ Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems 1948-54, *Reports* (Dublin, 1956), 134.

⁵ *Ibid*, 139.

sat their Leaving Certificate in Ireland in 2013, only 4,500 did so in 1950.⁶ Counties with large rural populations containing small holdings on poor land were particularly prone to emigration during the 1950s. According to the Commission, the vast scale of departure actually ‘weaken[ed] national confidence and pride’.⁷ Developments in technology meant fewer agricultural workers were required than ever before. Yet, few alternative employment opportunities were available at home due to Ireland’s continued failure to industrialise. This contrasted markedly with the comparatively buoyant labour market in England following the Second World War. The report also emphasised that the inferior standard of living in certain rural areas attracted people to the seemingly brighter alternatives across the water. It cited the lack of electricity, water supplies and transport, as well as how ‘rural areas appear dull, drab, monotonous, backward and lonely’ to many young people.⁸ Reminders of the allure of life abroad came regularly in the form of letters from the vast networks of friends and family already in situ and from returning emigrants home on holidays. Significantly, the report suggested that the exodus of so many Irish alleviated the need for ‘drastic action’ because it ‘made the need for full development of our economic resources less compelling’.⁹

As part of the investigations carried out for the report, the Commission surveyed over 300 people around the country who planned to emigrate in the near future. Half of those interviewed were under the age of 25; roughly three-quarters had not yet married.¹⁰ Generally, the interviewer wrote a short summary of his impressions (they were all male) of the prospective emigrant. Some of these synopses provide a fascinating insight into the makeup of emigrants at the time, albeit skewed by the fact that almost all those interviewed were male and unemployed. One young Leitrim man, aged 24 and single who came from a farm with ten acres of arable land, was recorded as having been ‘last employed as a barman at £1 per week with keep, for 56-hour week; obtained employment as a barman in Shrewsbury through a friend, at a wage of £4 plus keep; ... one sister already in England; intends to remain to settle down in England; did not think of going to Dublin.’¹¹ This young man could evidently earn much more money doing the same job in England. Furthermore, he had family already there. Dublin did not hold the same appeal. Many emigrants during the 1950s had some form of employment in Ireland before leaving but it was often of a temporary nature. Many looked to England instead to gain more job security, as the summary of one young Mayo male emigrant, who already had six brothers and two sisters in England, demonstrates. He had apparently ‘been a labourer on the golf links and also has pulled beet but has no steady work’.¹²

Non-state bodies concerned with emigration also began to carry out studies on the topic following the end of the war. Between 1945 and 1948, a local committee in Athlone surveyed almost 500 local people about to emigrate. Many of those who participated worked as

⁶ Figures for 2013 come from RTE, ‘Leaving and Junior Cert exams get under way’, 5 June 2013. Available at <http://www.rte.ie/news/2013/0605/454605-leaving-cert-junior-cert/>. Figures for 1950 come from CSO, *That was Then, This is Now. Change in Ireland, 1949-1999* (Dublin, 2000), 48.

⁷ Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems 1948-54, *Reports*, 141.

⁸ *Ibid*, 136.

⁹ Mary Daly, *Slow Failure*, 139.

¹⁰ Enda Delaney, *Demography, State and Society. Irish Migration to Britain, 1921-1971* (Liverpool, 2000), 176-7.

¹¹ Report prepared by R.C. Geary and F. O’Leary from interviews carried out in Co. Leitrim and Co. Donegal, contained in the Arnold Marsh Papers, Folder 8306 S.4, Trinity College Dublin.

¹² Report prepared by Dr Beddy from interviews carried out in Co. Mayo and Co. Sligo, contained in the Arnold Marsh Papers, Folder 8306 S.1, Trinity College Dublin.

tradesmen. Significantly, one quarter left with their wives and children, demonstrating that family emigration is not unique to the present period.¹³ In the 1950s, Muintir na Tíre embarked on an extensive case study on life in rural Limerick. Within the wider remit of the project, Patrick McNabb undertook a detailed survey of the impact that emigration had on the area. Using cohort depletion techniques, McNabb found that females tended to migrate at an earlier age than males. Female emigrants were usually better educated than males, with farmers' daughters consistently attaining good education by local standards to, in the words of McNabb, 'speed their departure from home'.¹⁴ The migration of so many young people, in addition to the trend at the time for so many farmers to remain unmarried, meant that communities were becoming more isolated. Nonetheless, families with children felt that emigration provided a 'satisfactory solution to the problem of clearing the house, and believed that job opportunities would always be better in urban areas'.¹⁵ Reflecting a theme that the media have often touched upon in recent years with regard to the current spate of outward movement, local rural communities in Limerick deplored the effect that emigration had on local GAA activities. As McNabb explained, 'inter-parish matches were the clearest demonstration of community consciousness and loyalty' and '[t]he parish team was a symbol of unity and self-consciousness'.¹⁶ Therefore, '[t]he effect of migration on local sporting activities was deplored; to lose a good hurler or footballer was a minor community tragedy'.¹⁷

Despite emigration from Ireland decreasing significantly throughout the 1960s, many western counties continued to see a decline in their populations.¹⁸ An Foras Talúntais, the precursor to Teagasc, carried out various general surveys of many rural areas still affected by emigration throughout the 1960s, such as West Cork, West Donegal and, a little later, in Leitrim. In the Glenties in West Donegal, for example, Commins found that over two-thirds of the young people from the area had emigrated before they had reached their thirties.¹⁹ At around the same time, academics, particularly sociologists, also began to examine the scale and impact that emigration had on certain locations. Building on An Foras Talúntais's West Cork survey, John A. Jackson, an academic based in East Anglia at the time but who spent most of the latter part of his career at Trinity College, carried out an extensive study in Skibbereen in 1964.²⁰ Jackson compared people from urban, rural and shop-keeping backgrounds living in or close to the town. His research team also spoke with school-leavers, emigrants in Britain and tourists visiting the area. In total, Jackson's team interviewed almost 700 people.²¹

Between 1956 and 1961, the population of Skibbereen town and its rural surroundings fell by over 7%, a much higher rate than Cork County as a whole.²² Consequently, the area had experienced extensive emigration in the preceding years, as emphasised by the fact that 32.6% of

¹³ Mary Daly, *Slow Failure*, 164.

¹⁴ Patrick McNabb, 'Demography', in Jeremiah Newman (ed.), *The Limerick Rural Survey, 1958-1964* (Tipperary, 1964), 158-192, 187.

¹⁵ Patrick McNabb, 'Social Structure', Jeremiah Newman (ed.), *The Limerick Rural Survey, 1958-1964* (Tipperary, 1964), 193-247, 217.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 241.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 217.

¹⁸ Mary Daly, *Slow Failure*, 224.

¹⁹ Patrick Commins, 'Demographic conditions', in An Foras Talúntais, *West Donegal resource survey*, part. 3 (Dublin, 1969), 41.

²⁰ J.A. Jackson's *Report on the Skibbereen social survey* (Dublin, 1967), 4.

²¹ Calculated from figures held in *ibid*, 5-7.

²² *Ibid*, 9.

the rural sample, 24.7% of the urban sample and 19.4% of the shopkeeping sample had previously lived abroad.²³ As indicated by these figures, Jackson noted that people from rural areas appeared more likely to emigrate. Amongst the 15 year olds interviewed, 28.5% said that they expected to leave Ireland. Most of those questioned anticipated departing after their training or education had finished, suggesting that most people left Skibbereen at a young age.²⁴

Out of all the Skibbereen emigrants Jackson's team spoke to in Britain, 42.3% lived with friends or family after first arriving. Considering that 68.5% of emigrants had brothers and 83.5% had sisters who had also emigrated, this is hardly surprising. Indeed, family and friends were responsible for finding almost 30% of emigrants their first job abroad.²⁵ The vast majority of emigrants (72.1%) felt satisfied with their jobs overseas.²⁶ Nonetheless, Jackson concluded that emigrants generally achieved only a slight improvement in their social mobility, as many of the people surveyed felt 'there is not much point in getting further training in Britain when you could be earning good money 'in the building''.²⁷ An impressive 62% of the emigrants interviewed expressed a desire to return to Ireland. But some of these admitted that they would still probably end up spending the rest of their lives in Britain because of lower wages and a lack of employment opportunities at home (this was a particular issue for married women working in health and education because of the domination of single women and those from religious orders in these areas in Ireland). Furthermore, since 42% of the emigrants who were married had spouses who had been born in Britain, Jackson suggested that they were less likely to return to Ireland because of the families ties they had in their new homes.²⁸ These findings have enormous relevance to the Emigre study because of the similarity of questions we asked about family and friend networks, job satisfaction, the desire to return and the nationality of emigrants' partners or spouses.

At almost the same time as Jackson initiated his Skibbereen survey, Damian Hannan, from the ESRI, embarked on a similarly ambitious project centred on people in or near Cavan town.²⁹ In 1965, he and his fellow researchers interviewed 556 young people, the majority of whom fell between 15 and 18 years of age. People's beliefs about their ability to fulfil their economic aspirations locally correlated most closely with migration intentions.³⁰ The more highly educated or trained the respondents were, the higher their aspirations. Due to the lack of opportunities available for people with more advanced levels of education and training in the area, it was more likely that their aspirations could not be met by staying in the locality. But respondents' satisfaction with their community also played a key role in people's decisions to stay or leave.

Three years after the original fieldwork was completed, Hannan conducted a follow-up study using a smaller sample to assess the relationship between migration intentions and actual behaviour. This consisted of another 264 interviews with the original respondents or their guardians if they had left in the interim. Significantly, the proportion who had stayed and the proportion who had left in the intervening years amounted to approximately the same number as

²³ *Ibid*, 13.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 16.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 41.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 35.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 38.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 39.

²⁹ Damian Hannan, *Rural exodus: a study of the forces influencing the large-scale migration of Irish rural youth* (London, 1970).

³⁰ *Ibid*, 166.

in 1965, demonstrating that respondents' assessments had been relatively realistic.³¹ Again, this has particular relevance for Emigre since we spoke to over 500 potential emigrants at the Working Abroad Expos held in Dublin and March in early March 2013, 45% of whom felt that they were 'extremely likely' to emigrate within the subsequent six months.

³¹ *Ibid*, 243.

2.2 Literature on Emigration in the 1980s

The 1980s: a period of transition

In the 1980s a number of factors combined to create a very difficult economic climate. A large part of the blame must be attributed to a massive increase in the public debt. This can be dated back to the General Election of 1977, when a 'give-away' election manifesto led to the abolition of local rates on private properties. The increase in debt came at a period of painful restructuring within Irish industry after nearly a decade of EEC membership. At the same time, the population of young people was increasing, due in part to lower emigration and an increase in marriage rates during the 1960s and in part to the return of some Irish emigrants, often with families, during the expansionary period which followed EEC membership in 1973.³² Walsh's judgement is as follows:

The impact of changes in the birth rate in any event pale into insignificance when set beside the devastating impact of the recession of the early 1980s on the overall unemployment situation and on the youth labour market in particular. During the recession, total employment fell by 7 per cent, unemployment increased from 7 per cent to almost 20 per cent and large-scale emigration got under way as soon as conditions in other countries improved. The crisis of youth unemployment of the 1980s was due to the recession, rather than the increase in the number of births during the 1960s.³³

Moreover, as Walsh notes, it was emigration with a distinctly different profile compared to that of the 1950s.

We have in the past known relatively little about the composition of the outflow due to emigration, although there was always a suspicion that it contained a 'brain drain'. There is now hard evidence of the importance of this loss of human capital from surveys of school leavers and university graduates. The very high rates of emigration occurring among many of the professional and technical graduates is one of the most worrying aspects of the present situation.³⁴

Courtney, in his definitive discussion of emigration in the 1980s, notes that gross emigration for the period 1983-1993 amounted to 472,300 persons. In the single year 1988-89 70,600 persons left the State.³⁵

From the 1980s onwards, emigration has not ceased to be a subject of public debate. Much of the focus in the 1980s was on Irish 'illegals' (undocumented emigrants) in the USA and ignored the fact that the majority of emigrants still went to the UK. The report of the National Economic and Social Council (NESC) suggests that in the early 1980s period 60% of all emigrants went to the UK, 14% to the USA and 15% to other countries.³⁶ The tables published in the Task Force on Policy show that emigration to the USA in fact fluctuated wildly in the late

³² National Economic and Social Council (NESC), *The Economic and Social Implications of Emigration* (Dublin, 1991), 68.

³³ Brendan M. Walsh, *Ireland's Changing Demographic Structure* (Dublin, 1989), 21. See also Mary P. Corcoran, *Irish Illegals Transients between Two Societies* (Westport CT, 1993), 7.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 16. See also Ian Shuttleworth, 'Graduate Emigration from Ireland: A Symptom of Peripherality?' in Russell King, *Contemporary Irish Migration* (Dublin 1991), 83-95.

³⁵ Damian Courtney, 'Demographic Structure and Change', in Patrick Clancy, Sheelagh Drudy, Kathleen Lynch and Liam O'Dowd (eds.), *Irish Society Sociological Perspectives* (Dublin 1995), 68.

³⁶ National Economic and Social Council (NESC), *The Economic and Social Implications of Emigration*, 61.

1980s to the mid-1990s, reaching highs of 24.6% in 1987 and 26.3% in 1995, but falling as low as 11.6% in 1989 and 10.8% in 1992.

Although as noted, the majority of Irish emigrants in the 1980s went to the UK, the resumption of emigration to the USA was nevertheless a distinctive feature. This restored in certain respects a pattern which had long existed in Irish emigration destination choices up to the 1950s but which had effectively ceased with the introduction of immigration reforms in the USA in the 1960s, reforms which were seen as unfavourable from the perspective of traditional European source countries such as Ireland. Estimates of the number of undocumented or illegal Irish migrants varied widely from 40,000 to more than 200,000.³⁷ What is not in dispute is that most Irish emigrants to the US at that time were undocumented, although the higher figure quoted was almost certainly very wide of the mark. The number of Irish emigrants admitted legally to the USA in the key period 1987 – 1990 was in the region of 20,000.³⁸

Ultimately, the problem of Irish undocumented emigrants in the USA was largely resolved by a number of measures: the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986, which amnestied certain categories of illegal immigrants including many Irish, and the various special visa programmes which had the effect of creating new opportunities for Irish would-be migrants to the States - by the early 1990s up to 16,000 visas annually were available to Irish immigrants. These programmes expired over time, raising the issue of whether the following years would see a resurgence of the ‘illegals’ phenomenon, but in fact the resumption of growth in the Irish economy ultimately led to a falling off in emigration, legal or illegal, to the USA. By that time, it would be fair to say that most of those who were still there had had their situation regularised.

Nowadays, in the climate of post 9/11 restrictions and controls on immigration, it would be impossible to imagine a return to the relatively benign regime which made it possible for many Irish undocumented to remain in the USA. Nonetheless there remains a community of Irish undocumented and the topic of immigration reform continues to be a controversial one.

No more than for the present day, it would be a mistake to see Irish emigrants in the 1980s as consisting solely of high-skills graduates. While the term ‘new wave’ to designate such emigrants might be seen as somewhat partisan and divisive, it remained the case that there were still a considerable number of ‘old wave’ emigrants whose profile would not have differed greatly from that of earlier generations. MacLaughlin’s West of Ireland Survey, while not claiming to be fully representative, found:

..that the construction industry accounts for more than two thirds of male emigrants from north Donegal, west Cork and south Kerry. The corresponding figure for Cork city and Limerick was less than one-third. This suggests that large numbers of male emigrants are still filling gaps in the semi-skilled, unskilled and casual labour market.³⁹

The NESC report already referred to also contains a wealth of data on the characteristics of emigrants in the 1980s from the point of view of sex, age, geographical origin within the country

³⁷ Mary P. Corcoran, ‘Immigrants, *Eirepreneurs*, and Opportunists: A Social Profile of Recent Irish Immigration in New York City in Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher, *The New York Irish* (New York, 1996), 690. See also Ray O’Hanlon, *The New Irish Americans* (Niwtot CO, 1998), 36-37.

³⁸ Mary Corcoran, *Irish Illegals*, (Westport CT, 1993), 10.

³⁹ Jim MacLaughlin, *Ireland: The Emigrant Nursery and the World Economy* (Cork, 1994), 68.

and the question of occupation/skills – all of them issues which are at the core of the Emigre project

Sex of emigrants

At different times in the history of Irish emigration, as pointed out elsewhere, males have outnumbered females, only for the pattern to be reversed at other times. The 1980s (unlike, for instance, the 1950s) were characterised by an unusually high ratio of males to females, with 1,000 males to only 736 females. The NESC report notes that ‘since 1981, the brunt of the difficulties in the Irish labour market appears to have been borne by the male work-force’.⁴⁰ Apart from the ‘exceptional period’ of the Second World War, this disparity between the sexes is described as the highest on record.

Age of emigrants

As the NESC Report notes, Irish emigrants have always been predominantly young ‘with a particularly high concentration in the 15 to 24 year age group’. Historically, nonetheless, an older age cohort was also present, but the proportion of emigrants in the younger cohort rose steadily, with an even higher concentration of young women than men. The NESC data for gross emigration for the year ending April 1988 shows that 69% of all emigrants were in the 15-24 bracket (74% in the case of females). A more detailed breakdown for 1981/86 showed that 68% of all emigrants were in the 15-34 bracket.⁴¹

The Geographical Origins of Emigrants

It is difficult to compare the data on geographical origin from past periods compared to today, as the type of place of origin data used in the Emigre project did not exist prior to 2011. However, certain broad parallels can be observed. The NESC report suggests that the highest relative outflows were from the Dublin, Midlands and West planning regions – with rates per thousand of 20.5, 17.2 and 17.4 respectively compared to a national average of just under 16.⁴² More males were leaving from the Dublin and West regions than elsewhere. The gross male emigration rate for Mayo, at almost 35 per thousand, was ‘the highest per thousand and almost three times the national average, the next highest male rates being for Donegal (21) and Kerry (nearly 17)’.

Occupational status of emigrants

The NESC report notes the ‘traditional stereotype’ of the Irish emigrant as a person ‘who is largely unskilled or, at best, possessing rudimentary manual skills’ before noting that this was substantially true of historical Irish emigration, both male and female and that this profile would not have changed substantially during the 1950s. Accurate information was not, however, available until the introduction of Labour Force Surveys in the 1980s, although the occupations of emigrants were not specifically tracked. However household data for households where emigrants had previously lived enabled some evidence to be deduced. The Report says that ‘the current migratory outflow is broadly representative of the structure of Irish society’.⁴³

⁴⁰ National Economic and Social Council (NESC), *The Economic and Social Implications of Emigration*, 69.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 73.

⁴² *Ibid*, 77.

⁴³ *Ibid*, 84.

The Report also considered the emigration of persons with a third level education, a much smaller cohort than today. It noted a substantial increase in graduate emigration from just over 8% of those who qualified in 1980 to nearly 30% for the 1988 flow.⁴⁴ In part, this increase was attributable to an improvement in demand in the UK labour market. Rates of emigration for the holders of particular degrees (Engineering, Arts and Social Science, Architecture) were particularly high. The Report singled out this trend as ‘generally indicative of the changing composition of the outflow, which now involves greater proportions of skilled and better educated persons at all levels.’ This point is also one of particular relevance to the Emigre survey.

The emergence of a significant cohort of highly-skilled emigrants is a feature of 1980s Irish emigrants, although it should be reiterated that the NESC Report did not find that their numbers were higher than the percentage of such persons in the population in general. A small number of local or sectoral studies explored the implications of this development. Mac Éinrí’s work on the Paris Irish in 1988, for instance, showed that 76% of those surveyed had a post-secondary education, including 70% of men with a university-level education compared to 51% of women.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, Hanlon’s analysis of the emigration of Irish accountants, noting the NESC report’s conclusion that ‘the upwardly mobile middle class were the most likely emigrants’, saw professional migration as a logical periphery-core movement:

Much professional migration from the periphery arises from the search for highly skilled and prestigious work which will enhance career mobility. This work inevitably lies at the core.⁴⁶

Shuttleworth makes a similar point in his research on Irish graduate emigration more generally when he points out that:

Ireland therefore possesses a potentially highly mobile graduate labour force and a truncated labour market with limited graduate opportunities. ... these factors are both facets of a more general form of peripherality in which Irish society, as well as the Irish economy, is marginalised. ... It is suggested that the position of the modern Irish graduate emigrant is in some respects analogous to the situation of these past emigrants (the 19th century Irish in Britain) and that Ireland is once again, to quote the *Irish Times* (3rd March 1989), the ‘human resource warehouse of Europe’ – except that today graduate emigrants move to fill specialised niches in the labour markets of other countries.⁴⁷

For the sake of balance it should be pointed out that the Irish economy today is a very different one from that of the 1980s, with many more opportunities for graduates. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that graduates constituted a modest percentage of 1980s emigration as a whole.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 85.

⁴⁵ Piaras Mac Éinrí, ‘The New Europeans: the Irish in Paris today’, in Joe Mulholland and Dermot Keogh, *Emigration, Employment and Enterprise* (Cork, 1989), 58-80.

⁴⁶ Gerard Hanlon, ‘Emigration of Irish Accountants’, *Irish Journal of Sociology*, Volume 1, 1991, 52-65.

⁴⁷ Ian Shuttleworth, ‘Graduate Emigration from Ireland: a Symptom of Peripherality?’ in Russell King (ed.) *Contemporary Irish Migration* (Dublin, 1991), 83-95.

2.3 Literature on current Irish emigration

Following the demise of the Irish economy since late 2008, the amount of Irish people emigrating began to steadily increase. From April 2012 to March 2013, almost four times more Irish people left than between April 2007 and March 2008 (the 12 month period used by the CSO to calculate annual emigration). The departure of so many Irish people is such a recent trend that few experts have, as yet, had time to examine what is happening in real depth. Most recent scholarly work on Irish migration has focused upon immigration into Ireland rather than emigration out of Ireland, although Mary Gilmartin's latest papers represent welcome exceptions.⁴⁸ Considering the incredible change that Ireland has undergone in recent times, this is wholly understandable. Nevertheless, it is emigration, not immigration, which has become the focus of various political and public debates of late in Ireland. As a result, a number of university projects have been established to examine contemporary Irish emigration. In addition to the Emigre study, sociologists at Trinity College Dublin are carrying out a study on graduate emigration. Similarly a research project carried out by sociologists at Middlesex University, completed in conjunction with the Federation of Irish Societies in London, is examining the experience of Irish teachers who have arrived in Britain since 2008 and should publish its results in the near future.

The CSO estimate that 89,000 people left Ireland between April 2012 and March 2013, but it should also be borne in mind that almost 40,000 of these were foreigners returning home or migrating on to another country.⁴⁹ Indeed, in 2008 and especially 2009, more people from the EU12 accession countries left than Irish people. It was only in 2011 that the number of Irish emigrating exceeded that of non-Irish (see Figure 1 overleaf). Therefore, to compare today's emigration to Famine levels, as some newspapers have done recently, is facetious since it can be assumed that the vast majority of people leaving the country during the Famine were Irish. Furthermore, whilst 50,900 Irish people left in the twelve months before April 2013, 15,700 Irish returned in the same year, a pattern which did not understandably occur during the Famine years. Nevertheless, there is a reason for the notable increase in debate that has taken place on emigration, since the figures clearly show that Irish people are leaving this country in ever greater numbers since the start of the economic crisis.

As recounted in the introduction, Irish emigration never stopped completely during the enormous economic growth the country experienced in the 1990s and 2000s, although it did decrease considerably. During this period, a small but important minority were considered 'crisis migrants' because they left due to the threat of violence (sometimes drug related), domestic abuse, family breakdown or mental health problems. This is not a new phenomenon, since almost 40% of victims of institutional abuse in Ireland are estimated to have emigrated to the UK in the past.⁵⁰ Other significant types of 'non-economically motivated migration' in earlier periods included 'unmarried mothers' (as they were called then) or other persons whose personal lives were regarded as transgressive, notably members of the LGBT community and people diagnosed as HIV-positive in the 1980s. In 2004, a Crosscare Migrant Project focused on and interviewed these types of migrants, some of whom had encountered homelessness after moving

⁴⁸ Mary Gilmartin, 'The Changing Landscape of Irish Migration, 2000-2012', NIRSA Working Paper Series No. 69, Oct. 2012 and 'Changing Ireland, 2000-2012: immigration, emigration and inequality, *Irish Geography* (2013).

⁴⁹ See Central Statistics Office, 'Population and Migration Estimates', p. 4.

⁵⁰ St. Stephens Green Trust (Mary Higgins), *Developing a profile of survivors of abuse in Irish religious institutions*, 2010, 2

to England.⁵¹ The study found that some unprepared emigrants on low incomes with few skills often have difficulty securing housing and employment, which places them in a potential downward spiral. As a result, ‘vulnerable emigrants quickly face new circumstances which enhance their vulnerability, including homelessness, prostitution and access to drugs on the street’.⁵²

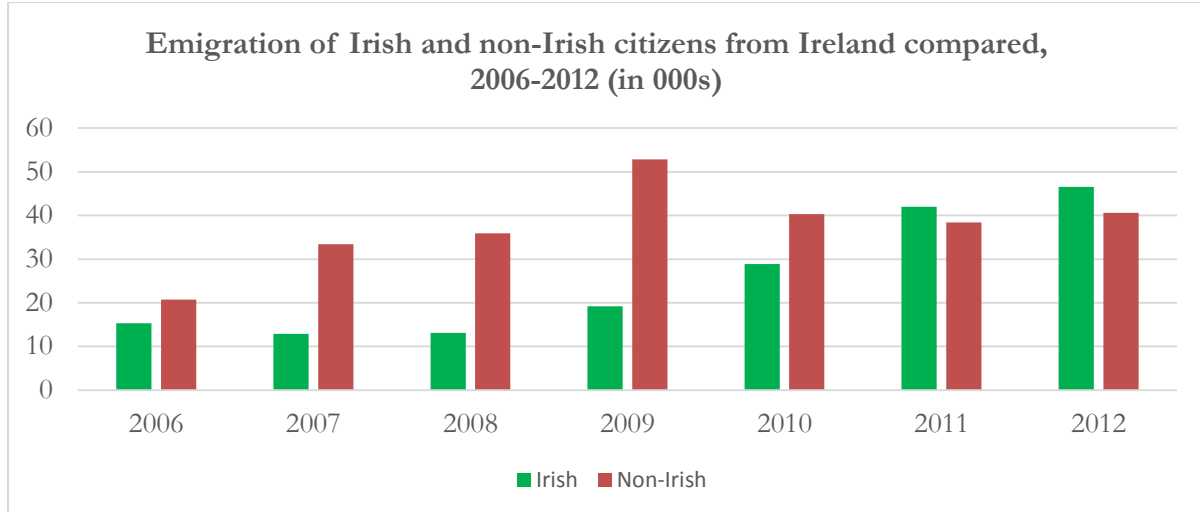


Figure 1. Emigration of Irish and non-Irish citizens from Ireland from 2006-2012 (Source: CSO)

It is important to mention these ‘crisis migrants’ because they rarely feature in surveys such as ours – probably because relatives and friends in Irish households are reluctant to provide sometimes difficult personal details about the emigrants in question. Nonetheless, we know that these types of migrants are still leaving Ireland. Crosscare carried out two small follow up studies in 2012 that targeted ‘crisis migrants’: one focused on people travelling from Dublin to England by bus (one of the cheapest ways that people can travel to Britain without booking a seat with a credit or debit card) and the other concentrated on Irish people accessing homeless and welfare services in the UK.⁵³ The most frequently quoted reason for leaving Ireland amongst these emigrants was unemployment. It was found that the people they spoke to travelling by bus to England in search of work were not particularly vulnerable migrants since they had accommodation organised at their destination. Significantly, all of those identified as moving to England for work were male in Crosscare's small sample. Many were formerly employed in construction and manufacturing.⁵⁴ A substantial proportion of the respondents went to England with the express desire of acquiring short-term or contract work. Some already had an established pattern of getting this type of work in England. Understandably, the Irish interviewed in the homeless and welfare services’ survey were much more vulnerable. Many had ‘pre-existing issues before leaving Ireland such as addiction, mental health problems, domestic violence or debt’. Some of the traits regularly encountered by organisations tending to these

⁵¹ Crosscare (Patricia Walls), *Still Leaving. Recent, vulnerable Irish emigrants to the UK: profile, experiences & pre-departure solutions* (Dublin, 2005).

⁵² *Ibid*, 28-9.

⁵³ Crosscare, *A short survey of Irish people using bus services to emigrate to Britain* (Dublin, 2012) and Crosscare, *Emigration to the UK in 2012 - new Irish emigrants accessing homeless and welfare services* (Dublin, 2012).

⁵⁴ Crosscare, *A short survey of Irish people using bus services to emigrate to Britain*, 7.

emigrants were 'low levels of education and a poor employment record in Ireland'. Often they came to England 'unprepared and with no prior planning'.⁵⁵

In November 2012, the London Irish Centre published the findings of a more extensive study on the needs of the Irish community in London. The report dedicated one part exclusively to examining the situation of Irish emigrants who had left Ireland in the previous 18 months. As part of their research, 125 recent Irish migrants completed online or paper surveys and 46 participated in interviews.⁵⁶ In contrast to the migrants discussed in Crosscare's work, the vast majority of those surveyed by the London Irish Centre appeared to be more qualified and better prepared for moving across the Irish Sea. For instance, of those employed, approximately 55% worked in the intermediate managerial, administrative and professional sector, whilst around 25% worked in a supervisory, clerical or junior management role.⁵⁷ Only just over 10% in work held manual occupations, a trend that diverges sharply from what went on in the 1950s. Despite this seemingly positive pattern, the majority of recent emigrants said they moved to London 'because they have been unable to find employment in Ireland or they have lost their job'. Significantly, some others pointed out that they moved to London 'for a change or for educational or employment progression rather than an inability to find work'.⁵⁸ Emigrants also left for education reasons, with almost 20% of those surveyed enrolled as students in London.

Participants in the London Irish Centre survey commented that the move was 'considerably more difficult than they had initially anticipated', citing the competitive nature of the jobs market and the housing market in London, as well as the considerable expense involved in setting up a new life in a foreign city.⁵⁹ Many also highlighted 'the loneliness of London and how difficult it is to make or stay in contact with friends'.⁶⁰ Interestingly, respondents who had established social networks through sports organisations, such as GAA clubs, reported positive adjustment to life in London.⁶¹

In October 2011, the *Irish Times* began a series entitled 'Generation Emigration' in an attempt to give a voice to the Irish abroad. The paper followed this initiative up in March 2012, when it commissioned a survey on Irish emigrants who had left since 2008. In a similar vein to the London Irish Centre's report, the survey painted a generally positive picture, reporting that the vast majority of emigrants were 'happier and healthier and prospering at work'.⁶² Among all of those who emigrated, 94% had found work abroad, although somewhat in line with the London Irish Centre's findings, 9% of those surveyed in the UK remained unemployed.⁶³ Of those employed before leaving, 75 % said that their job abroad was better than the one they had left behind. In contrast to the findings from the London Irish Centre report, work was not deemed the primary reason for emigrating by the majority of respondents. Instead, 42% had listed the desire for change as the main purpose for emigrating, whilst 17% said that they had left

⁵⁵ Crosscare, *Emigration to the UK in 2012*, 12.

⁵⁶ Jeff Moore, Eugene Waters, Mary Tilki and Lisa Clarke (London Irish Centre), *Fresh Perspectives: A Needs Analysis of the Irish Community in London* *Vulnerable Irish migrants feel let-down by UK welfare system* (London, 2012), 104.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 106-107.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 107-111.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 111.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁶² Kathy Sheridan, 'The new diaspora speaks', *Irish Times*, 17 March 2012.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

for personal reasons. Just 40 % gave their own or their partner's work needs as the principal reason for moving abroad.⁶⁴ However, the reasons for emigration depended very much on people's employment status. 28% of respondents had been unemployed before leaving. Of these, 83% gave work as the main reason for their decision to emigrate. A substantial majority of this grouping also said they would have stayed in Ireland if they had been able to find work. Therefore, it appeared that large differences existed between emigrants depending on their employment circumstances before departure. In relation to respondents' education, 60% held a degree or above. 15% had only finished their second-level education. Almost half of those surveyed emigrated alone. The vast majority, 72%, voiced their intention to return to live in Ireland at some stage.⁶⁵

The *Irish Times* extensive survey sparked much public interest because of its prominence within the paper for several days and perhaps due to the sensitive nature of the subject. Various readers queried the sampling method used.⁶⁶ Ipsos/MRBI used a purposive sampling approach that involved the selection of 302 emigrants at random by telephone. The organisation identified the respondents through their interviewers' network of contacts, although Ipsos/MRBI ensured that 'only one emigrant from any college class, company or family could be interviewed, to avoid any clustering effect'. One-third of those interviewed were based in the United Kingdom, 38% in Australia or New Zealand, 12% in North America, 8% in mainland Europe and 9 % throughout the rest of the world.⁶⁷ In the aftermath of several queries about the methodology for the study, MRBI's Executive Director explained to *Irish Times*' readers that 'The lack of information on our emigrant population with which to control or from which to draw a sample is frustrating for researchers' and that, as a result, 'it is extremely difficult to measure and profile the Irish emigrant population'.⁶⁸ The aim of the Emigre project was to attempt to fill this notable gap in knowledge about Ireland's recent emigrant population.

The National Youth Council of Ireland (NYCI) published the most recent study about current emigration in May 2013. The NYCI commissioned Red C to carry out an opinion poll about social policy issues in October 2012. As part of the telephone poll with 1,003 individuals, Red C asked several specific questions about emigration. The findings revealed that over a quarter of the Irish population had been personally affected by the emigration of a close family member in the previous two years. Respondents were also asked whether they themselves had considered emigrating. Significantly, 'the intention to emigrate was found to be much greater amongst the 18-24 age cohort with 1 in 2 of those aged 18-24 stating that they would consider emigration as an option'.⁶⁹ The primary motivation for potential emigration was 'because of a lack of employment opportunities at home or in the expectation that they would have better work prospects abroad'.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Stephen Collins, 'Emigrants leaving by choice, not necessity', *Irish Times*, 17 March 2012.

⁶⁵ Kathy Sheridan, 'Most Irish emigrants have prospered - and most eventually want to return to their roots', *Irish Times*, 19 March 2012.

⁶⁶ See the large volume of responses filed under 'Leaving Ireland: a question of lifestyle or necessity?' in the Letters page of the *Irish Times* on 21 March 2012.

⁶⁷ Stephen Collins, 'Quality of life better abroad than home, say most emigrants', *Irish Times*, 19 March 2012.

⁶⁸ Damian Loscher, 'Profiling of Irish emigrant population a difficult task', *Irish Times*, 22 March 2012.

⁶⁹ National Youth Council of Ireland (Marie-Claire McAleer), *Time to Go. A Qualitative Research Study Exploring the Experience and Impact of Emigration on Ireland's Youth* (Dublin, 2013), 12.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 13.

The qualitative part of the report concentrated on 18-25 year old Irish emigrants in the UK and 18-30 year olds in Canada. NYCI held several focus groups in London and Toronto, gathering participants by 'on street' recruiting, snowballing, peer and 'word of mouth' recruiting'. They also relied on Irish organisations in the two cities to publicise and recruit people for the research.⁷¹ Three focus groups, each containing seven to nine participants who had emigrated from Ireland within the previous two years, met for approximately 90 minutes to discuss their experiences. Furthermore, NYCI carried out in-depth interviews with a number of stake-holders. All but one of those who participated in the focus group in London left Ireland 'to pursue better job opportunities'.⁷² Those based in Canada explained that they emigrated 'because they wanted to work in their chosen profession and Ireland could not offer them such job opportunities'.⁷³ The biggest difficulty that participants in London encountered related to their initial finances: they either had to have enough financial reserves to support themselves for a month or two or rely on parental support.⁷⁴ Similarly, financing the cost of the trip and the visa required to go to Canada required many to save in advance, something that was particularly difficult for those who were unemployed. Notably, the NYCI report dedicated one chapter to the impact that emigration had on Ireland. It argued that while emigration may temporarily 'help alleviate the problem of unemployment', in the long-term it highlights the implications of losing so many well educated young people who the state have spent a considerable amount of money educating and who might not contribute to already under pressure state pensions in the future.⁷⁵ It also underlined the potential social consequences of sustained emigration, such as the creation of a generation gap in Ireland and the emotional consequences caused by the breakup of families. Moreover, it raised the possibility of a 'brain drain effect' for the country.⁷⁶

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 18-19.

⁷² *Ibid*, 41.

⁷³ *Ibid*, 41 and 60

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 43.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 81-2.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 86.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The CSO introduced a question into the 1986 census to ascertain how many people were returned emigrants. However, no question exists relating to whether anyone has emigrated from the household since the previous census. Instead, researchers have to rely on the CSO's Quarterly National Household Surveys (QNHS) for annual migration estimates.¹ Unfortunately, the QNHS data only provide the gender of emigrants and a broad age profile of who is leaving (0-14, 15-24, 25-44, 45-64, 65 and over). The 25-44 age cohort represents people at very different life stages. People in their mid-twenties are, presumably, much more inclined to emigrate because they are at the early stages of their career and are quite mobile due to the fact that many of them have not yet had children or do not have a mortgage. By contrast, people in their early 40s are more likely to have children and mortgages, and are, in general, more established in their chosen careers. Yet, the CSO's statistics on emigration do not take account of these distinctions. More importantly, there is little or no information on the socio-economic, professional or geographical background of emigrants. As highlighted in Chapter 2, emigrants in the 1950s were predominantly unskilled and came from rural counties that contained a high proportion of small farms, especially in the western part of the country. By the 1980s, emigration had become more prevalent throughout the country with urban areas feeling the same effects as their rural counterparts. Additionally, emigrants were both skilled and unskilled. But who is leaving this time? The challenge the Emigre team faced was to identify the types of people who were leaving and where they were leaving from.

3.1 Household Survey

The 2011 census marked the first occasion that the CSO compiled and released data for approximately 18,500 Small Areas (SAs) around the country. Previously, the CSO had provided data based on the 3,400 Electoral Divisions (EDs) across the country. Unfortunately, the EDs could not be used as the framework to construct a nationally representative sample as they encompassed areas containing as few households as sixteen and as many as over 32,000. The SAs, developed at the All-Island Research Observatory (AIRO) at NUI Maynooth for the Ordnance Survey, are much more uniform than the EDs, since most contain between approximately 80 and 130 households. Having a wide variety of demographic and socio-economic data for every SA in the country, courtesy of the CSO, provides researchers with an ideal platform to build up a representative picture of the whole country. It gave the Emigre team the benefit of being able to categorise SAs into groups and generate a full statistical breakdown of the characteristics of every SA visited.

The typical approach to building a representative sample of any population is to randomly sample a large number of population units. In the case of the Emigre project, a representative sample of households, with a 95% confidence level and a confidence interval of 5, would require travelling to almost 400 households randomly scattered across the country.² The methodological, logistical, financial and temporal constraints of doing so would be far beyond the scope of

¹ As the results of the 2011 census demonstrated, this is not always a reliable source. The CSO had, based on its QNHS statistics, estimated that Ireland contained almost 100,000 less immigrants than it actually did.

² A postal survey alone was considered as an option, however, the datasets available to source addresses were unsatisfactory on a number of fronts, due to issues such as lack of nationwide coverage, excessive cost and a lack of names for householders. Additionally, it was predicted that a postal survey would receive a lower response rate.

projects such as Emigre. The team was then left with the challenge of building a sample that would maximise representativeness, while also being feasible to source, considering the aforementioned constraints. The method by which this was achieved was via a cluster analysis of SAs which stratified the sample into subgroups/clusters, from which a sample of the most typical cases of each subgroup was selected. Considering the research did not use a typical random sampling approach, which would have required attaining 384 responses from households scattered across the country, an allowance for a ‘design effect’ of 2 was made to maximise representativeness. This allowance resulted in twice the allowance of 384 responses being set. 768 served as the minimum number of responses to collect, which is twice as large as what would be needed for a random sample of responses to achieve a satisfactory level of confidence. Taking into account the fact that the Emigre Project intended to use its household survey to build up a sample of emigrants abroad, the larger sample achievable via this method also ensured that the amount of details collected for emigrants abroad was maximised. An additional benefit of this methodological approach was that it allowed the team to treat SAs from particular clusters as reflective of the situation in the remainder of unvisited SAs within each cluster.

Cluster analysis is a complex form of statistical analysis that divides units – SAs in this case – into coherent groups/clusters based on a multitude of information on each unit via a computer algorithm. The initial stages of the cluster analysis involved deciding on the most important and suitable information to include. The socio-economic and demographic categories identified for inclusion in the analysis were: degree of rurality, housing stock, education levels, employment levels, family structure and age profile. The decision on the variables to include in the analysis to represent each category took into account issues such as overall informative capacity, correlation between variables and multicollinearity, among others.³ After much fine-tuning, the final 6 variables included in the initial analysis were as follows:

- The percentage of people in the SAs employed in agriculture;
- The percentage of households that were owner occupied without a mortgage;
- The percentage of people that had ordinary level degrees, national diplomas or higher;
- The percentage of people unemployed;
- The percentage of households that contained adult families; and
- The percentage of people aged 20-34.

Following on from the initial division of SAs into clusters based on these variables, further analysis was conducted to identify the defining characteristics of each cluster across an additional 62 variables, which informed the descriptions that follow. A variety of calculations were carried

³ A correlational analysis was conducted to exclude variables that were strongly correlated with others (Pearson’s correlation coefficients of .65 or greater). To minimise the effects of multicollinearity, a maximum of one variable per category was included in the analysis.

out to ensure that the typology was statistically robust in this regard.⁴ The final typology divided the Republic of Ireland into six divergent clusters (overleaf).⁵

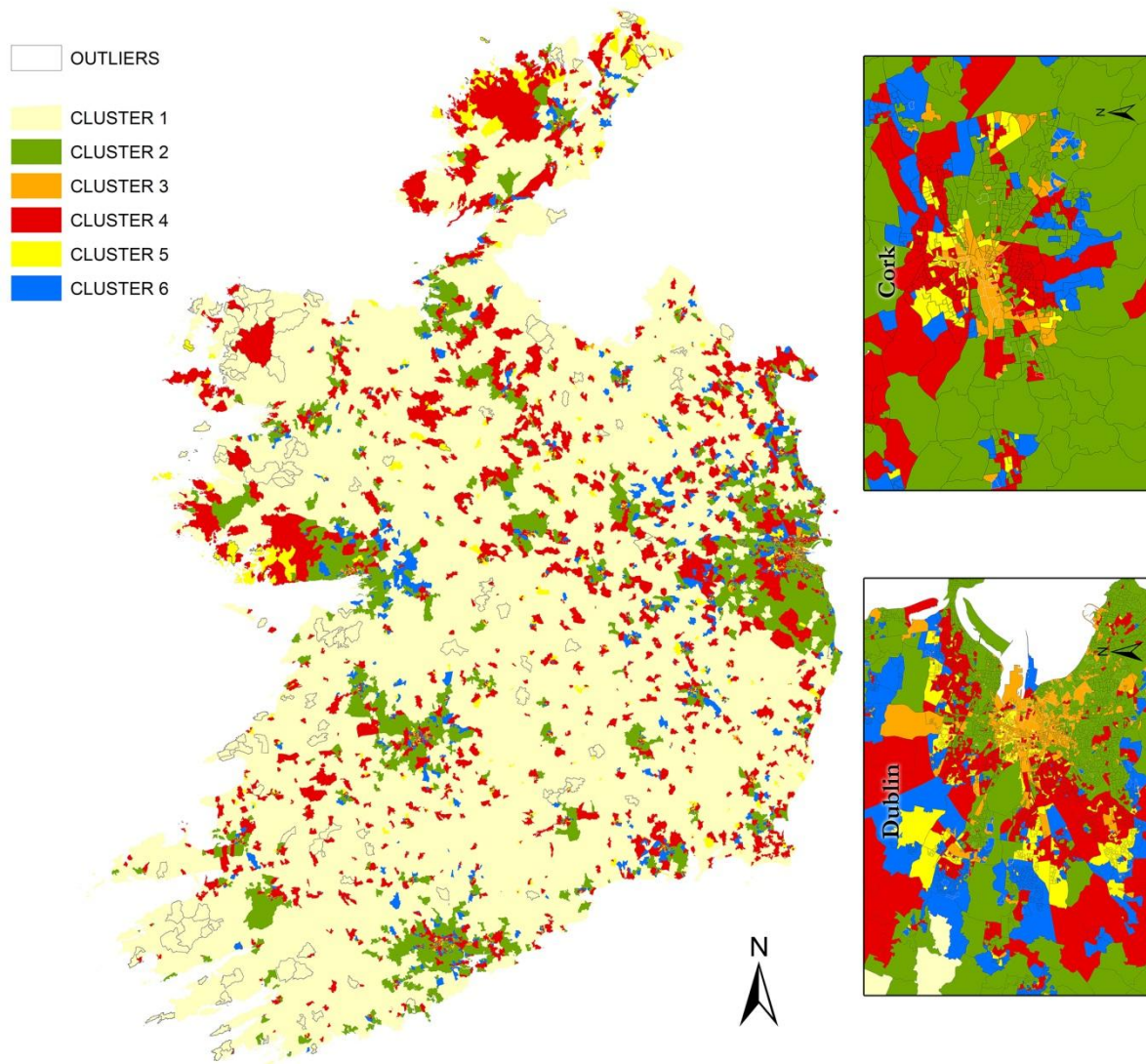


Figure 2. Nationwide Typology of Census Small Areas⁶

Cluster One contains sparsely populated rural areas with an extremely high percentage of people engaged in agricultural work compared to the national average. People with skilled trades also reside in these SAs at a disproportionately high rate. A large proportion of households are owner occupied in properties that had no mortgages remaining. Households generally contained a sizeable number of occupants, however, the amount of 20-34 year olds living within these areas was lower than average. Education levels were relatively low, demonstrating the older than

⁴ By running the 'Kolmogorov-Smirnov' test of normality, we confirmed that the calculations were not significantly affected by anomalies. A one-sample t-test was run to ensure that the cluster means differed from the national means in a statistically significant manner.

⁵ A more detailed technical description of the methodology of the cluster analysis and the statistics defining each cluster is forthcoming (Kelly).

⁶ Boundary files Copyright Ordnance Survey Ireland and the Central Statistics Office, Ireland

average demographic living in these areas. The rate of foreign nationals living within these areas is much lower than the national average.

Cluster Two comprises areas with low unemployment and high education levels. These areas contain a notably large number of higher professionals compared to the national average. An extremely large proportion of the population in these areas are aged over 45. People in their twenties and thirties do not feature prominently, nor do immigrants.

Cluster Three consists of densely populated urban areas with high numbers of people aged 20-34. Households in these areas are much more likely to be private rented properties compared to the national average. Couples living in these areas tend to have had no children yet or children that are very young. Education levels in this cluster are extremely high when compared to the national average.

Cluster Four contains areas in which a high proportion of people live in households that they own without a mortgage. The education levels within these SAs are normally below the national average, which is somewhat reflective of its age profile in that they contain a lot of people aged 55 or over. Most children living with their parent(s) in these SAs are adult children. Unemployment levels are around the national average.

Cluster Five contains densely populated areas with an extremely high proportion of households rented from local authorities compared to the national average. At 21.9%, unemployment levels are very high. The number of people with an ordinary degree or higher is extremely low. Within these areas, people are much more likely to be unskilled compared to the national average. Nothing particularly conclusive can be said about the age profile of this cluster as it has a high level of variance.

Cluster Six encompasses areas with a high proportion of people aged 35-44 who have young families. The majority of people within these areas own their houses with mortgages. Education levels are higher than average. These areas are much more likely to contain houses built after 2001.

Cluster 1 SAs are located in rural areas throughout the country. Over one-fifth (21%) of the population reside in these type of areas. Cluster 2 comprises of affluent areas that are especially common in city suburbs and large towns. Just less than one-fifth (19%) of the population live in these SAs. Cluster 3 areas are, understandably given their high composition of young professionals, students and immigrants, located mostly in cities. Cluster 3 is the smallest of clusters, containing only 7% of the population. Cluster 4 contains the highest proportion of the population at almost a quarter (24%). Cluster 4 and Cluster 5 areas are predominantly located in the country's cities, suburbs and towns. The disadvantaged Cluster 5 areas account for 12% of the population. Cluster 6 households are often located in and around towns and villages that serve as commuter areas for the country's cities and large towns, befitting of the fact that the houses in these SAs are often a lot newer than in many of the other clusters. They contain 17% of the population.

Variable	Difference between national average and sample average
Employed in Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries	0.98%
Houses owner occupied without a mortgage	-1.78%
Persons with ordinary level degree, national diploma or higher	0.40%
Unemployment	0.69%
Families with adult children	0.32%
Persons aged 20 to 34	1.33%

Table 1. Difference between National Average and Sample Average for selected variables

February to May, we completed all twenty SAs. The sample contained 2,262 households and the characteristics of the sample relative to the national picture had an average difference of 0.8% across 68 variables. Table 1 shows the difference between the national average and the sample average for the six initial variables.

Once the typology was finalised, a sample of approximately 200 SAs was compiled that was most typical of each cluster.⁷ This sample was then mapped and 20 SAs were chosen to sample from this group (along with an additional 2 at a later stage), with efforts made to ensure that each cluster was represented proportionally insofar as possible at this stage.⁸ Also incorporated into this decision were considerations concerning the distribution of the population in Ireland and overall regional/provincial balance. The final selection included ten SAs in Leinster, six in Munster, three in Connacht and one in Ulster. From



Figure 3. Front Cover of Emigre Postcard

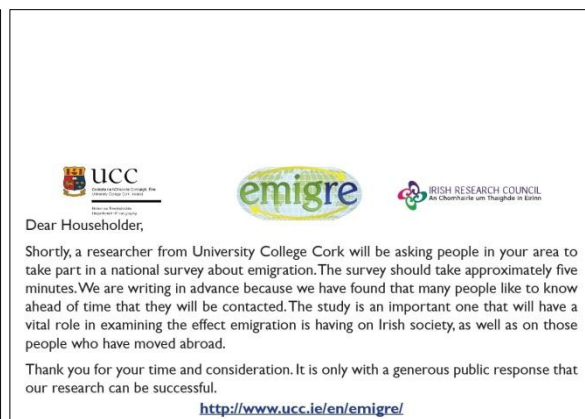


Figure 4. Back Cover of Emigre Postcard

⁷ Typicality was measured based on 'Squared Euclidean Distance' from each cluster's centre

⁸ The small N (20) resulted in precise proportionality being unachievable. This was addressed at a later stage by applying weights.

Survey Design, Response Rates and Logistics

The CSO's Small Area online maps helped identify which households were contained in the SAs to be visited. 'Streetview' on Google Maps and satellite imagery also provided information in advance about the make-up of the SA. To ensure as high a response rate as possible, postcards were distributed to the households within the SA in advance of calling (above). The Emigre postcards contained information about the project, as well as a link to our website for further information about the study. Most importantly, it informed recipients that we would be calling shortly thereafter to discuss emigration. Unlike in urban areas, where house numbers and addresses could be plotted fairly precisely, there was no feasible way to do an advance postal drop in rural SAs. Instead, we tried to contact key personalities in the community in advance, so as to publicise our upcoming visit, including local radio broadcasters, GAA officials, priests and businesspeople. A lengthy feature on our household survey, televised on RTÉ's 'Primetime' current affairs programme, provided further national prominence, as did repeated coverage in national newspapers. Each of the surveyors wore UCC rain jackets when carrying out the surveys and had ID cards visibly displayed in an attempt to put people at ease and demonstrate that the project was part of a university study.

Informed by the work of Dillman,⁹ questions in our survey were straight-forward and easy to follow to ensure clarity and ease of completion for respondents. The vast majority of questions provided a range of options for respondents to tick, as this reassured those completing the questionnaires that it would not be a time consuming process. A small number of key questions were open-ended and allowed people to write down their answers in their own words.

UCC
Dublin City University
To fill out this survey online, please see the attached letter for details.

emigre
Please try to return this questionnaire within 7 days
START HERE

1.a What, in your opinion, is the main reason people are leaving Ireland today?
Please tick one box only

- ☐ To gain job experience
- ☐ To find a job
- ☐ To travel
- ☐ To experience another culture
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Other

1.b In your opinion, are most people moving abroad because:
Please tick one box only

- ☐ They want to
- ☐ They have to
- ☐ Don't know/No opinion

2. How many people from the following categories are you aware of that have left Ireland since 2006?
Please write a rough estimate of NUMBER

Your immediate family (e.g. parent, child, grandchild, sibling)?

Your extended family (e.g. first cousin, aunt, uncle, etc.)?

Your circle of friends?

3. What effect do you think people moving abroad is having on Ireland today?
Please tick one box only

- ☐ Very positive effect
- ☐ Positive effect
- ☐ Neither negative nor positive effect
- ☐ Negative effect
- ☐ Very negative effect
- ☐ Don't know

4.a What effect do you think people moving abroad is having on your local community today?
Please tick one box only

- ☐ Very positive effect
- ☐ Positive effect
- ☐ Neither negative nor positive effect
- ☐ Negative effect
- ☐ Very negative effect
- ☐ Don't know

4.b If people moving abroad is having an effect on your local community, could you provide more details?

5. To what extent do you agree or disagree: Irish nationals abroad should retain their right to vote in Irish PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.
Please tick one box only

- ☐ Agree, they should be able to vote for the rest of their lives
- ☐ Agree, but for a limited period (e.g. 5-10 years) after leaving Ireland
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Don't know

6. To what extent do you agree or disagree: Irish nationals abroad should retain their right to vote in Irish GENERAL ELECTIONS.
Please tick one box only

- ☐ Agree, they should have the right to vote for the rest of their lives
- ☐ Agree, but for a limited period (e.g. 5-10 years) after leaving Ireland
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Don't know

7. To what extent do you agree or disagree: The Irish state provides adequate support for Irish emigrants overseas.
Please tick one box only

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Don't know

8. To what extent do you agree or disagree: The Irish government is doing its best to tackle the causes of emigration.
Please tick one box only

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Don't know

9. What is your nationality?

- ☐ Irish
- ☐ Other NATIONALITY, write below

10. Where is your place of birth?
Give the place where your mother lived at the time of your birth.
If IRELAND (including Northern Ireland), please write in the COUNTY below, e.g. Co. Cork.
If ABROAD, please write in the COUNTRY below, e.g. Poland.

11. Did you grow up in a:
Please tick one box only

- ☐ City
- ☐ Suburb
- ☐ Town
- ☐ Rural village
- ☐ Rural townland

12. Family status
Tick more than one box if necessary

- ☐ Married
- ☐ Partner
- ☐ Widowed
- ☐ Single
- ☐ Separated/Divorced
- ☐ Other

13.a What is your gender?
Please tick one box only

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

13.b What age category are you in?
Please tick one box only

- ☐ 15-19
- ☐ 20-24
- ☐ 25-29
- ☐ 30-34
- ☐ 35-39
- ☐ 40-44
- ☐ 45-49
- ☐ 50-54
- ☐ 55-59
- ☐ 60-64
- ☐ 65-69
- ☐ 70-74
- ☐ 75-79
- ☐ 80-84
- ☐ 85+

TURN OVER

Figure 3. First page of Emigre Household Survey
⁹ Don Dillman, *With the internet surveys: the tailored design method* (Hoboken, 2007).
¹⁰ CSO, 'Report of Census Pilot Survey carried out in April 2009' (Dublin, 2009).

about their own migration history and, most importantly, whether anyone from the household, or who used to reside in the household, had lived abroad for over one year since 2006. Respondents were asked to fill in a one page annex for any emigrant who had left the house in the period referred to.

The Emigre team carried out most surveys on weekends to ensure as high a response rate as possible. For households where there was no response, a questionnaire was left along with a letter explaining the purpose of the survey, together with a stamped addressed envelope for return to University College Cork. A webpage was also provided so that people could complete the survey online if they so wished. Slightly less than half of our responses came via post. Somewhat surprisingly, we received very few responses online. Most of our responses derived from face-to-face interactions on the doorsteps of households contained in the SAs.

Out of the 2,495 households contained in the final sample of 22 SAs, 9.7% were unoccupied. The response rates varied between clusters, with returns from the affluent Cluster 2 SAs reaching an average of approximately 50%, excluding vacant households. For one rural SA, where we succeeded in contacting the local parish priest, the PRO of the local GAA club, the community centre and the local radio station to publicise our survey, we attained an astonishing response rate of over 60%. The response rate from the disadvantaged SAs contained in Cluster 5 and the Cluster 3 SAs located in urban environments, which contained a large proportion of people aged 20-34 living in rented accommodation, was disappointing, measuring 27% and 31% respectively. As a result, these types of areas remained under-represented in our study. We carried out follow up surveys in two SAs to address this imbalance between clusters – one in Munster and one in the northern border region of Connacht. A weighting strategy was employed to achieve precise balancing of responses based on cluster membership and a number of other variables (described later). In total, we received 933 responses from 2,253 occupied houses. As a result, we achieved a national average response rate that amounted to 41.4% of the occupied households we surveyed.

	Average difference between national average and sample average	Maximum difference between national average and sample average
Cluster membership	1.1%	2.1%
Nature of Occupancy	0.8%	1.7%
Number of persons in Household	0%	0%
Age group	0.1%	0.4%
Gender	0%	0%

Table 2. Difference between national Average and Sample Average for selected Variables

response, which resulted in this sample not being achieved. A set of post-stratification weights was created and applied to the statistics to maximise representativeness based on (1) cluster

The sample of households identified by the cluster analysis was deemed sufficiently representative, with an estimated 95% confidence level and a confidence interval of 5. This would be the case for our actual sample of respondents if every household responded, however, there was an issue relating to non-

membership, (2) number of persons in the household and (3) nature of occupancy.¹¹ Table 2. shows the difference between the weighted sample average and the national average for household characteristics. The household questionnaire also asked a series of questions that were applicable to the individual, as opposed to the household. For the calculation of statistics that related to individuals – for example levels of agreement with the right to vote, a second stage of weighting was applied to ensure representativeness based on age group and gender (also in Table 2).

3.2 Online and Jobs Fair Surveys

In addition to our national household survey, the Emigre team also carried out another project on prospective emigrants attending the Working Abroad Expos held in Dublin and Cork in early March 2013. Borrowing from the design of our household questionnaire, a short survey on a one-sided A4 page was created that asked why people wanted to move abroad. In a similar vein to the household survey, questions were posed to ascertain whether these potential emigrants had children or not, their employment status, their age, their intention to emigrate in the subsequent six months and their general socio-economic and educational profile. During the Expos, people attending were approached as they were queuing up for certain jobs and at visa stands and asked to fill out forms on the clipboards provided. Altogether, 527 responses were received.¹²

The lack of a representative sampling frame for emigrants abroad has proved a major stumbling block for academics in the past. This is attributable to a number of factors, the most obvious being that since emigrants are no longer in their country of origin, they are not there anymore to be identified. The fact that they are scattered across multiple continents, countries and administrative divisions further compounds this issue. To profile Ireland's current emigrants in an accurate way, the approach adopted was to obtain as representative a sample of emigrants as possible via Emigre's household survey that could be used as a control to re-weight the online survey carried out in tandem with the household survey.¹³ The household survey asked a series of questions about the most crucial information relating to emigrants, covering aspects such as age, education level and employment status before and after emigration; whereas our online survey went into more detail about emigrants' history and current situation. This reweighting of the online survey based on a methodologically precise household survey is a critical differentiator between the results of the Emigre online survey and surveys that have been carried out in the past. The depth of detail gone into by the survey further differentiates it from previous work on Irish emigrants. The spreadsheet of responses contained a total of 65 columns to represent the data collected for each individual emigrant.

¹¹ There is likely to be a degree of positive response bias in favour of those who have experienced emigration in some way, however, its magnitude is not possible to measure accurately and there exists no precise method of controlling for this.

¹² Details of the results of these findings were published one day after the Expo ended. See Piaras Mac Éinrí, Tomás Kelly and Irial Glynn, 'Working Abroad Expo – Preliminary report on survey of intending emigrants' (Cork, 2013). Available at <http://migration.ucc.ie/workingabroadexporev2.htm>

¹³ One issue with the household survey regarding the emigrants sourced is that those who did not leave a household member behind were not contained in the sample. There were no major indications that the education levels of those that left someone behind were significantly different to those that did not. Education was therefore deemed a suitable control.

The online survey was carried out from March to May 2013. It was publicised via the Emigre Twitter and Facebook pages. Repeated coverage in the national press, ethnic Irish overseas media, national TV and the *Irish Times*' online 'Emigration Generation' page increased the project's legitimacy and visibility. Facebook has a variety of group pages for Irish emigrants in different locations across the world that enables emigrants to group together, find jobs and source accommodation, among many other things. The 'Irish people living in Australia' page, for instance, has over 19,000 followers who regularly interact on the page. These pages proved an invaluable resource in maximising the number of responses to Emigre's online survey. A final figure of 1,514 people completed the extensive online survey. The questions within the survey took the form of boxes to be checked, however, space was provided for respondents to elaborate on a number of crucial themes. Respondents were asked a number of questions about their lives in Ireland before departure, their experiences abroad and whether they wanted to come back to the country at some point in the future. Almost half of online respondents (over 730 out of 1,496) provided their contact details for future contact.

Our 'N', that is the number of people in the sample, for emigrants for whom the project collected details for in the household survey (183) was not sufficiently large enough to conclude that our sample of emigrants had the same confidence level as our sample of households. This is attributable to the fact that the number of emigrants sourced per household was an unknown before starting the research. Retrospectively, Emigre would need to have attained more than twice the N, that is: visit over 4,000 households, to be in a position to do this. Nonetheless, by using the household statistics, Emigre has countered the acknowledged bias of online surveys towards more educated respondents by weighting the online survey, which has a much larger N. During analysis, the surveys were used together as a form of methodological triangulation, taking into account the weaknesses of each when deciding on the most reliable statistic for a given phenomenon, in the minority of cases where the statistics were in conflict. The household survey was not able to collect details for emigrants that left no household member behind in Ireland and does not have a sufficient N to break statistics down into a large amount of categories, however, it has the benefit of respondents being sourced in a more representative manner. The online emigrant survey has the drawback of being a somewhat self-selecting sample but the benefit of a large N. Combined, the surveys give a nuanced, reliable and richly informative description of Ireland's current group of emigrants.

3.3 Qualitative Interviews

To add further depth and detail to the quantitative data collected, a second stage of qualitative data collection was incorporated into the study. The emigrants who completed the online survey were, in many respects, self-selected and hence did not represent a nationally representative sample of Irish emigrants. However, the much more representative household survey did provide information about the socio-economic and educational profile of Irish emigrants. Therefore, Emigre drew up a pool of emigrants from those who completed the online survey and left their contact details. Every effort was made to ensure that the people contacted had an educational background that matched, as much as was possible, the general profile of emigrants that the project built up from collecting information about emigration in the household survey. Throughout July and early August 2013, qualitative semi-structured interviews were carried out with 55 emigrants across the world using Skype and Viber. Interviewees were

first provided with an information sheet containing a summary of our project's goals. They were also asked in advance for their consent to allow Emigre to use their quotes in the report and subsequent publications, and to allow for the recording of the interviews. People had the choice to remain anonymous and were given a variety of intermediary options about how their recordings and transcripts would be used, stored and dealt with after the study.

Like all surveys that do not sample the entire population, the approach used by Emigre has its imperfections. It is, however, arguably the most representative survey of emigration that has been carried out to date, and it is likely to be the most representative that will be done on emigrants from this time period in the absence of a very large budget. A substantial amount of effort was required from all involved to deliver this project on time and within budget. Postgraduate students from UCC's MA in Contemporary Migration and Diaspora Studies, notably Cian Tobin and Ciara McCormack, provided invaluable help when conducting the Household survey. Due to the extensive amount of fieldwork and data collected, it is hoped that this report can provide a platform for further analysis and publications. Indeed, the dataset will serve as a valuable resource for further research.

Chapter 4. Departure

4.1 Who is Leaving

Introduction

In this section evidence from the household survey, online survey, jobs fair surveys and interviews will be considered in order to build a detailed picture of who is leaving from Ireland today.

The overall picture which emerges is a complex one. As befits a society which is now largely urban, the traditional cliché of the emigrant as rural is no longer true in terms of absolute numbers, but emigration from rural Ireland is still disproportionately higher than the norm.¹ In terms of levels of education, the general improvement in educational standards in Ireland in recent decades is reflected in the educational attainments of today's emigrants. In fact, today's emigrants are much more likely to have a high standard of education than the population in general and arguments referencing a 'brain drain' are not misplaced. While 47% of Irish people aged between 25-34 hold a tertiary qualification of three years or more, 62% of recent Irish emigrants hold the equivalent qualification, suggesting that university graduates are represented amongst those leaving.

Even in good times, emigration is an option for some and a necessity for others. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, with a thriving economy in Ireland and very low rates of unemployment, more than 25,000 people were leaving annually, with 31,500 leaving in 1999.² No breakdown by nationality of such emigrants is available for this period but the great majority is likely to have been Irish, particularly before EU10 accession in 2004 which heralded a more fluid pattern of migration to and from Ireland.

Focusing on the period of our own research project, between 2006 and 2013 gross emigration of Irish people was in the order of 213,000 persons in total,³ rising from just over 13,000 in 2005 to almost 51,000 in the year ending March 2013,⁴ an increase of nearly 400% in the seven years from the pre-crisis period in the Irish economy to the present. In itself, this gives the lie to the notion that emigration is purely a matter of 'lifestyle choice'.

National level aggregate data, however, only provide part of the story and do not enable a more precise picture of emigration to be established, in terms of its regional impact and in terms of the socio-educational, occupational and gender backgrounds of those leaving. This section will attempt to map such a picture, while the following section will seek to explain the reasons for departure in greater detail. We draw, in particular, on evidence from our household survey, the structure of which has already been described.

One caveat should be entered immediately, and has been mentioned already. There is one group that, by definition, was not captured by the household survey. In those cases where an

¹ The CSO's 2011 Census of Population categorises 62% of the population as living in 'Aggregate Town Areas'.

² CSO, *Population and Migration Estimates April 2013* (accessed at http://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/er/pme/populationandmigrationestimatesapril2013/#.Uj1_UI0jKS_o, 20 September 2013).

³ Technically, the annual population and migration estimates are for the period April-end March rather than January – December.

⁴ CSO, *Population and Migration Estimates April 2013*.

entire family had emigrated, there was no-one left to respond to the survey. Moreover, while the 2011 Census identified vacant and occupied households at that time, we had no way of knowing whether vacant houses encountered during our survey were empty due to emigration or other reasons, or whether the number of vacancies had increased. However, as will become evident, some of these emigrant families were picked up in the online survey, as well as in the jobs fair surveys.

Region of origin

Due to the fact that a large part of the population of Ireland no longer lives in ‘traditional rural’ areas, the profile of today's emigrants is very different to that from previous decades, with emigrants from urban areas now being more numerate. It would, however, be a mistake not to recognise that emigration continues to affect the more rural parts of Ireland to a greater extent than their urban counterparts.

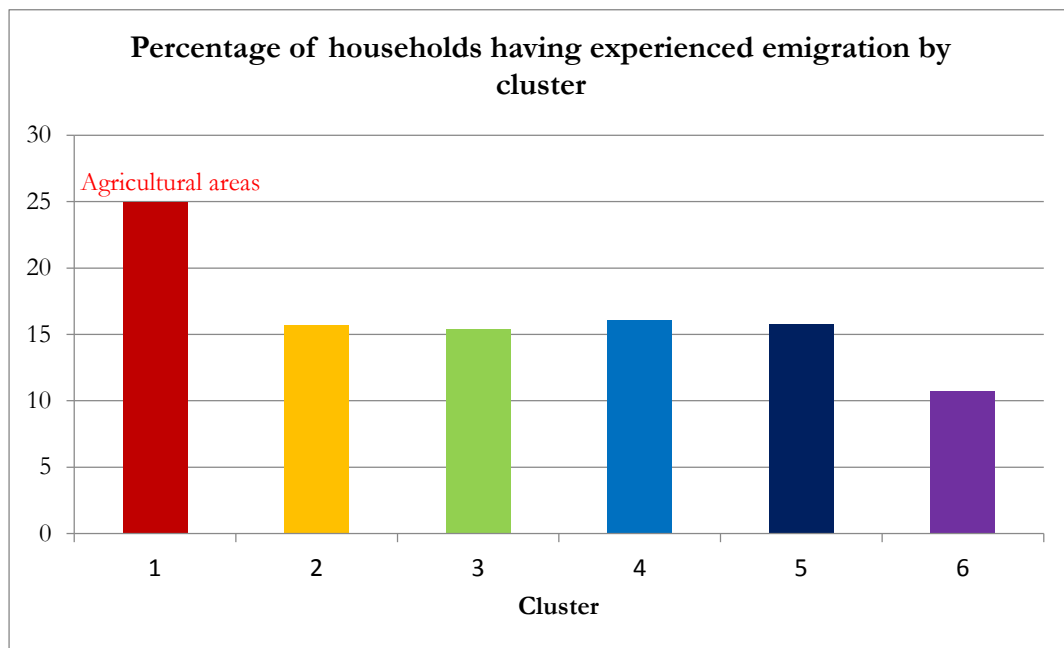


Figure 4. Percentage of Households having experienced emigration by cluster

This is not the place to consider in detail the complex question of definitions of rurality; some areas which are technically rural, for instance, may in fact function as peri-urban, providing living space for a population predominantly connected in terms of work and social life with nearby towns and cities. We can, however, unequivocally state that emigration from predominantly agricultural areas within Ireland is still disproportionately higher than from other parts of the country. Perhaps the most striking feature of the data from the household survey is that although the cluster containing areas with a high degree of rurality and agricultural activity accounted for approximately 20% of the total population of Ireland, it accounted for over 27% of all emigrants identified in the survey.⁵ Another way of putting this is that at least one

⁵ Cluster One contains sparsely populated rural areas with an extremely high percentage of people engaged in agricultural work compared to the national average. People with skilled trades also reside in these SAs at a disproportionately high rate. A large proportion of households are owner occupied in properties that had no mortgages remaining. Households generally contained a sizeable number of occupants but the amount of 20-34 year olds living within these areas was lower than average. Education levels were relatively low, demonstrating the older

household in four in these areas has been directly affected by the emigration of at least one member since 2006. These by any standards are remarkable and disturbing statistics, particularly when the wide range of other problems facing rural Ireland today are taken into account.

The pattern of emigration in other clusters shows that in the region of 15-16% of all households in these clusters have experienced emigration since 2006. This statistic holds true for regions of varying socio-economic circumstances across clusters 2 to 5.

This outlier is cluster 6, the definition of which is taken from Chapter 3 and shown in the footnote for ease of reference.⁶ This cluster consists of SAs with a high proportion of young households, many of whom bought their houses after 2001. Some of these families are in negative equity, living in houses which are effectively unsaleable. Our data show that fewer than 11% of households in this cluster have been directly affected by *conventional* emigration. It is likely, however, that these are the kinds of areas from which ‘commuter migrants’ are likeliest to be found, that is, where one household member is working outside the country and returning home on a more or less regular basis. The challenges of long-distance commuting, the separation of family members and its associated social, personal and economic issues are the subject of a separate research project, also in UCC, by David Ralph. One might have expected people from classic commuter areas to be leaving, given the negative equity many face. Due to the burden of mortgage service costs, however, and because the Irish system does not allow a householder to give back the keys and walk away from the debt, emigration becomes complicated, especially if mortgage holders have young children. Younger people living with their parents or renting do not face these same responsibilities and are, consequently, much freer to leave if they desire or if they feel constrained to. Nevertheless, the fact that 15.7% of respondents to our online survey held mortgages in Ireland before their departures, and that many of them left with children, means that whole families are emigrating from Ireland.⁷ These people do not show up in our household surveys because there is no one left behind, apart from often unwitting tenants, to provide details of their departure.

The data from our online survey shows a broadly similar picture to that described in the household survey. Nonetheless, they are not fully comparable, both because of the self-selecting nature of the sample and because the data collected cannot, in general, be mapped directly back onto the cluster-based SA sample used in Ireland. It is worth noting, however, that 41% of all online respondents described themselves as being either from a ‘rural townland’ or a ‘rural village’.

than average demographic living in these areas. The rate of foreign nationals living within these areas is much lower than the national average.

⁶ Cluster Six encompasses areas with a high proportion of people aged 35-44 that have young families. The majority of people within these areas own their houses with mortgages. Education levels are higher than average. These areas are much more likely to contain houses built after 2001.

⁷ Section 6.2, which discusses Irish emigrants’ relationship with Ireland, discusses the situation facing these emigrants in more detail.

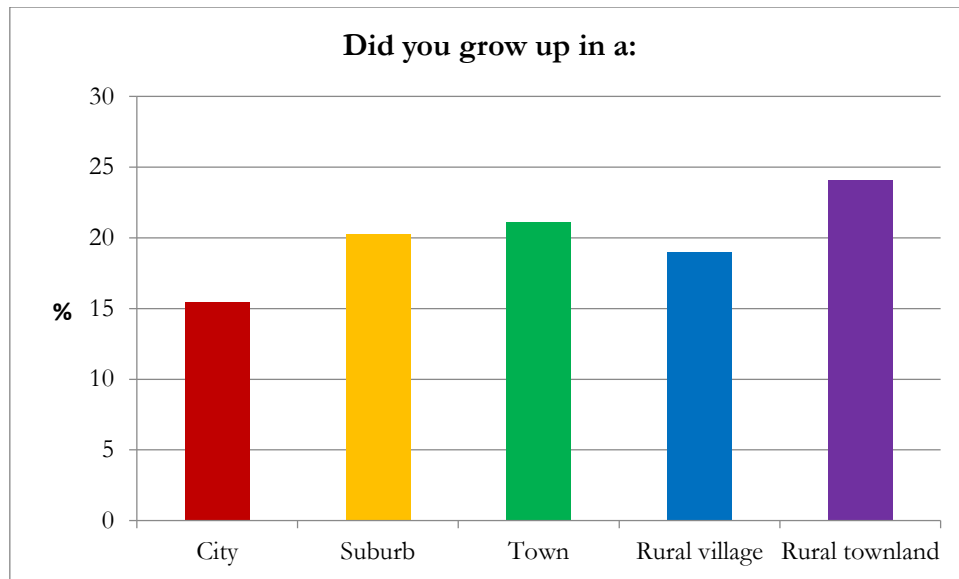


Figure 5. Nature of regions emigrants grew up in (Online Survey)

Gender

Ireland is somewhat unusual internationally in that female emigration has always been a strong component of the overall numbers and has, at times, actually exceeded male emigration. CSO data for 2006-2013 show rough gender parity in the numbers of Irish emigrants in 2006, with a slight majority of women (6,100 males, 6,800 females). A clear spike of emigration by men is visible in the data for the year ending March 2009 when male Irish emigration amounted to almost double female emigration (12,300 males, 6,900 females). It is reasonable to speculate that the collapse in the building industry and the resultant rise of male unemployment was one of the main drivers. Thereafter, male emigration continued to climb, reaching 27,100 for the most recent period up to end March 2013, but so did the number of women leaving, with the last figure at 23,800, a male/female ratio of 53:47. Our household survey data shows an almost identical ratio (52:48), although it should be noted that the national ratio over the seven years 2006-2013 is slightly different at 56:44.

There are two striking exceptions to the more general pattern. In cluster 1 (areas with much higher than average numbers employed in agriculture) Small Areas, the ratio of males to females is 64:36 i.e. nearly two thirds are men.⁸ One possible reason for this outcome is the fact that few alternatives in employment in rural Ireland existed for those who found themselves directly affected by the downturn in construction. Such an argument has been put forward, for instance, by Meredith, who points to the fact, derived from the CSO's Place of Work dataset in 2006, that:

Males aged 15-24 living in rural areas are highly dependent on the agriculture, manufacturing and construction sectors as these account for 63% of all (male) employment opportunities. The corresponding figure for males in urban areas is 40%.⁹

The other type of Small Area which stands out as exceptional is Cluster Three (definition is below).¹⁰ Females comprise 65.4% of emigrants from this cluster.¹¹ More research would be

⁸ N=53

⁹ David Meredith, 'Potential for and implications of out-migration in Irish rural areas' *Ireland after Nama* (accessed at <http://irelandafternama.wordpress.com/2010/01/15/potential-for-and-implications-of-out-migration-in-irish-rural-areas/> on 20 September 2013)

required to verify what is happening here, but we would speculate that these areas contain a relatively high proportion of young, highly educated and highly mobile female professionals in areas of employment (medical and paramedical, teaching, media and social services) where employment abroad is more readily available and where mobility is an easier choice for the non-property-owner. Young females originally from agricultural areas may also be living in these types of areas in greater numbers than their male counterparts because of more limited employment opportunities associated with the construction industry in times of economic growth.

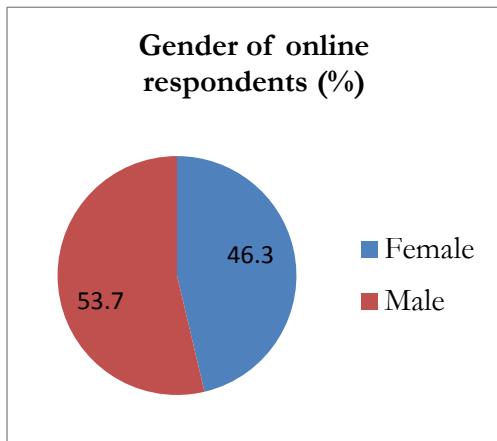


Figure 6. Gender of online survey respondents (%)

Turning to the evidence from the online survey with its far larger sample, this would again suggest a very modest variation in numbers between male and female emigrants leaving Ireland, with a 51:49 ratio. Interestingly, this contrasts with the gender ratio of those attending the Jobs Fairs in Dublin and Cork, where 59% of all respondents were male and just 41% were female. In part, this reflects the fact that the jobs on offer were heavily concentrated in sectors like construction and related work. 21% of all respondents in this survey had a construction-related background.

Age of departure

Recent decades have seen some change in the typical age of departure of Irish emigrants. Ireland is now a very different place from that described by Damian Hannan in his classic *Rural Exodus*¹², when many emigrants in his 1960s study of rural Cavan had little more than a Primary Certificate, with the exception of those who had benefited from a vocational education.

Unfortunately the CSO's regular annual series of population and migration estimates does not provide a detailed breakdown by age; the most relevant categories provided are 15-24 and 25-44. There are very considerable differences, for instance, between the circumstances of a school leaver or school drop-out, a recent post-Leaving Certificate or higher education graduate or apprentice, young single people or couples with some experience of the working world in Ireland and established households with children, including households contemplating departure in their early thirties and beyond. The current annual CSO data on age of migration is not sufficiently fine-grained to enable these issues to be explored.

¹⁰ Cluster Three consists of densely populated urban areas with high numbers of people aged 20-34. Households in these areas are much more likely to be private rented properties than the national average. Couples living in these areas tend to have had no children yet or else children that are very young. Education levels in this cluster are extremely high when compared to the national average.

¹¹ N=26

¹² Damian Hannan, *Rural Exodus: a study of the forces influencing the large-scale migration of Irish Rural Youth* (London, 1970).

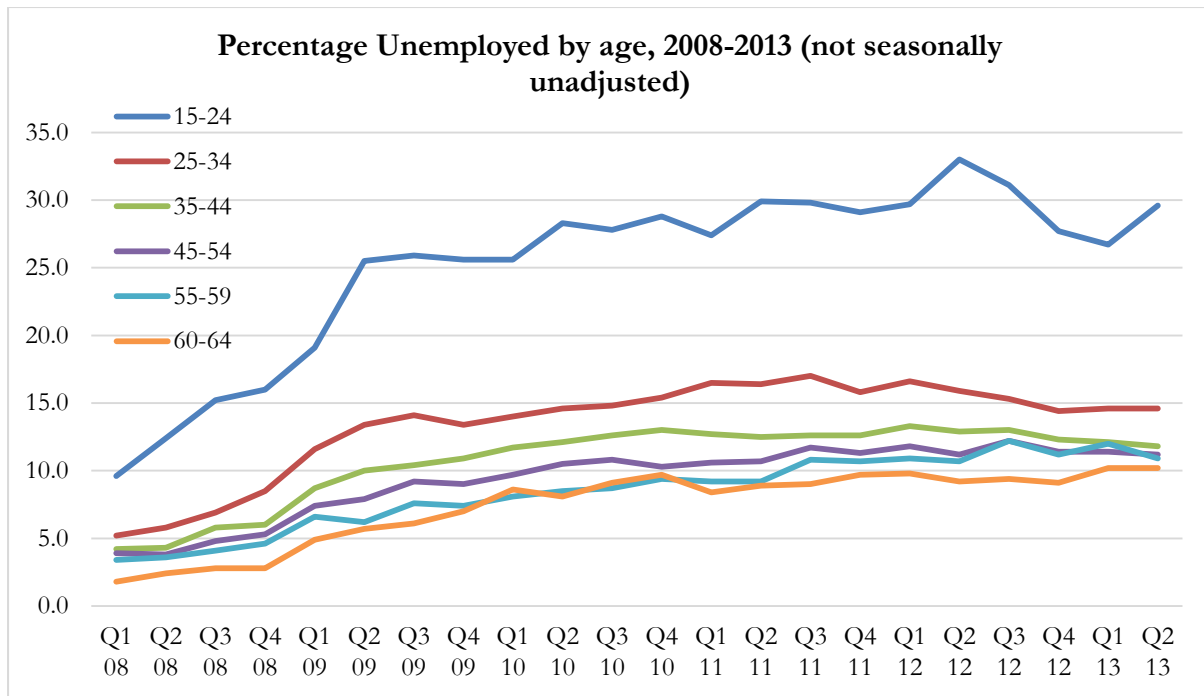


Figure 7. Percentage Unemployed by age, 2008-2013 (Source: CSO)

Fortunately some earlier comparative data is available, notably that contained in the Task Force Report of 2002¹³. The most recent age data in the Task Force report is confined to net, rather than gross, emigration and is not as detailed as our own, but it does provide data on the situation in the 1980s. It shows that for the 1986/91 period (the last major phase of unusually high emigration), 66% of migrants were in the 15-24 age category, almost 26% were aged 25-34 and fewer than 7% were older than this, with the exception of retirement migration which was actually positive, i.e. people were coming back to Ireland at retirement age or later.

In the case of our own household survey, the number leaving nowadays in the 15-19 age group is small (in fact, too small to be statistically reliable, at 6.7%) and would in any event include a number of students. In the case of the aggregate figure for the 15-24 age group it will be seen that, at 39.5%, it is lower than the data from the late 1980s, while the data for those in the 25-34 age bracket is higher at over 47%. Moreover, 11.5% of emigrants identified are aged 35 or older.¹⁴

In sum, by far the largest percentage of emigrants (over 70% in both the household and online surveys) are in their twenties. Emigrants in their twenties are split quite evenly between the 20-24 and 25-29 age cohorts. There has been an observable upward shift compared to the previous generation, with few very young emigrants and a greater spread of emigrants in their later twenties and older.¹⁵

The Jobs Fair survey data, by contrast, suggests a somewhat different picture. 44% of all those surveyed were over 30. This is an astonishing figure in light of traditional emigration age patterns, which were primarily associated with young people. However, it likely reflects the

¹³ Task Force on Policy regarding Emigrants, *Irish Emigrants and Irish Communities Abroad: A study of existing sources of information and analysis for the Task Force on Policy Regarding Emigrants* (Dublin, 1991), 17.

¹⁴ This figure is the average percentage of the household and online survey

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

attendance at these particular jobs fairs, which was aimed at people with appropriate qualifications and experience and thus not necessarily typical of the population in general.

Education

47.2% of all Irish adults in the 25-34 have a tertiary education (broadly defined as those who completed a post-second level programme of three years or more).¹⁶ This is the highest percentage for any of the EU members for the OECD and is exceeded only by Korea, Japan, Canada and the Russian Federation.

Data from our household survey suggests that the educational levels of emigrants today are a good deal higher than the national average. Very few of the emigrants identified did not have at least an Upper Secondary education or the equivalent National Framework for Qualifications certificate (Level 5).¹⁷ In some cases, emigrants had left school after their Junior Certificates but had then gone on to complete apprenticeships or various FETAC courses the equivalent of Level 5 or higher. In all, 62% of all emigrants in the Household Survey had a third level education – a significantly higher figure than the national average cited

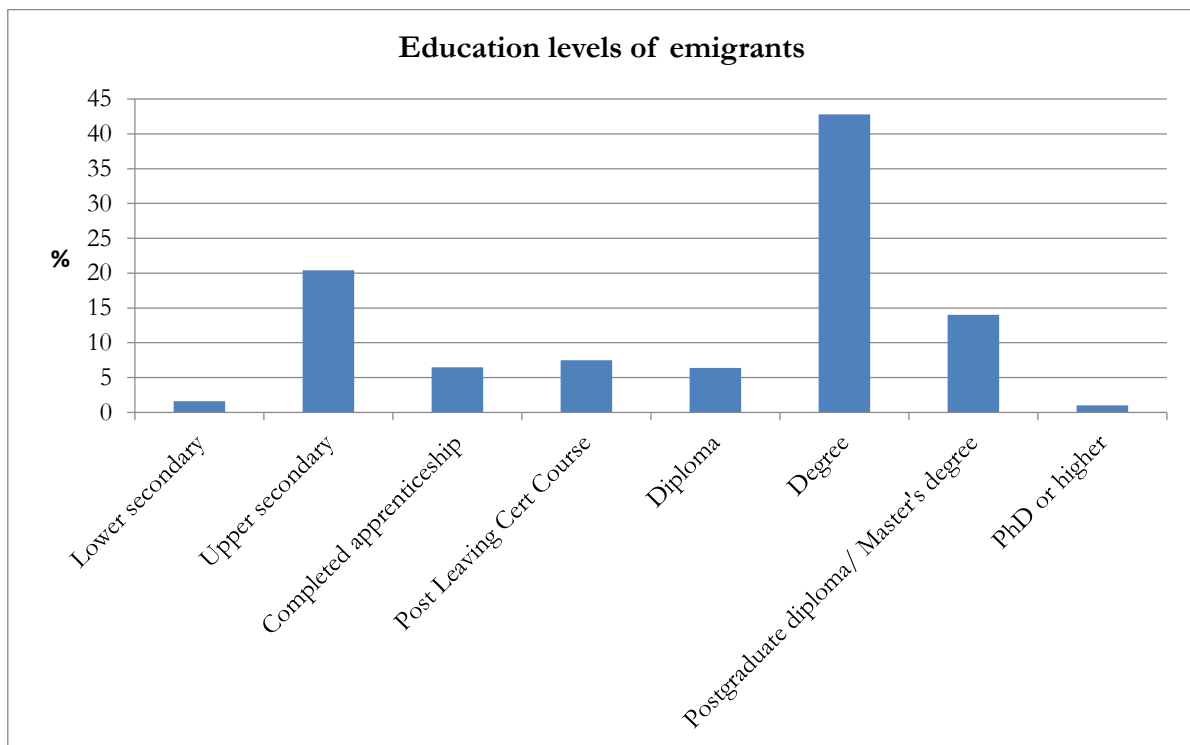


Figure 8. Education levels of emigrants (Household Survey)

This data raises an obvious question, concerning people in marginal situations who do not have the skills required to compete in a globalized world in which they may be disadvantaged in terms of qualifications and even basic literacy, and where (unlike the traditional historical situation of the Irish in some niche parts of the labour market in the UK), there is no automatic assurance of an 'Irish premium' when seeking work. In other words, as well as mobility, or

¹⁶ Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), *Education at a Glance* (Paris, 2013), 15.

¹⁷ National Framework for Qualifications (accessed at http://www.nfq.ie/nfq/en/FanDiagram/nqai_nfq_08.html on 20 September 2013).

migration, for better or for worse, there may also be a growing issue regarding immobility in a globalized world.

Destination

Our research confirms the continuing importance of the UK as a significant destination country but also the increasing popularity of Australia, even though most going there are going on the basis of a temporary permit, such as a working holiday visa or '457' skilled work permit of a limited duration. Comparing emigration today to that of the 1980s, there is an observable shift away from continental European destinations and the United States. The USA was the second most important destination after the UK in the 1980s but has now been usurped by Australia, with a noticeable increase in those seeking to go to New Zealand and Canada.

Overall, the UK and Australia are now clearly the two most popular destinations for emigrants leaving Ireland. The number of Irish citizens going to New Zealand, the United States and Canada is notably smaller, together amounting to roughly the same amount of emigrants who leave for the UK annually. The Middle East has become more prominent as a destination, with approximately 10,000 Irish currently residing there, although the annual flows are not overly notable because people move to a number of different jurisdictions in the area.¹⁸ Continental European destinations, such as Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Scandinavia and Germany continue to attract Irish emigrants, albeit much less than previously because of the effects of the Eurozone crisis and the difficulties entering the national jobs market on the continent. At the end of the 1980s and in the early 1990s, such destinations represented a small but significant number, peaking in 1992 when 22% of Irish emigrants went to continental Europe.¹⁹

It remains to be seen whether the Australian trend, so strong in recent years, will persist. There are many unknowns, including the future of the Australian economy and the fact that a minority of Irish migrants to Australia are going on high-skills (457) visas or other routes which might lead to a longer-term or permanent stay, whereas many of those on short-term Working Holiday Visas are likely to find themselves unable to remain on after the maximum period of 24 months has expired.

Professional Backgrounds

Slightly over 15% of emigrants consisted of students or recent graduates. Apart from this important cohort, the remainder of emigrants had worked in a range of sectors in Ireland. Unsurprisingly, those involved in the construction industry were to the forefront.

¹⁸ Ciara Kenny, 'Riding out the recession in the Middle East', *Irish Times*, 14 December 2012.

¹⁹ Nessa Winston, *Between two places: a case study of Irish-born people living in England* (Dublin, 2000), 8.

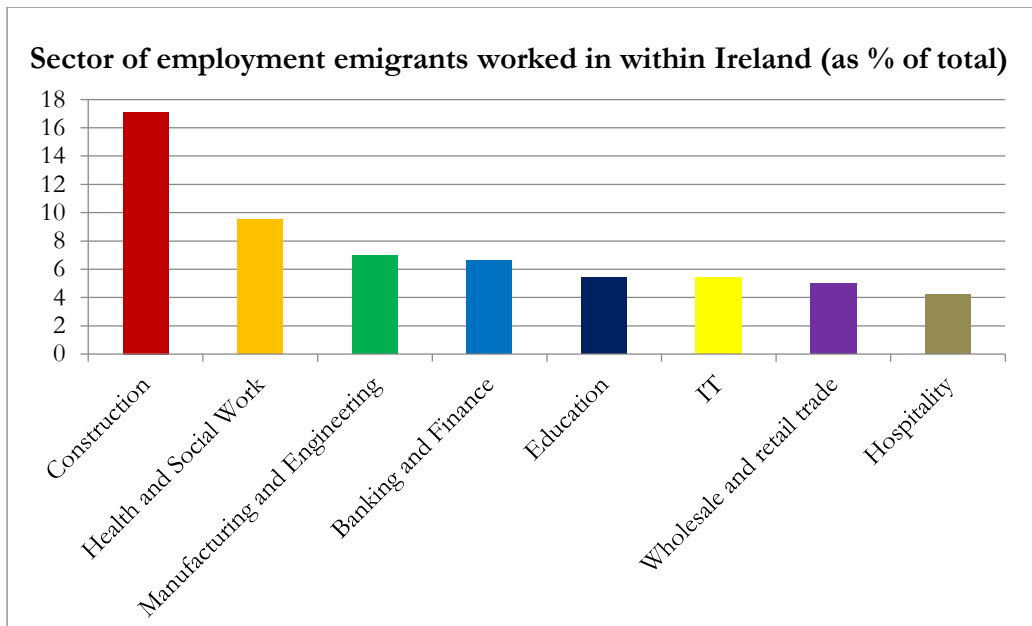


Figure 9. Sector of employment emigrants worked in within Ireland

In many ways the effects of the recession had an impact on all those involved and not just the lower skilled. Everyone from unskilled labourers to machinery operators, from tradesmen to engineers, and from quantity surveyors to architects felt the brunt of the devastating impact that the crisis had on this industry. This is reflected in the multivariate makeup of emigrants. As will be discussed in the next section, the moratorium on recruitment to the public health sector resulted in many qualified health and education professionals leaving. IT professionals, somewhat surprisingly perhaps, given the demand for their services in Ireland, left in quite significant numbers.

4.2 Reasons for leaving

The recession has had a major impact on Irish emigration trends. Before the economic downturn, many of the Irish people who left did so for lifestyle reasons. Since 2008, however, more and more people have gone for work-related reasons. This is understandable considering the massive upheaval experienced by Irish society in recent years. As the economists Donal Donovan and Antoine Murphy recently argued, ‘The scale of the economic and financial catastrophe that befell Ireland was virtually unprecedented in post-war industrial country history’.²⁰ Between 2008 and 2011, Irish GNP declined by more than 10%. In the first quarter of 2008, unemployment measured 5%. By early 2012, it had reached over 15%. Critically, national unemployment rates did not include the considerable number of underemployed people within the Irish population who are working part-time but in search of full-time employment. In April 2013, the IMF calculated that over 23% of the Irish labour force was either unemployed or underemployed.²¹

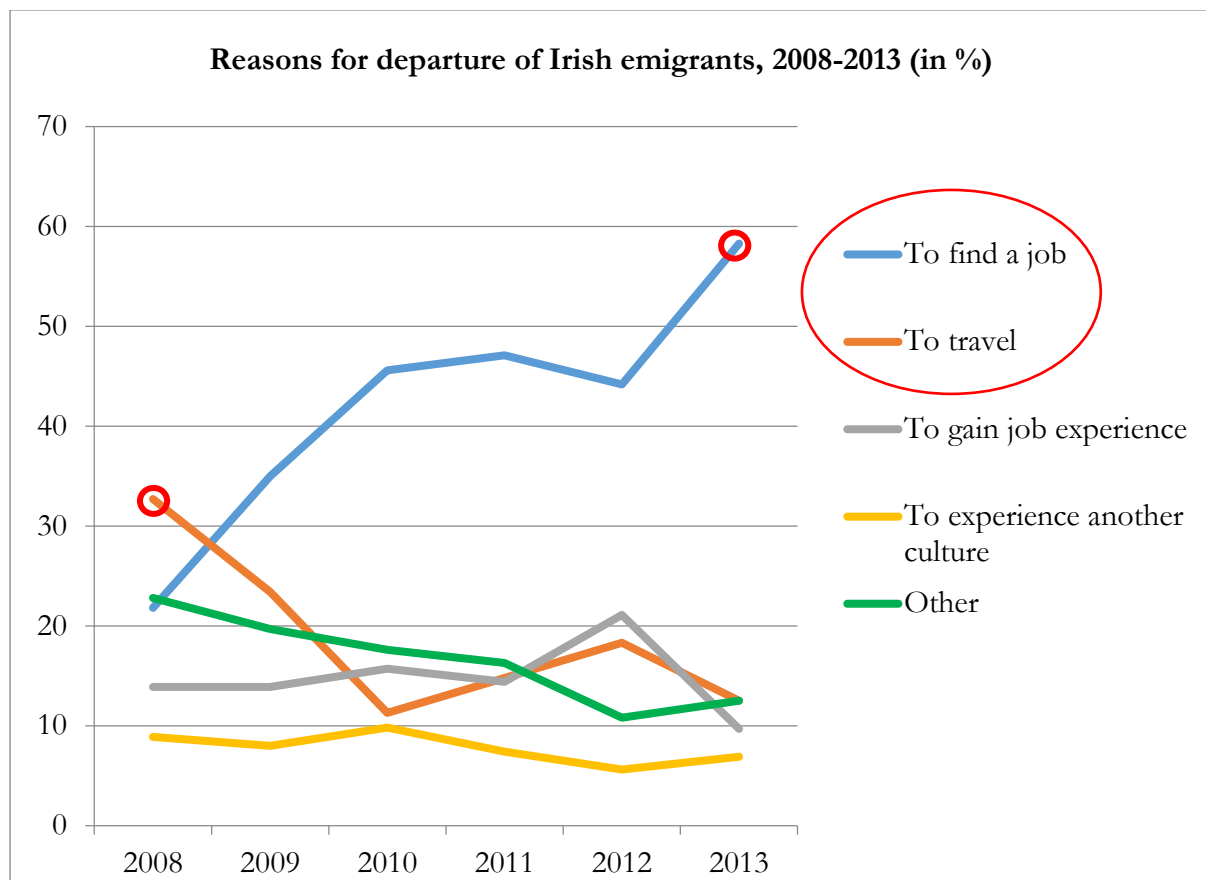


Figure 10. Reasons for departure of Irish emigrants, 2008-2013

Certain sectors felt the brunt of the recession more profoundly than others. The construction industry underwent the most dramatic of demises. Having accounted for an unsustainable 25% of Irish GNP in 2006, it suffered an incredible fall from 2008 onwards so that by 2012, it comprised less than 6% of GNP. During roughly the same period, house prices fell nationally in value by over 50%. The amount of people working in the construction industry

²⁰ Donal Donovan and Antoine Murphy, ‘The fall of the Celtic Tiger – what next?’, *The Journal.ie*, 8 Sept. 2013. See also Donovan and Murphy’s *The Fall of the Celtic Tiger: Ireland and the Euro Debt Crisis* (Oxford, 2013).

²¹ IMF, *Ireland: Ninth Review under the Extended Arrangement*, IMF Country Report No. 13/93 (2013), 26.

dropped from a peak of 380,000 to approximately 150,000.²² As one emigrant who worked in construction before leaving commented, ‘everybody had an idea it was going to go but we didn’t know it was going to go so fast. We all knew it couldn’t be sustainable the way they were building houses and building, building, building but we didn’t think it would just go flat overnight’.²³

The demise of the construction industry had an especially acute effect on employment amongst males in the country since they made up the vast bulk of that industry. Male unemployment trebled from early 2008 to the middle of 2010. The crisis also caused a notable downturn in employment in manufacturing and retail, as consumer spending decreased across Ireland and its export markets.²⁴ People working in these sectors are clearly visible in the overall emigration statistics that Emigre has accumulated. Over 17% of Irish emigrants worked in Ireland in the construction or construction-related industry. These people comprised tradesmen, civil engineers, architects, quantity surveyors and many others. Similarly, 7% of emigrants had previously been employed in manufacturing and engineering, whilst 5% worked in the wholesale and retail trade in Ireland.

In March 2009 the state published details of a recruitment and promotion moratorium in the public service relating to the civil service, local authorities, non-commercial state bodies, the Garda Síochána and the Permanent Defence Forces.²⁵ A modified version applied to the health and education sectors. The ensuing ‘Croke Park Agreement’ between the unions and the state led to sizeable early retirements taking place and little or no hiring of replacements. It also led to stagnation within many organisations. As one health employee who later moved to Australia commented: ‘You could not transfer between jobs because of the moratorium that was in place. Therefore there were no options ... if somebody left a job, they were not replaced, for the most part. So you were stuck where you were.’²⁶ The recruitment embargo also meant that school and university graduates hoping to work as Gardai or teachers, for example, had limited options in Ireland. Similarly, many of those who aimed to work in the health sector, such as nurses, physiotherapists and occupational therapists, had few employment options following graduation. Understandably considering this state of affairs, 9.5% of Irish emigrants in the online survey had qualified or worked in the health and social work sectors. Similarly, 5.4% came from the education sector.

Employment status before departure

Different people leave for different reasons. Whilst those in full-time employment prior to departure often move for a variety of motives, those unemployed before leaving move predominantly to attain employment. Graduates often go to gain job experience. The enormous economic changes that occurred in Ireland after 2008 are displayed in the makeup of the emigrants since then. 22.6% of those leaving were unemployed when departing. A further 12.9% worked only part-time, indicating that they were underemployed. Students, many of whom had just graduated, made up a sizeable proportion (15.2%) of emigrants. Perhaps surprisingly, the

²² Society of Chartered Surveyors Ireland, *The Irish Construction Industry in 2012* (Dublin, 2012), 6.

²³ Male, 25-29, Carpenter, Australia.

²⁴ KBC Bank Ireland, ‘Irish jobs market remains weak but worst may be over’, 20 March 2010.

²⁵ RTE, ‘Public service recruitment moratorium details’, 27 March 2009.

²⁶ Male, 35-39, Nurse Educator, Australia.

largest cohort (47.1%) of people to leave comprised those who had full-time jobs prior to moving abroad.

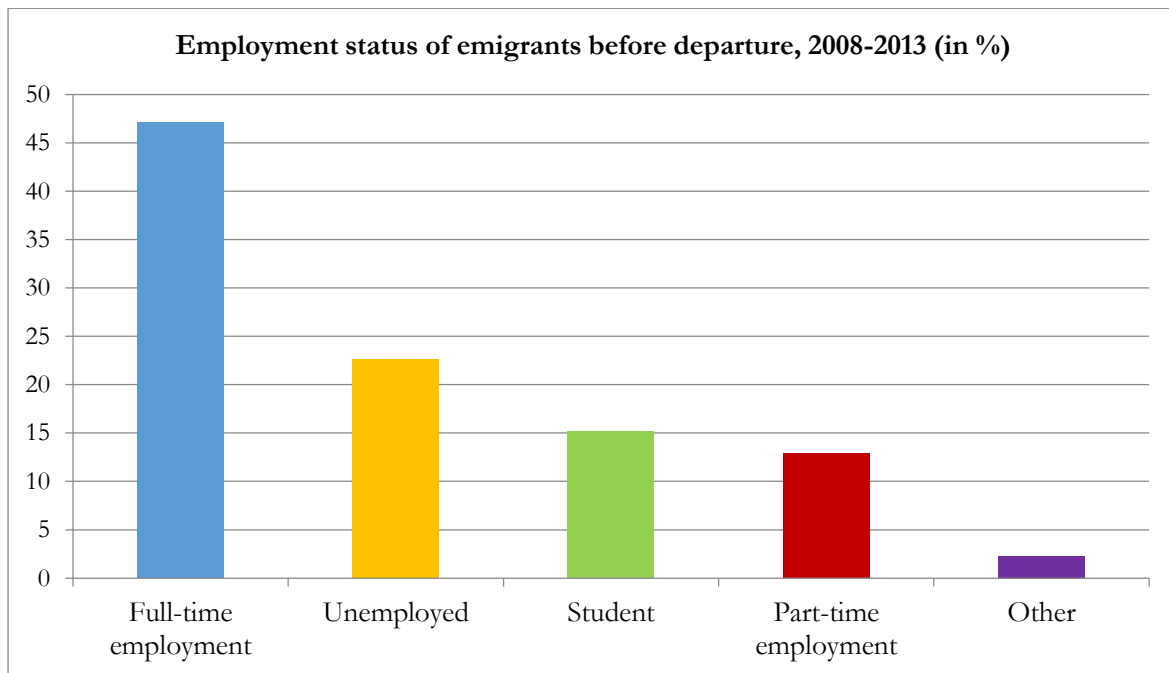


Figure 11. Employment status of emigrants before departure, 2008-2013

Throughout the 2000s, Australia had become an increasingly popular destination for those under 30 years of age, with the expansion of that country's Working Holiday Maker programme enabling an annual exodus of thousands of young Irish to spend one to two years there. Between 2002 and 2007, 11,000 to approximately 13,500 Irish travelled to Australia on the working holiday scheme.²⁷ New Zealand also had a similar programme that accommodated young Irish people eager to work there for one to two years. During the late 1990s and 2000s, the UK, especially England, continued to attract people because of the more extensive career options available for many there, even when the Irish economy was thriving. Between 2002 and 2007, for example, 8,000 to 10,000 Irish people obtained British National Insurance numbers every year that enabled them to work in the UK.²⁸

Considering the healthy nature of the jobs market before 2008, a lot of the people who moved to Australia, New Zealand, the UK and elsewhere during this time had full-time jobs at home before their departure. The recession starkly reduced the proportion of emigrants who had full-time jobs in advance of their exit, however, as the graph overleaf demonstrates. In 2008, before the effects of the crisis had reached their peak, over 65% of emigrants had left full time jobs behind them. By 2011, this figure had dropped substantially to below 40%. Nonetheless, despite the downturn, people continued to leave jobs to move abroad.

²⁷ Mary Gilmartin, 'The Changing Face of Irish Migration, 2000-2012', p. 13.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

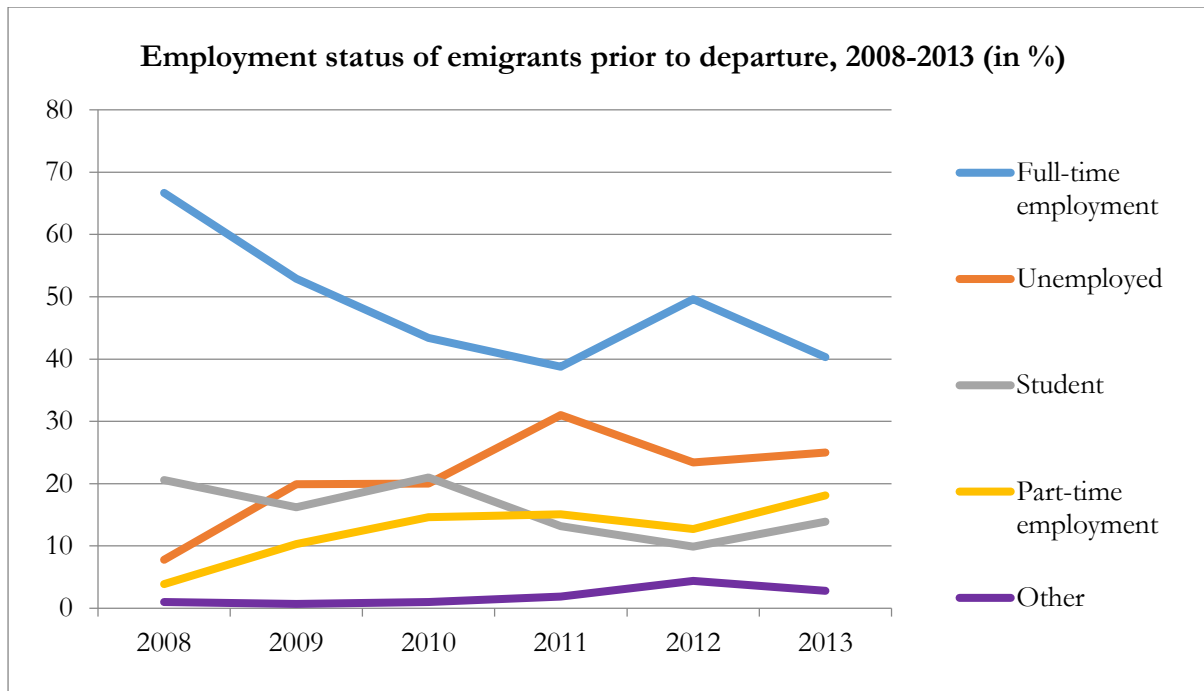


Figure 12. Employment status of emigrants prior to departure, 2008-2013

Emigrants employed before departure

Just under 40% of emigrants who possessed full-time jobs prior to departure left because they wanted to travel and to experience another culture. These were often people with qualifications that other countries coveted, such as valuable IT skills or health professionals. A significant proportion left to find another job or to attain professional experience not available to them at home (43.6% combined). Certain people working at home in jobs unrelated to their qualifications felt that going abroad might enable them to put into practice the skills that they had acquired over the preceding years. The temporary nature of some people's work contracts caused others to go, as did the prospect of earning a higher salary abroad. Some left for personal reasons, such as to join up with a partner or spouse abroad or to study overseas.

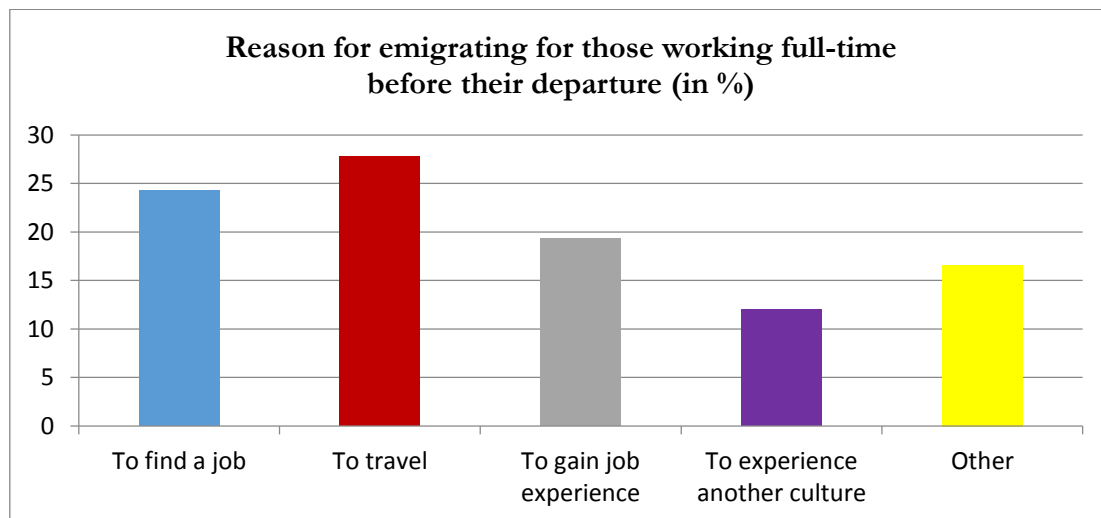


Figure 13. Reason for emigrating for those working full-time

Despite the enormous increase in unemployment that occurred from 2008 onwards, it is important to remember that the vast majority of Irish workers retained their jobs following the economic depression. Since thousands of Irish citizens continued to emigrate for a host of reasons throughout the economic growth Ireland experienced before 2008, it is entirely understandable that people in full-time employment continued to leave the country after the onset of the recession. Considering that most of the countries that Irish emigrants left for, such as Australia, emerged from the global economic crisis much more quickly and in a healthier state than Ireland and remained open to inward migration, emigration may even have become more attractive for those in full-time employment.

For some emigrants, the recession played little or no part in their decision to leave. As one Irish male emigrant who moved to Australia in 2009 recounted:

I was looking for a bit of a change more than anything else. A lot of my friends were starting to get married and stuff. ... I was getting a bit tired of the same routine ... I just wanted to try something new really. ... I didn't feel it was a case of anything pushing me. It was much more a case of ... I always wanted to live abroad anyway. (Male, IT, 30-34, Australia)

Similarly, an IT professional who moved to New Zealand in the same year noted that 'It wasn't that the recession hit and I lost my job or anything like that. I was going anyway'.²⁹ Another emigrant told of how he 'just wanted to experience other countries. It was not necessarily a question of being unhappy with my job or the sector. ... I was interested in seeing other places'.³⁰

By contrast, many people who left full-time positions appeared to be dissatisfied with their career prospects in Ireland, especially when compared to how they felt about their work prospects abroad (discussed in more detail in chapter 5). Granted, the graph below contains details of what those working full-time *and* part-time felt about their job prospects before departure, but it still clearly illustrates that an enormous proportion of emigrants employed in Ireland did not feel content with their professional careers before moving.

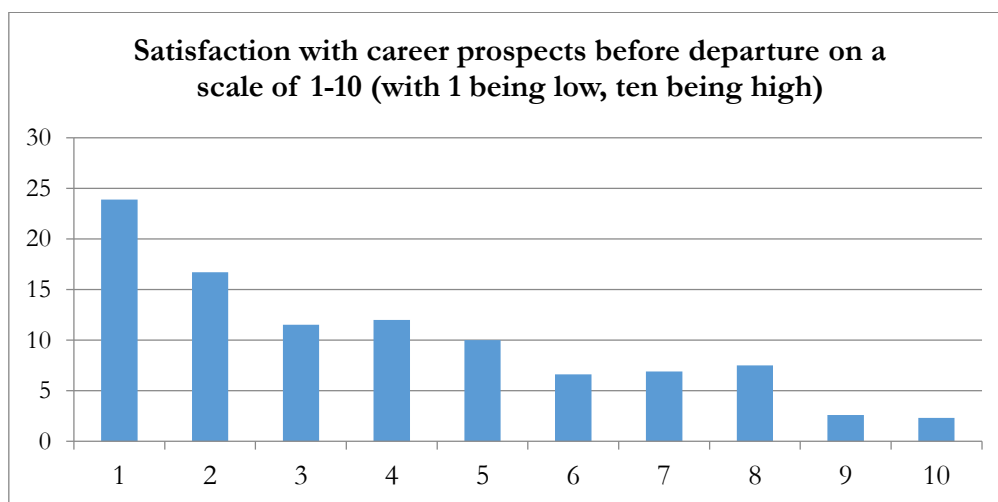


Figure 14. Satisfaction with career prospects before departure on a scale of 1-10

²⁹ Male, 30-34, IT, New Zealand

³⁰ Male, 30-34, Media, UK.

Some emigrants unfulfilled with their jobs in Ireland cited the lack of correlation between such work and their skills. One young man who worked in a call-centre job unrelated to his degree recalled his irritation with his employment prospects at home:

[W]hy would you bother going to college for 4 years if you're going to end up working in a call centre y'know? A bit of a waste of time, a waste of money and a bit of a waste of your life to be honest with you. Aside from the fact that there's no prospects of going anywhere in a call centre, the general job, the general atmosphere in the place was just atrocious, I just couldn't handle it much longer so I said there's better chances, even if it's another call centre in Australia, at least it would be better money and better weather. (Male, 25-29, Social Media, Australia)

By contrast, certain emigrants left full-time employment in Ireland to attain better qualifications elsewhere. One young woman, who worked as a hospital cleaner in Ireland, moved to the UK to successfully pursue a nursing qualification: 'I decided that I wanted to do something more and get a qualification and because the access to things over here is a little bit harder, I decided to move to England'.³¹ Other ambitious emigrants felt that they had few opportunities to develop their career at home due to the knock-on effects of the crisis. One young professional told of how, despite her best efforts, there was no scope for advancement in her job:

I progressed the role and the area I looked after as much as I could. Because we were going through so much change, we were under so much pressure financially – we were going through quite large restructuring – [it] meant there wasn't the scope to be rewarded in any way or promoted. You just had to get the job done. I was working incredible hours and there was very little thanks for it. ... It was a choice for me to leave but also it was because the job that I was in had very little prospects.³²

People's contract status also sometimes influenced their decision to move. Those with short-term and temporary contracts often felt they faced an uncertain future. Some tried to take back the initiative by emigrating: 'I was temporary; I wasn't permanent so I never knew when my last day was going to be. I was always in that position so that was another reason why I decided I needed to make myself permanent in a position somewhere'.³³ The professional insecurity caused by the crisis also caused some people to weigh up their options, with one emigrant commenting that because she saw 'fewer jobs, downsizing, deleveraging' on the horizon, she thought she might fare better abroad.³⁴

Approximately one-third of those employed part-time in Ireland are classified by the CSO as being 'underemployed' – that is they are in search of full-time jobs.³⁵ This accounts for almost 50,000 part-time employees in Ireland today. Many of the emigrants who worked part-time before leaving belong to this bracket.

³¹ Female, 20-24, Student, UK.

³² Female, 25-29, Management Consultant, Australia.

³³ Female, 20-24, Student, UK.

³⁴ Female, 35-39, Finance, UK.

³⁵ CSO, 'Quarterly National Household Survey Quarter 2 2013' (Dublin, 2013), 3.

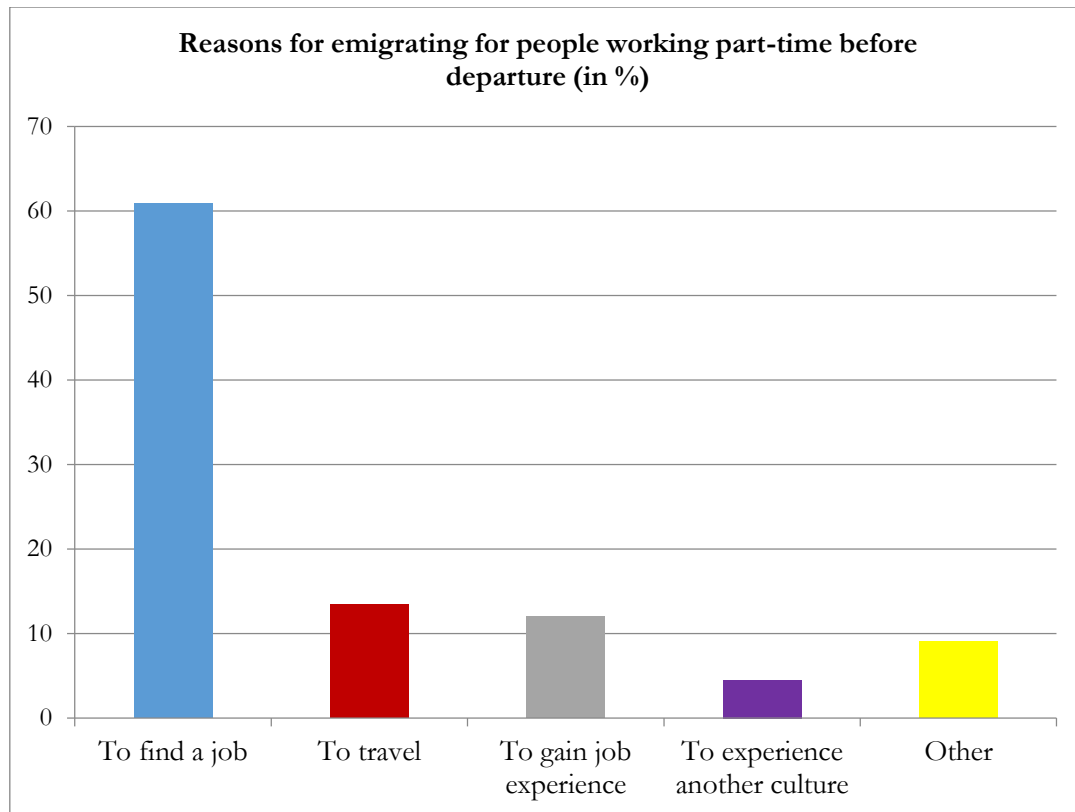


Figure 15. Reasons for emigrating for those working part-time before departure

They did not have enough work to keep them here, as is highlighted by the fact that over 60% of these emigrants left to find work and a further 12% to gain further job experience. One male emigrant, aged in his late forties when he left for Australia, told of how his full-time, permanent position disappeared during the recession:

First of all, they put us on reduced wages, then a three-day week, then more reduced wages, then short-time, temporary lay-off, then permanent lay-off. It was almost death by a thousand cuts. (Male, 50-54, Engineer, Australia)

Despite acquiring some part-time work subsequently, it was ‘not enough to keep me going’.

Emigrants unemployed before departure

Ireland’s unemployment rate more than doubled between early 2008 and mid-2009. It continued to rise thereafter, peaking at over 15% in early 2012. Between the start of 2008 and mid-2011, an additional 214,500 people signed on to the unemployment register.

Some of the hundreds and thousands of unemployed people in Ireland chose to emigrate to alleviate the circumstances they faced. Those unemployed left for more predictable and unanimous reasons than those leaving jobs behind them. The majority of those who had lost their jobs were emigrating to find jobs. This was especially true of the long-term unemployed (unemployed for over one year), with over 90% leaving to find a job. Many of the long-term unemployed emigrants had previously worked in construction. One electrician now in Australia

termed his period without a job as '[t]wo of the most useless years of my life'.³⁶ Another emigrant who also moved to Australia explained how his situation led to his departure:

The last few years anyway before I left were very hard. I hadn't worked in a few years so I had no choice really but to leave. [It was] very tough, there was no bit of work at all and it was just driving me nuts at home every day. ... I was just in a rut. I didn't see any future there at all. There was just nothing coming up for work or money coming in. [Male, 25-29, Carpenter, Australia]

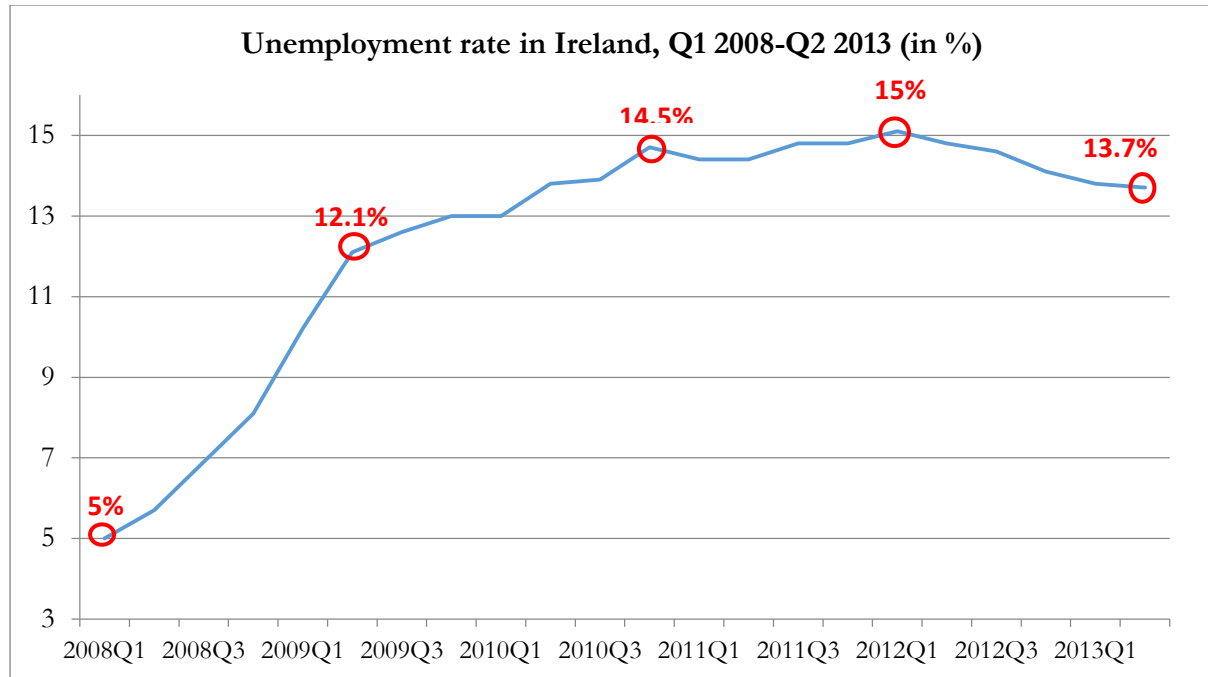


Figure 16. Unemployment rate in Ireland, Q1 2008-Q2 2013

For those who had been self-employed before the collapse of the construction industry, the circumstances that they subsequently faced were dire because they were not entitled to social welfare. A carpenter now based in Australia, but who previously ran his own business in Ireland, recalled the lack of assistance available: 'There was no help for me once I ran out of work with mortgages to pay, cars to pay ... basically they [social welfare] just laughed at me. Literally laughed in my face. ... [I said] I was self-employed and she just started giggling. 'Oh I'm afraid love, if you're self-employed you get nothing in this country'. '[Male, 25-29, Carpenter, Australia]

Almost 70% of those unemployed for less than one year also moved abroad to seek employment. Some emigrants could not afford to stay without a fixed income for long. One bricklayer from the midlands who had never previously been out of work left for Australia within six weeks of losing his job because of the prospect of not being able to make payments due on 'the house, credit cards, credit union – the whole lot'.³⁷

³⁶ Male, 25-29, Electrician, Australia.

³⁷ Male, 25-29, Bricklayer, Australia.

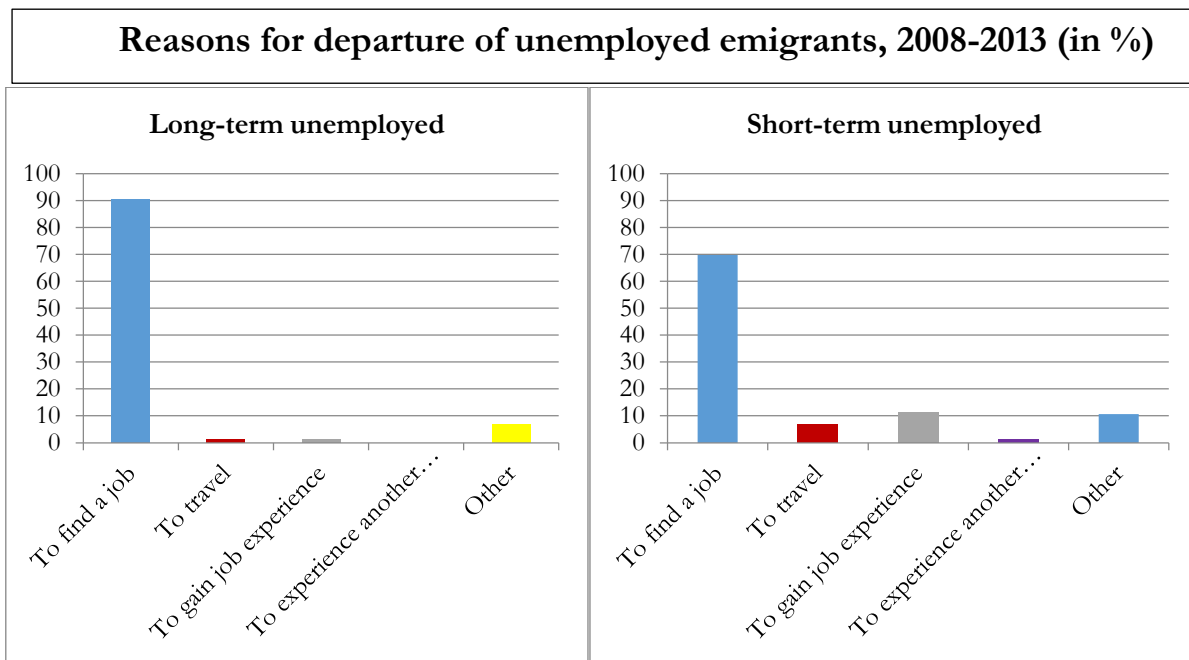


Figure 17. Reasons for departure of unemployed emigrants, 2008-2013

Those who expanded their job search to include roles not related to their area of expertise found themselves in a Catch 22 situation:

I think I applied for about 100 jobs. I had gotten 12 interviews in the space of six months and each time I was the second choice ... and they were all jobs within my career path and where I wanted to be and so I also tried to look for bar work, look for shop work just to be able to stay at home and I couldn't get anything because I was too overqualified. People told me 'why would we hire you - somebody who has qualifications and is likely to leave after a few months when we could hire someone obviously who would not have the same level of qualifications and we know will stay longer'... . So at that point I was 8/9 months unemployed and had to make the call to go overseas again. (Female, 30-34, Advocacy, Middle East)

For many, the prospect of finding work in such a depressed and competitive economic environment caused them to move abroad. Various emigrants in this situation emphasised their frustration at the lack of opportunities available in their interviews. One teacher, who returned to Ireland following completion of a Masters in the UK, highlighted the difficulties finding stable employment at home. He felt 'dead lucky' to get a temporary teaching job initially but later the 'work just dried up':

I applied for a six month position and heard through the grapevine that there were 600 applicants and when I heard that number I just said forget it. You don't have a chance. You have a tiny chance of even being called for an interview so I started looking abroad. I applied for a number of countries and the UK was the first to get back to me. I hated being on the dole. I hated every second of it and I couldn't stand going back to that. (Male, 30-34, Teacher, UK)

It is important to point out that various emigrants in full-time employment sometimes left because their partners or spouses could not find jobs. One young emigrant in Canada left

principally because her partner had been out of work for over 18 months.³⁸ Another left her job to move to mainland Europe to be with her husband who had, until then, commuted back and forth to Ireland:

I actually gave up a very good job to follow him out. He was coming back every two weekends but the flights got very expensive and it just got very hard looking after the children and working full time ... I really liked my job and I had worked really hard to get where I was but it was pure family reasons. I had to do it. (Female, 35-39, Actuary, Europe)

Emigrating students

Some graduates left for further study, as demonstrated by the large amount of people who selected ‘Other’ (29.5%) to explain their decision to move. Nonetheless, the majority of people who were students before leaving were moving for work-related reasons, with 32.7% seeking a job and 21.8% seeking job experience. Students who graduated in the years hardest hit by the recession struggled to break in to the job market. Fewer graduate positions presented themselves and various students who emigrated after completion of their course cited the unfair rivalry that they often faced from senior candidates applying for junior positions. Because they just came out of college, they had acquired little experience but they often found themselves in competition with more senior and experienced counterparts who themselves had lost their jobs in the economic meltdown that ensued in Ireland after 2008. One emigrant, now in the UK, spoke about the difficulties she encountered trying to find a job after college:

I was one of the first to leave after graduation. I had only been on the dole for 2 months. I have a perfect degree and everything. I was going for interviews, which was far better than others in my class. It just wasn’t working out for me. ... [T]here were people in their 40s applying to voluntary grad programmes just to get back to work. So it was very hard to get a job. (Female, 20-24, Manufacturing Engineer, UK)

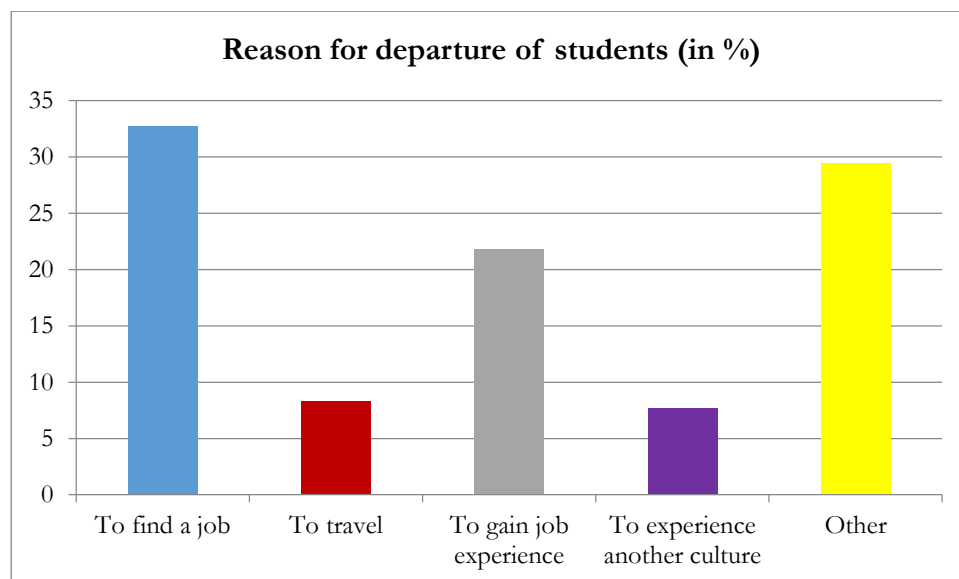


Figure 18. Reasons for departure of students

³⁸ Female, 20-24, Administrative Officer, Canada

Many graduates, in a similar manner to what happened in the late 1980s, felt resigned to their fate, particularly in certain disciplines, such as engineering. One graduate now working in Melbourne highlighted the plight facing many coming out of college in recent years: 'I kept in contact with everyone else [in the class] and nobody else even got a job to start with, let alone keeping a job. There were very few people doing structural engineering after we finished'.³⁹

³⁹ Male, 25-29, Structural Engineer, Melbourne.

4.3 Effects of emigration on those left behind

We are being left with a country of old people and very young people. Ireland is losing what is good about it. [Female, 35-39, Household Survey respondent]

We are losing all our valuable people; losing a generation. There are easily 100 people gone from the area. There used to be going-away parties every weekend. [Male, 35-39, Household Survey respondent]

Whether it is as a result of the emigration of an individual, or the emigration of a family member, friend or community member, the majority of people in Ireland have been affected by emigration in some way. This is verified by the results of the Household Survey: 16.8% of households have experienced the emigration of a member since 2006 and 77.8% of the people who completed our household survey felt that emigration had a negative impact on Ireland (Figure 21). Notwithstanding this, there is a paucity of research relating to those left behind by emigration, in Ireland and internationally. A variety of relevant data relating to the topic was collected during the course of the surveys and in-depth interviews with emigrants. The Emigre household survey asked questions relating to the people that respondents knew who have emigrated, as well as their perceptions of the effect that emigration had on their local community and Ireland generally. Interviews also often touched on what emigrants perceived as the effect that leaving had on their families and whether they noticed the impact of emigration on their locality prior to leaving, or on visits home. There are a plethora of micro and macroeconomic effects of emigration that do not fall under the remit of this section. These include, but are not limited to, issues associated with an increasingly unfavourable age dependency ratio, a reduction in the levels of skilled, educated and/or youthful workers, as well as a reduction of spending in particular sectors of the economy.

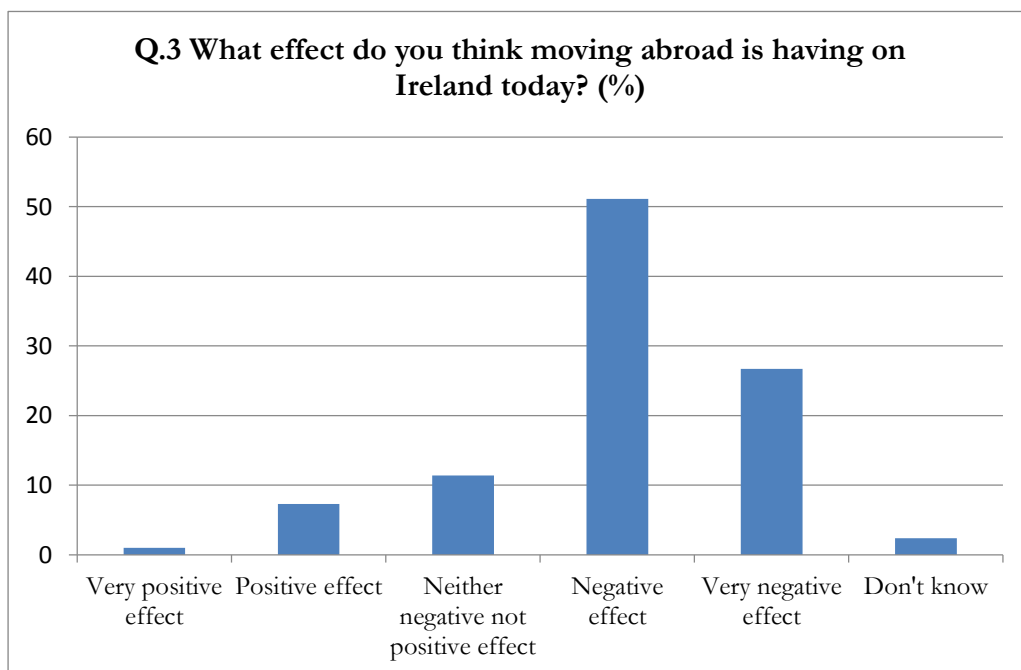


Figure 19. Perceived effects of emigration on Ireland today

If you haven't got educated youth what is the country going to do in the future? No one is going to be left to do the work - just pensioners. [Male, 70-74, Household Survey respondent]

There is nobody around the town. There were 23 pubs and three supermarkets a few years ago. Now there are only eight pubs left and one supermarket. [Female, 50-54 Household Survey respondent]

There was a huge return of emigrants at Christmas. It was very depressing when they all left again. [Female, 45-49, Household Survey respondent]

The effects of emigration on family and friends

The effect of emigration on the families left behind was a strong theme throughout all stages of the research. 31.9% of adults have had an immediate family member emigrate since 2006, while 43.5% have had an extended family member leave.⁴⁰ Although emigrating can sometimes be a positive experience for many emigrants, there are few positives for the family members left behind. When a parent, child, grandchild, sibling, niece, nephew or significant other emigrates, it has a detrimental impact on the families left behind on a number of fronts. The emigration of a family member is often accompanied by a sense of loss, sadness and apprehension about what the future holds.

I think Irish society is set up in a way where it is about the family and you take care of your own and emigration just destroys that - that entire ethos of taking care of your own and taking care of each other. [Female, 25-29, Architect, UK]

They were really upset. Everyone was really upset. I have a twin sister who was really upset. I have a little sister who was only three when I left. Everyone. My father got quite sick when I left. My mother wasn't very well when I left. But you have to make these decisions. [Female, 20-24, Student, UK]

Parents are frequently affected by emigration, considering 46.2% of emigrants lived with their parents before leaving. A child's emigration can affect parents in a number of ways. Having a child as a prospective emigrant can put parents in a conflicted psychological position, particularly when they are aware that there are very few opportunities in Ireland for their children. It is evident that, in many cases, parents are reluctant to have their children leave but are also supportive of them leaving as a means for them to better their situation. Emigrants are often conscious of this; however, whether their parents make them aware of the true scale of the impact is unclear.

Oh, they were devastated but they knew it was the right thing to do really because there were no job prospects. I was just freshly trained so there was no way anyone was going to take on a graduate really, so they were realistic.... It still affects them deeply. They can't afford to come out here...it seems like a world away.... It might as well be the moon. It's hard. It's very, very difficult. [Male, 25-29, Structural Engineer, Melbourne]

⁴⁰ There is likely a degree of positive response bias here in favour of those who have experienced emigration in some way, however, its magnitude is not possible to measure accurately and there exists no precise method of controlling for this.

I remember at one stage, I was at the kitchen table with my head in my hands saying 'Maybe I shouldn't go?', but they were like 'No, come on, you've decided now' and it could've been so easy for them to say go to Dublin, or go to Cork but they didn't. [Female, 20-24, Public Servant, UK]

Oh they pretty much encouraged me to go there. They saw how miserable I was when I was working in Cork....They knew how bad I was there and said 'You know, it can't be as bad as things here. If you're in Australia, you might be happier over there, you might not but you can't be any worse.' I'm surprised that there are not more mental health problems in Ireland because of how bad it's gotten there. [Male, 25-29, IT Professional, Australia]

The effects on grandparents can also be quite profound. These can be compounded due to less familiarity with electronic forms of communication on their part, a reluctance to travel long distances and a greater sensitivity to time passing while their grandchildren are away. There are two categories of grandparents affected by emigration: those with adult grandchildren who have left and those whose younger grandchildren have left with their parents, or have been born abroad. In the case of the former, the care and support provided by emigrants to their grandparents is lost. In the latter, the problems relating to younger children using electronic forms of communication and being absent during their grandchildren's formative years have a negative emotional impact on grandparents.

It's broken my mother's heart. It really has, and my father as well I have to say...and my brothers and my sister....She's the only great grandchild so my grandparents as well. It really just tore them all apart. And even recently I was talking to my granny on the phone and she just burst into tears. So you can't ring every week unless you have built up the courage for it....It's very hard for them. She is the life and soul of the family. [Female 25-29, Administrator, New Zealand]

I was looking after my grandparents at home so trying to leave them was the hardest part of it really. They are both quite elderly so I was living with them and caring. Everything, doing everything really...after I left, they had to get in public care...I couldn't stick there anymore so I had to have a talk with them and they told me I should go.... They are both very hard of hearing so usually when I ring, I talk to the home help and she'll talk to them for me. [Male, 25-29, Carpenter, Australia]

The impact of a sibling emigrating emerged less frequently as an issue. This is perhaps attributable to siblings being less invested emotionally in the life prospects of their brother/sister and more mobile themselves, often having emigrated also. However, some emigrants highlighted the lack of contact they had with their nieces and nephews.

My brother has a little baby and I haven't seen her yet. That's tough that I haven't....You have to wait 'til you're home next to see it. That kind of stuff is hard. I suppose we are just a bit more isolated. The kids are so young and they grow up so quickly that there are big changes every time you see them. [Female, 35-39, Unemployed, Europe]

The emigration of those who left partners and/or children at home, although less common, cannot go unacknowledged. 3% of those surveyed have children who are not residing

in the same country as them.⁴¹ The emigration of a partner or spouse can often be a precursor to another person leaving, whether it is because the original emigrant left with the initial intention of ‘testing things out’ or because the partner at home found being separated too difficult.

It’s been a total destruction of my life, my wife’s life, my two children’s lives. Mentally, I’m probably half-depressed all the time.... I just look forward to Christmas.... Weeks roll into weeks and time passes. Hopefully the parents will still be alive when I come back. [Male, 50-54, Engineer, Australia]

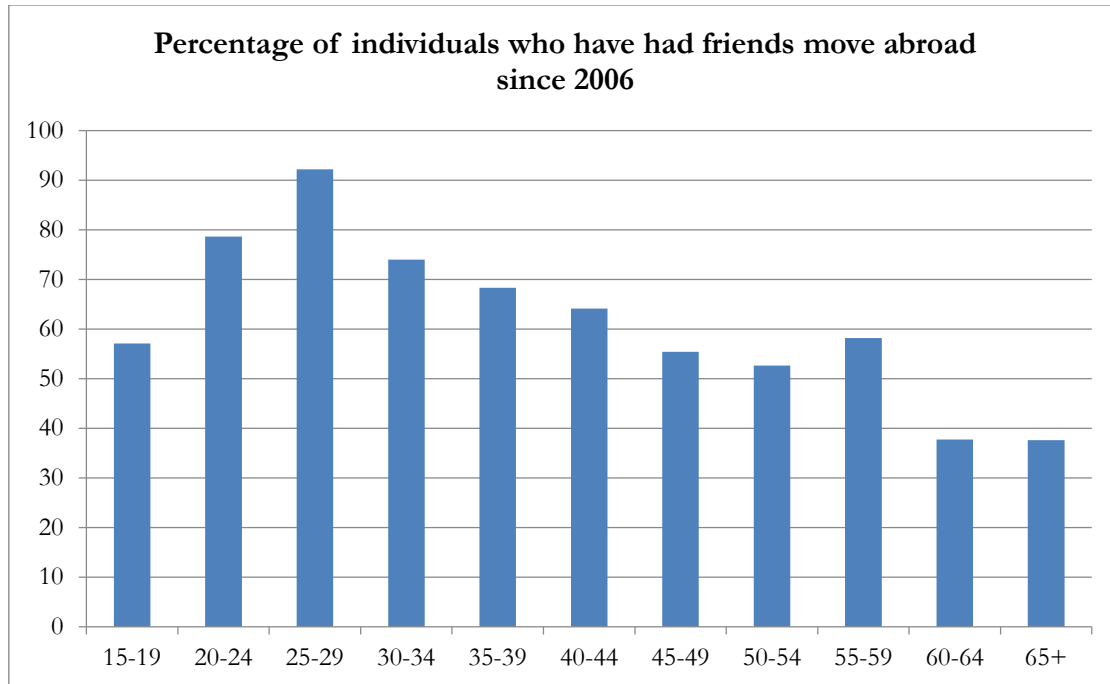


Figure 20. Percentage of individuals who have friends move abroad since 2006 based on age group

61.9% of people have had a member of their ‘circle of friends’ leave since 2006. Although quite different to that of a family member, the emigration of a friend influences those at home on a number of fronts. In relation to the 20-30 age group, 85.4% of whom have experienced a friend emigrate, many have had their social lives fundamentally altered due to the decreasing number of their peers living in Ireland. The emigration of friends can also act as a precursor to further emigration. 84.5% of emigrants had at least one friend leave before they did.

There was an emigration party every week for about a year....It was really clear that my social circle was getting smaller and smaller. [Female, 25-29, Architect, UK]

Because one of my friends was going away it was kind of a push that someone else was going away. If she could do it, I could do it kind of thing....There’s a big decline in my age group around the area because even if you go down to the pub, people that you’d normally see there, you wouldn’t see there anymore and you’d find out that they’re after going away....You definitely notice it around the area....There’s not as much craic as there used to be around. [Female, 25-29, Theatre Artist, UK – Returns home regularly]

⁴¹ N=31

There are some indications that for those aged above 30, with more established social groups, the emigration of a friend can have a stronger impact.

For us, the hardest part was leaving our closest friends and having those people we could talk to....It's having those true friends that you've spent years with, that you can depend on for anything. Having them not here is probably the hardest part. [Male, 35-39, Nurse Educator, Australia]

The effects of emigration on communities

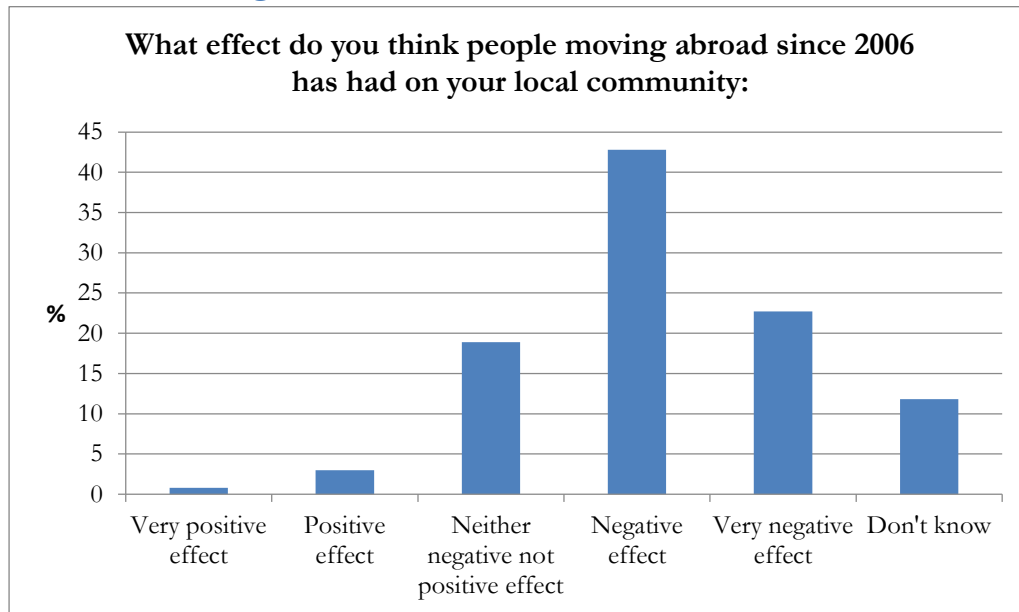


Figure 21. Perceived effects of emigration on local communities

Similar to the consensus of emigration being negative for families, the majority of respondents to the household survey viewed emigration as having either a 'negative' or 'very negative' impact on their community (65.5%). This is not surprising considering 47.5% of emigrants were involved in some sort of community activity pre-departure. From responses to an open-ended question asking respondents to elaborate on the reasons for this being the case, a series of common themes emerged. The most frequent issues mentioned concerned:

- A loss of the general 'vibrancy' and 'energy' that is associated with younger residents of the locality and a 'generation gap'.
- Family 'upheaval' and 'devastation', along with a lack of help and support for older community members.
- A decreasing number of people involved in community activities and clubs, as well as an overall reduction in community spirit.
- A detrimental impact on sports teams in the area. The GAA was the most commonly mentioned here, however, rugby and soccer also featured prominently.
- A detrimental impact on local businesses due to the corresponding decrease in spending. A number of people attributed the closure of local pubs, shops and hotels directly to emigration. The dividing line between the recession and emigration here is unclear.

- Empty houses and/or an influx of people into the area perceived to be outsiders, often in rented properties.
- A lack of young, skilled and/or educated workers in the community.

Similar to the influence of friends moving, the outmigration of community members can also act as an antecedent to further emigration.

People that are leaving - the people at home are sad about it and they're probably questioning their lives as well saying 'What's going on here? Why has she left? Are there better things out on the horizon for people?'...In an area like mine, there's not a lot of young people left as well so people will probably move away from that area. [Female, 25-29, Theatre Artist, UK]

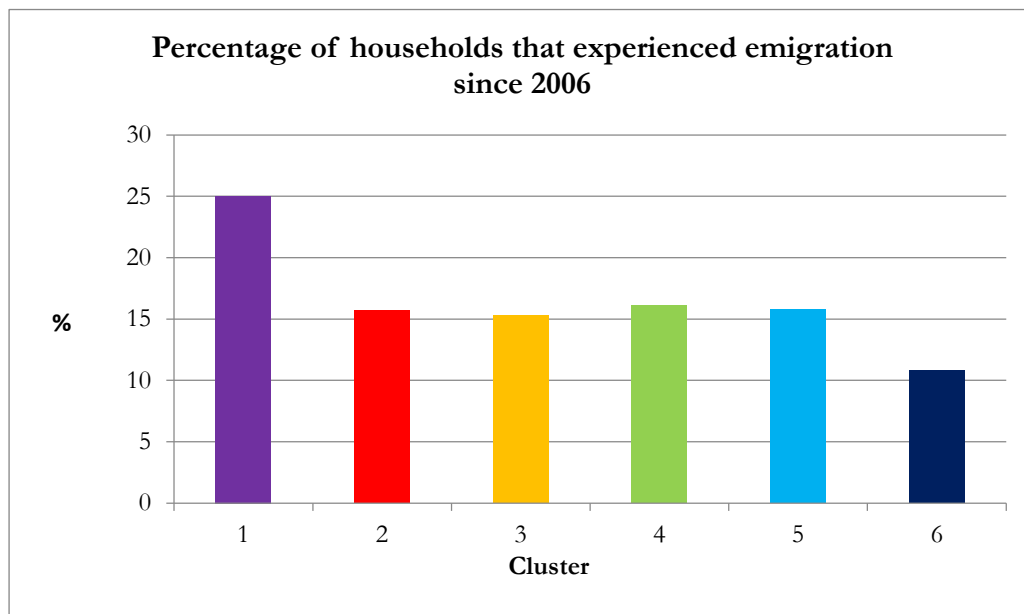


Figure 22. Percentage of Households that have experienced emigration since 2006 by cluster

In relation to the type of communities experiencing emigration, Clusters 2-5 are broadly similar, with households having experienced emigration since 2006 averaging 15.7%. Critically, Cluster 1 – the most rural cluster – has a much greater proportion of households that experienced emigration (25.5%, Fig. 24)⁴². Cluster 6, on the other hand, has a lower incidence of emigration (10.8%). This is intuitive considering many of the residents of this cluster have mortgages and/or children.

Going back home now, you would definitely notice a lot less younger people around. There is a huge age gap between the 18-21 year olds that are still in college and it goes up to 35 year olds who are married and settling down but between that, there is a massive gap. Up in Belfast, it wouldn't be the same because people tend to stay around after they graduate. [Male, 25-29, English Teacher, Asia]

⁴² This cluster is defined by high levels of people employed by agriculture and an unfavourable age profile, containing 21% of the population. Defining rurality has proved problematical in the past and often the definition used is contingent upon the context in which it is used. Taking the CSOs dated definition of rurality as 'the population residing outside of clusters of 1,500 or more', the population residing in rural areas is much higher. To adequately represent the urban-rural continuum would have required a typology of its own. As a result, some historical 'rural' areas are subsumed into Cluster 2, for example.

There had been a good few people that had left. Like a lot of my friends had already gone so there was pretty much no social life anymore. Even I was home for Christmas there last year. There was literally none of my classmates going to school still there...the social life side of it had gone very quiet. There's obviously no one there anymore to do anything. [Male, 25-29, Carpenter, Australia]

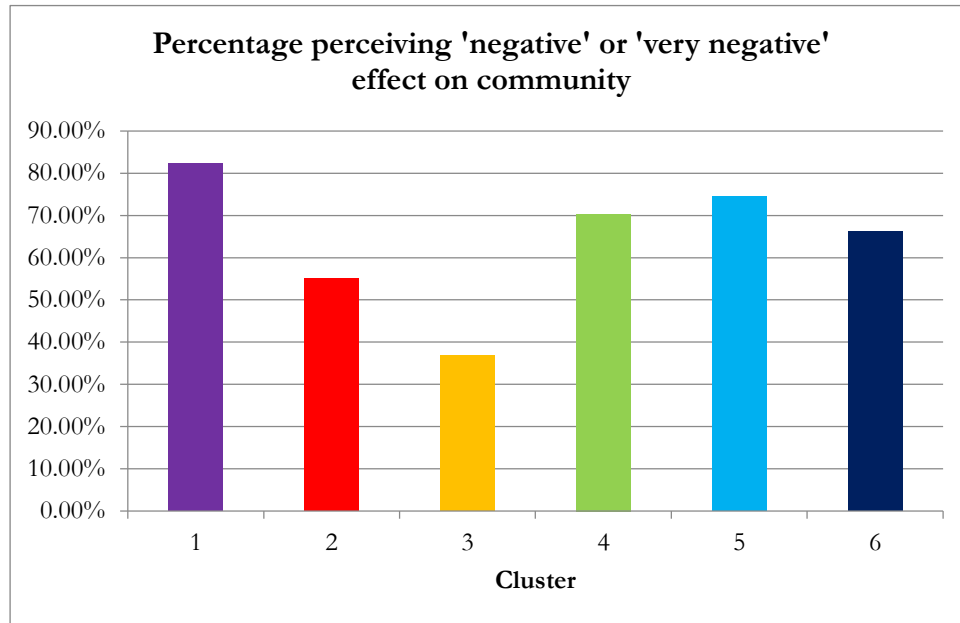


Figure 23. Perceived effects of emigration on communities based on cluster membership

It is clearly apparent that the problem of rural outmigration has persisted throughout the phases of Irish emigration in the 1950s and 1980s right up to the present day. In addition to a quarter of households having experienced emigration since 2006, residents of this cluster more frequently perceive the effects of emigration on their community as being negative (82.3%, Figure 25). Rural areas are affected to a greater extent due to the fact that they have suffered from outmigration to urban areas and an unfavourable age structure long before this recession. Furthermore, due to the smaller size, and more close-knit nature of rural communities, the emigration of a community member is more visible than in areas with larger populations.

Chapter 5. Arrival

5.1 Immigration Regimes

EU/EEA Member States

Irish migrants have the legal right to live and work in all 27 other EU Member States including the UK, as well as in Norway, Liechtenstein and Iceland, all of which are part of the European Economic Area (EEA).¹ A separate, broadly similar, arrangement exists with Switzerland.

Non-EU/EEA countries

The right to emigrate i.e. to leave one's own country, is a generally accepted fundamental human right and is referenced explicitly in Article 13 of the UN 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights.² But there is no concomitant guaranteed 'right to immigrate' to any other country. A number of limited multilateral arrangements do guarantee mutual freedom of movement and settlement, but only for citizens of participant states – the EU/EEA arrangements just described and the Trans-Tasman Agreement between Australia and New Zealand are examples.³

For Irish and other EU/EEA citizens (and migrants in general), the right to migrate to any country outside the EU/EEA area is in all cases subject to a detailed series of immigration regulations and controls, which may change frequently. Due to the range, complexity and dynamic nature of the different types of systems, it is not feasible to discuss them in detail in this document, but a number of broad categories of immigration regimes may be identified,⁴ of which the most relevant are:

- Temporary working visas, including 'working holiday' visas. These exist in various forms in Canada, the USA, Australia and New Zealand, which are currently the main non-EU destinations for Irish migrants. Such arrangements are typically reciprocal and tend to focus on seasonal and other short-term or temporary forms of employment. They are not intended to offer a route to permanence but it is possible in certain cases to change one's immigration status e.g. through employer sponsorship, family-related reasons or other factors.
- Points-based immigration systems, usually based on multiple criteria. Such systems tend to favour people with specific skills, qualifications and/or experience considered to be in demand in the receiving country.

¹ European Union Directive 204/38/EC (accessed at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2004:158:0077:0123:EN:PDF> on 28 August 2013).

² United Nations (UN), *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

(accessed at <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/> on 28 August 2013), Article 13.

³ New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *The Trans Tasman Travel Arrangement* (accessed at <http://www.mfat.govt.nz/Foreign-Relations/Australia/0-trans-tasman-travel-arrangement.php> on 24 August 2013).

⁴ Demetrios G. Papademetriou and Madeleine Sumption, *Rethinking points systems and employer-selected immigration* (Washington, 2011).

- Employer-sponsored (or ‘employer selected’) visas, including intra-corporate international transfers.
- Hybrid systems, usually a combination of points and employer sponsorship.
- Lottery-type visas. A good example is the USA Diversity Visa. While open to all, the chances of success are extremely small due to high worldwide demand.
- Special visa programmes, for example Donnelly and Morrison visas in the late 1980s/early 1990s in the USA.
- Visas based on a relationship with a host country citizen or someone with equivalent rights.

In many cases residence rights are explicitly linked to work permits and are terminated when the work permit expires or is cancelled. In other cases, a period is allowed for alternative employment to be sought, provided that the length of time of the approved original stay is not breached. A variety of additional entry conditions may also apply that relate to issues such as police history and health status.

A wide variety of arrangements exists for family members, whether spouses, partners or same-sex couples, and children. The right to work is not automatically extended to other family members in every country.

As previously mentioned, in some cases migrants may apply for a temporary or working holiday visa in the first place. This may not, however, preclude them from seeking to change their status after arrival through such routes as employer sponsorship or a change in personal status. The Australian authorities had noticed ‘a recent shift in motivation’ for Irish working holiday visa holders, ‘from a tourism and/or life experience to an employment opportunity’.⁵ Whilst the number of Irish applying for working holiday visas has fluctuated since 2008, the amount of people receiving sponsorship annually has more than doubled in the same period. The number of state/territory sponsored visas has also risen hugely in recent years, from 145 in 2008/09 to 987 in 2011/2012.

Due to the large volume of various immigration statuses that Irish people hold in Australia, as demonstrated in the graph overleaf, it is often difficult to decipher the path those on working holiday visas take in advance of the expiry of their visas.

⁵ Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship, ‘Country Profile: Republic of Ireland’ (Canberra, 2012), 1.

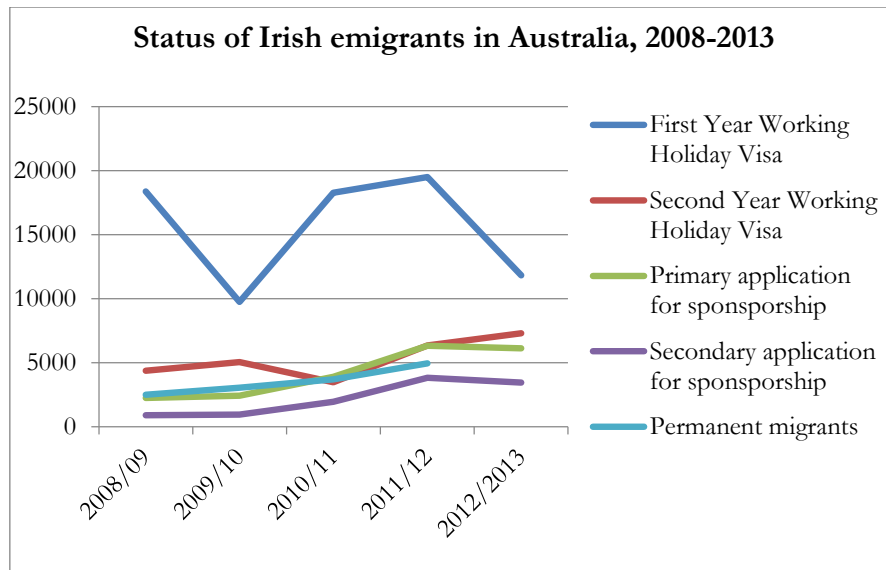


Figure 24. Status of Irish emigrants in Australia, 2008-2013⁶

Except in the cases of persons with skills which are globally in short supply, it is relatively difficult nowadays, for all but a minority of migrants, to be able to obtain an immigration visa which is unlimited in terms of the period of residence allowed for, at least in the first place. Exceptional situations may also arise. As an example, in the aftermath of the earthquake in Christchurch the New Zealand authorities encouraged immigration by individuals with appropriate construction qualifications. Moreover, as Irish emigrants today are relatively better qualified than in the past they are better placed to benefit from such opportunities.

Certain other categories of visa like investor visas (granted to persons who are able to invest substantial funds for employment creation purposes) have not been discussed as they are of little relevance to the majority of today's Irish emigrants.

Undocumented/illegal migration

Some Irish migrants, like their counterparts from other countries, may find themselves in a situation where their status is undocumented or illegal, usually because of overstaying the period of their legal right to be in the destination country and/or working without permission while on a visitor (tourist) visa. In the late 1980s, up to 50,000 Irish are estimated to have been in the US as illegals; lobby organisations claimed the figure was considerably higher.⁷ These undocumented migrants were among the main beneficiaries of a number of special visa programmes (Donnelly and Morrison visas). This fact reflected the considerable degree of political influence which Irish America was able to bring to bear at that time, but also resulted in a situation whereby most Irish

⁶ Data derives from the Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship' statistics. Please note that the figures for primary applications for 2012/13 actually refers to the period from June 2012 to the end of May 2013, whereas the other figures come from July to June of every year.

⁷ For a discussion see Mary Corcoran, 'Emigrants, *Eirepreneurs*, and Opportunists: A social Profile of Recent Irish Immigration in New York City', in Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (eds.) *The New York Irish*. (Baltimore, 1996), 690.

illegals in the US were ultimately regularised. Under the Morrison Scheme alone, 48,000 Irish undocumented were legalised in the period 1991-1994.⁸

It is important to note that the situation is very different today. The post 9/11 period in the USA, in particular, has seen the introduction of far more stringent controls concerning entry and enforcement, including stricter measures to enable illegal migrants to be detected and expelled.⁹ Practical matters such as obtaining a driving license or getting health care are difficult, tough sanctions exist against employers where they take on individuals whose status is irregular and anyone leaving the country may find it impossible to re-enter. Repeated efforts to address immigration reform, including the issue of regularisation for up to 12 million undocumented persons,¹⁰ including a claimed 50,000 Irish (the true figure is probably a fraction of this amount)¹¹ have not been successful to date, although a new initiative is currently under way.¹²

Other countries, such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada have always had strict rules concerning 'overstayers' and other illegal migrants. There is no doubt that there are still modest numbers of individuals who find themselves in an irregular situation, but it is unlikely that the numbers are very large.

Destination Figures

There are multiple difficulties trying to establish exactly where Irish emigrants are going. The main problem is that the CSO does not distinguish between Irish and non-Irish people when providing data on the destinations of emigrants. This means that it is impossible to know the nationality of the estimated 21,900 people who emigrated to the UK between April 2012 and the end of March 2013, for example, from examining the CSO's statistics alone.¹³ Therefore, it is necessary to study immigration data from receiving countries alongside that of Irish official statistics. 15,537 Irish people applied for Non-National Insurance Numbers in the UK during the same period. However, we know from our various surveys that a significant number of Irish nationals move to the UK every year to study there. Furthermore, many Irish people emigrating to the UK may already have insurance numbers from having lived there previously.

With regard to the Australian figures, 11,817 Irish people applied for their first working holiday visa in 2012/2013 and 6,110 received their primary sponsorship. However, the latter figure is complicated by the fact that many of those receiving sponsorship had previously worked in Australia on a working holiday visa. Therefore, it is difficult to know for sure how many arrived in 2012/13. The CSO estimate a figure of 15,400 but this includes Irish and non-Irish citizens. The *Irish Times* reported in October 2012 that a total of 6,350 Canadian two-year working holiday visas went to Irish applicants.¹⁴ But again, these are temporary visas.

⁸ Hall of Fame 2013, 'Bruce Morrisson', *Irish America* (accessed at <http://irishamerica.com/2013/03/bruce-morrisson/> on 23 August 2013).

⁹ Marc R. Rosenblum, *US Immigration Policy since 9/11: understanding the stalemate over comprehensive immigration reform*. (Washington, 2011).

¹⁰ Rosenblum, *ibid.*, p.6

¹¹ Irish Lobby for Immigration Reform (accessed at <http://irishlobbyusa.org/> on 24 August 2013).

¹² Simon Carswell, 'The battle for immigration reform', *Irish Times*, 26 July 2013.

¹³ Central Statistics Office (CSO), 'Population and Migration Estimates', Sept. 2013. Available at <http://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/er/pme/populationandmigrationestimatesapril2013/#UkM1EtK-otp> (last accessed on 24 Sept. 2013).

¹⁴ Ciara Kenny, 'Canada doubles quota of Irish working holiday visas', *Irish Times*, 6 Oct 2012.

Summing up, it would be fair to say that the opportunities open to Irish would-be long-term or permanent emigrants today in traditional destination countries (particularly outside the EU) may therefore be more limited than the situation which existed in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In those years (a) the UK and other economies in continental Europe were performing rather better than now and (b) the US economy, also strong, offered the possibility of employment in a relatively lenient black market, at least compared with the difficulties of doing this now.

Today, by contrast, the opportunities for temporary working visas, notably working holiday visas, have actually expanded since the last period of high emigration in the 1980s, only a minority of migrants are likely to be able to transition from such temporary programmes to long-term or permanent status, while the possibility of remaining on with undocumented status is not a feasible option for the vast majority of cases. This has clear implications for the future and may give rise to increasing return movements. Having said that, it is by no means a certainty that such migrants would return to Ireland. Less than 10% of emigrants on visas of a fixed duration in the Emigre online survey intend to return to Ireland when their visas expire. 68% would like to extend their visas if possible. It is difficult to predict how many of these will be successful in attaining an extension or permanent residency as it often depends on wide variety of factors in the country hosting emigrants.

Finally, the aforementioned tightening of opportunities in traditional destinations may be offset in part by greater opportunities in new destinations, at least for well-qualified emigrants. A good example is the UAE in the Gulf, with an estimated 6,000 Irish in December 2012¹⁵.

5.2 Settling in

Upon arrival, there are a variety of challenges facing emigrants, including finding accommodation, sourcing work, developing a social circle and integrating within their host society. How this is achieved and how a person fares can vary from individual to individual and location to location. Overall, the initial transition is what emigrants highlighted as being the most significant challenge but generally, Irish emigrants tend to become more settled in their new surroundings over time. Preparation before leaving can help emigrants in this regard. Having a person that they know at their destination and emigrating with someone they know can also help - 55% did in both cases. Having previously lived in another country is an added benefit when attempting to settle in (28.1% did). For those that leave on their own (44.2%) and those who move to culturally dissimilar countries, where English is often not the primary language, the process of settling in can be more difficult.

Looking back on it, I thought that I'd leave Ireland and arrive in Melbourne and within two weeks I'd be sorted with my brand new life and no one told me this. I just expected that was the way it was going to happen. Obviously it did not work out that way. [Female, 25-29, Marketing, Australia]

It's getting easier I think. When I first went over there it was very difficult. I was literally living on jacket potatoes and really cheap kinds of food just to get through but now it's starting to settle down a little bit. [Female, 20-24, Student, UK]

¹⁵ Ciara Kenny, 'Riding out the recession in the Middle East', *Irish Times*, 14 December 2012.

Compared to the other places I had lived in, it was definitely the hardest place to settle into [China] but I think for the most part, you are treated like a foreign expert so you are not exactly expected to fit in, which is kind of the total opposite of how it works in London here, where to a great extent people do not even know that I am foreign as such. Even if they know that I am Irish, they don't treat me as if I am foreign, whereas it's very different in China, where you are very visibly an international outsider. (Male, 30-34, Journalist, UK)

For less prevalent groups, such as those over 30 or those who left immediate family members at home, the act of settling in to another country can be more difficult.

It is very lonely.... I'm in my fifties at this stage. I find the Australian people I'm working with very friendly but they're a younger crowd.... Mondays to Fridays are fine but Saturdays and Sundays are a drag. All I'm doing is passing time, waiting for Monday to come around again.... I miss the family interaction. I miss the little things like chatting to people in the evening, just asking them how was their day... even seeing them, seeing how they are, how they're changing. ... My wife says it's like there's been a death in the family almost.... I've lost that whole intimacy of day-to-day communication with the family. [Male, 50-54, Engineer, Australia]

Accommodation and work

In relation to emigrants' Irish contacts, finding accommodation abroad stands out as being the instance where they are most frequently used, with 31.3% using some form of Irish contact to do so. In relation to their living arrangements more generally, the majority of emigrants live with Irish people, either exclusively (38.3%), or together with other nationalities (18.2%, Fig. 25).

When we arrived first we were staying on the living room floor of my boyfriend's friend's house on an air mattress. Two or three weeks later we had our own house with two or three other guys who were flying out to join us. [Female, 25-29, Administrator, Australia]

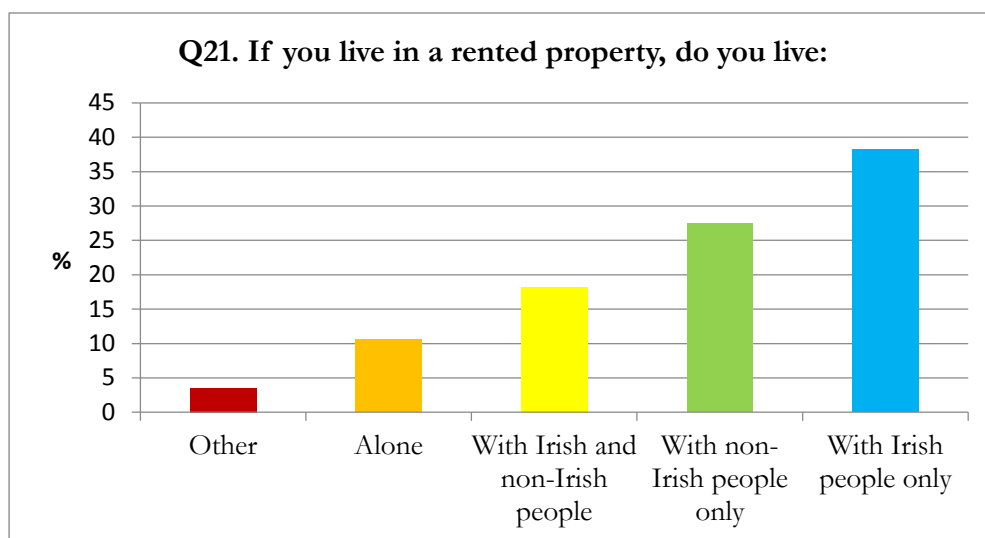


Figure 25. Nationality of those that emigrants live with

Of the 31.1% that use some kind of Irish connection to find work, 11.0% use Irish friends from home to do so, 6.8% an Irish employer and the remaining 8.7% use Irish contacts that they

met abroad. The use of Irish pages on Facebook emerged as a frequently used and effective method for sourcing employment. Construction workers in particular have highlighted the benefit of Facebook in finding work.

Anybody that comes over can just join the page on Facebook and they will get a job out of it. [Male, 25-29, Plumber, Canada]

Over one in four emigrants organised their jobs before their arrival (28.7%, Figure 28). This group is skewed towards the more educated, with 79.2% possessing a third level degree or higher. Those that left with children were also more likely to have a job secured before arrival (50.5%), presumably because they were under increased financial pressure. This was also the case for those that owned a house before leaving, 49.3% of whom had a job organised before arrival.

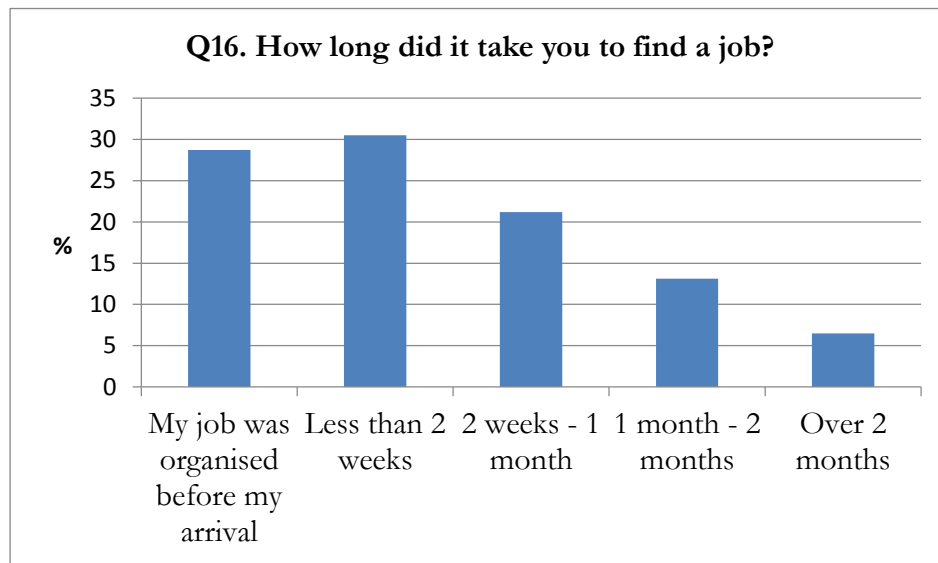


Figure 26. Length of time taken for emigrants to source employment

We just sold everything we had. We posted stuff out here. €600 of stuff out here...baby clothes, photographs. The bicycles and all that sort of stuff we sold and we had €4,000. 2,000 of that went on the tickets and the other 2,000 is what we landed here with...I couldn't afford to be hanging around. [Male, 25-29, Carpenter, Australia]

There is a general sense that Irish people are perceived to be hard workers by employers in their host country. A positive attitude to the Irish was sometimes attributed to there being a large proportion of the population who claimed Irish heritage in some countries. However, being young and single, having more spare time than locals, and trying to save money also make some emigrants more likely to work longer hours. The lack of security associated with being on a working holiday visa is also an incentive for Irish people to work hard, in the hope of getting sponsorship. Memories of being unemployed and other work-related issues are additional motivating factors.

I am in the office here and its 7 o' clock and there's no one here and that's really common....That's why I think a lot of Irish people who have come over here and done well is because we are used to putting in longer hours which can get you ahead quite quickly. I think we are generally known as being hard working....There is something like 70% claim Irish heritage so it is very deeply ingrained in here. I think Irish people have a very good reputation here. [Male, IT, 30-34, Australia]

I remember in my first six months when I was on a probationary contract and hoping to get sponsored. I was working every hour I could and I wasn't looking for money off them or anything. I was just happy to work whenever. I was just saying to them 'I'm just happy to have a job'. That's what was in the back of my mind. [Male, 25-29, Structural Engineer, Australia]

Social life

Irish emigrants often socialise together, with 60.3% socialising with Irish people either 'often' or 'very often'. The Irish abroad also have a tendency to socialise with other non-Irish immigrants (50.9%). Furthermore, indications suggest that they are well integrated within their host communities, with 61.4% socialising with members of their country of residence to the same degree. This also appears to carry through to the romantic lives of emigrants - 67.7% of those with partners are with fellow Irish people, however, only 32% left with a partner or spouse and 4% had a partner or spouse waiting at their destination.¹⁶ 25.2% have a partner from their host country.

In addition to finding work, Facebook groups are utilised to create a social circle, receive support and ask for advice.

Most people there, they either have someone that they know, or some sort of connection over there, so that's kind of an instant social circle for here...I already kind of had friends and they had their friends and it was mostly other Irish and backpackers. [Male, 25-29, IT, Australia]

We have a group of friends and there wouldn't be very many Australians in them. The Irish kind of stick together. It's all friends of friends. There would be a lot of BBQs in the summer time. ... Even if you knew someone to see from home that you might never have spoken to - when you come over here you just walk up and chat to them, no problem because it's a familiar face. [Female, 25-29, Administrator, Australia]

We found a very good Irish group through Facebook. They call themselves the 'Irish Mothers Group Down Under' and they were extremely supportive and very helpful...just meeting up and telling you what to do, what not to do. They were fantastic....I was coming over to work. My wife was going to be staying at home looking after the kids so to have other people in a similar situation that you could connect with was great. [Male, 35-39, Nurse Educator, Australia]

Although many socialise with Irish people and have a support network of Irish friends, there are others who would prefer to be socialising with non-Irish people due to a perceived broadening of their experience. 18.8% socialise with Irish people 'rarely' or 'never'.

When we came away, I did say I did not want to specifically do that, just surround yourself with Irish people. You could do that anywhere in Ireland. I think you have to immerse yourself in different cultures as well...you have to be open to people's cultures. [Female 25-29, Administrator, New Zealand]

¹⁶ These figures are approximated to a small degree due to discrepancies with the data

None of my friends came to London just to hang around with each other; we all want to have our own lives. [Female, 25-29, Architect, UK]

The fact that some Irish emigrants and expatriates, particularly those on Working Holiday Visas, have a more transient lifestyle has a detrimental effect on the social lives of those who stay for longer periods, as it can result in frequent changes to their social circle. This is illustrated by the following interviewee who had himself gained sponsorship but had a lot of his friends on temporary visas leave.

It's a theme of my half year at the moment because I am really starting to understand the value of close friends, because a lot of my friends here have since moved on. You meet people at the beginning through friends of friends, mostly expats. They mightn't have plans to move on so you invest time and emotion getting to know them and then they kind of on a whim decide that they are going to move to another city or go back home...and then you're left behind. You've one less person in your phonebook to call, whereas you don't have that back in Ireland. That is one thing I do miss is having my solid group of friends. [Male, 25-29, Structural Engineer, Australia]

Integration within the host community

Emigrants' subjective ratings on their levels of acceptance by local people in the communities where they live are high, with 81.1% stating that they either 'agree' or 'strongly agree' that they are accepted by people in the area that they live (Figure 29). This is indicative of Irish emigrants integrating well within their host communities. The fact that 27% of those outside the EU now have sponsorship to remain, and 25.2% have obtained permanent status to remain, further illustrates this. For those interviewed that pursued citizenship, the main motivation was to do with formal processes and the right to vote, as opposed to a desire for a form of dual national identity.

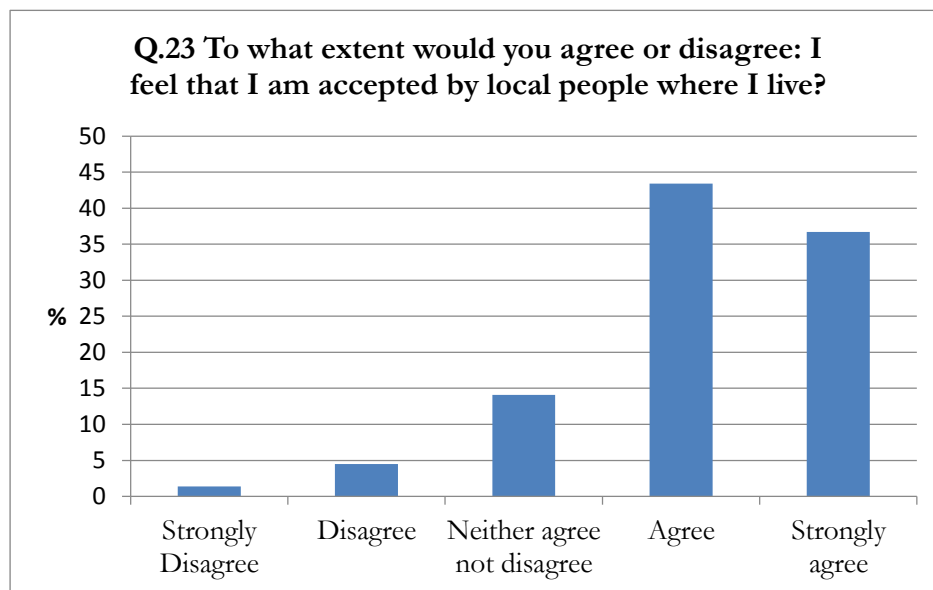


Figure 27. Emigrants perceived levels of acceptance by host communities

5.3 Positive and negatives of emigration

I feel like I live in a country that is taking care of me a lot better than my own one could.¹⁷

[Emigration] has been very mixed. If you catch me in a good mood I would say it's been fantastic. If you caught me on one of my bad days, I would say that I hated it. It's been ups and downs.¹⁸

From a professional perspective, emigration has generally been extremely positive for the Irish who left since 2008. Whilst only 47.1% of emigrants had full-time jobs in Ireland prior to departing, 84.4% work in full-time jobs abroad. This change has enabled many emigrants to have a much better standard of living compared to home. Emigrants abroad also felt they had much more opportunities for professional development than in Ireland. From a personal perspective, however, the results were much more mixed. Whilst many people, particularly those living in Australia and New Zealand, emphasised the positives of experiencing a different lifestyle, emigrants sometimes experienced homesickness and many spoke about the difficulties that can arise when living in a different country from one's family. While emigrants often appeared financially much better off, they frequently paid an emotional price for leaving. Understandably, emigrants missed their families most of all. Some missed their friends, the familiarity of home, and, in a considerable amount of cases, the Irish humour. Few yearned for the perceived negativity of home, however. As one emigrant based in Canada remarked, 'The six-one news isn't dragging you down'.¹⁹

Professional fulfilment

As outlined in section 4.2, many emigrants experienced uncertainty in their employment situations at home. Some were unemployed or underemployed; others had just graduated from college, whilst many in full-time employment were not wholly satisfied with their jobs. By contrast, these same people generally felt much happier with their employment situation abroad. One previously unemployed carpenter commented that in Australia he had 'job security' – something that he could not attain at home.²⁰ Another emigrant who unsuccessfully 'tried a few agencies at home to get admin work' really enjoyed her office job abroad: 'It's challenging every day' and 'I've learned a lot of the roles that I could possibly do in an office. ... I definitely think that I wouldn't have got that opportunity at home'.²¹ One entertainer and actor, now based in New Zealand, felt that although he was 'still banging [his] head against the wall', 'the wall fell down over here', which he reflects would not have happened in Ireland, where he 'couldn't even get part-time sales work as extra income'.²² A university graduate working part-time in Ireland before emigrating highlighted the work opportunities available to her in the UK: 'I've done well for myself. I arrived and not only did I get the new job, I got the promotion too'.²³

¹⁷ Female, 25-29, Theatre, UK.

¹⁸ Male, 30-34, Teacher, UK.

¹⁹ Male, 20-24, Mechanical Engineer, Canada.

²⁰ Male, 25-29, Carpenter, Australia.

²¹ Female, 30-34, Operations Assistant, Australia.

²² Male, 30-34, Entertainment, New Zealand.

²³ Female, 20-24, Civil Servant, UK.

Those in employment before departure gave an average score of 5.5 for their job satisfaction in Ireland. The equivalent average amongst emigrants in employment abroad measured 7.6 – a notable improvement.

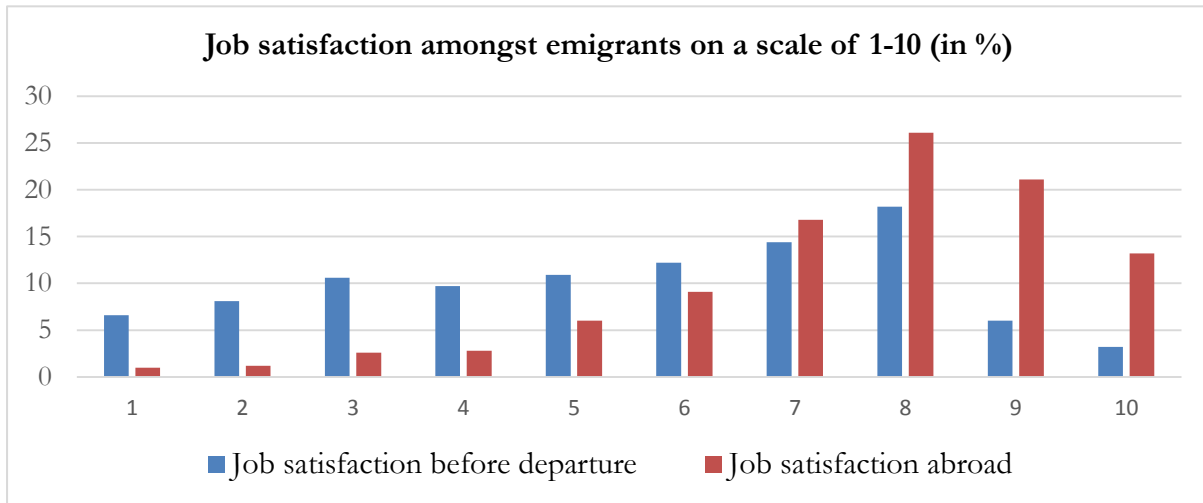


Figure 28. Job satisfaction amongst emigrants on a scale of 1-10

One emigrant who left a full-time position in Ireland in the health sector felt that his work situation abroad was ‘fantastic’ and that ‘the potential is huge ... I can’t see any negative in it at all. It’s all positive’. [Male, 35-39, Nurse Educator, Australia]. Another emigrant who was dissatisfied with her job in Ireland and keen to enter another type of career that would, she felt, have been difficult to achieve at home because ‘you really need experience to get into a job or know somebody’, felt that Australia accommodated her needs much better. Her career changed course over there and, as a result, she found her work ‘very challenging and very dynamic ... very fast. No day is the same, pretty much. It’s what I wanted to get in to so I’m delighted that it’s worked out this way.’²⁴

Emigrants commonly felt happier with their salaries abroad than they had done at home. While those in employment in Ireland prior to leaving gave their salaries at home an average satisfaction rating of five out of ten, emigrants working abroad felt that their salaries deserved an average of 7.5 out of ten.

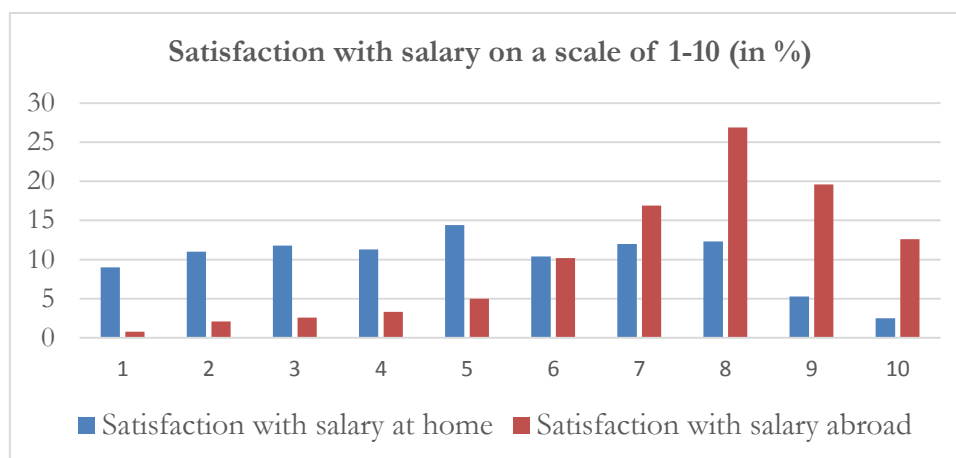


Figure 29. Emigrants’ levels of satisfaction with their salary

²⁴ Female, 25-29, Management Consultant, Australia.

A female supply manager now based in the United States stated that she earned twice the salary abroad as she did at home.²⁵ A manufacturing engineer working in the UK remarked that although she had ‘just turned 24’, she earned ‘what my brother’s earning and he’s 8 years my senior’.²⁶ One woman working in finance in London commented that salaries had never ‘slowed down’. As a result, people can ‘go on [their] skiing holiday and don’t have to hide it’, which diverged markedly from Dublin.²⁷ But this did not always reflect the situation in the UK, which, unlike Australia and Canada, had to grapple for an extended period with the effects of the economic crisis on Europe. In the words of a young female emigrant: ‘London wasn’t the land of opportunity, it was also going through its own crisis. I had to waitress a bit; the first year was quite difficult’.²⁸

It is important to remember that although emigrants were generally more content with their salaries abroad, the cost of living often mitigated this. As one bricklayer now based in Perth remarked that ‘The wages are good but the cost of living over here is unbelievable. They don’t really advertise that back home.’²⁹ Another Western Australian-based emigrant summed up the situation experienced by most emigrants quite nicely: ‘It’s not the wealth everyone thinks it is, but it’s good money. There’s no stress. You have a good quality of life’.³⁰

Those working in Ireland in advance of their move abroad felt especially unhappy with their career prospects. The average satisfaction rating reached only 3.9 out of 10. For those working abroad, however, the equivalent rating measured eight out of ten. This is a striking difference. People employed at home generally were not happy with the lack of opportunities to develop and advance their career. Therefore, they went to countries that did offer them the opportunity to progress in their selected professions. As a result, they felt much more contented with the direction of their careers.

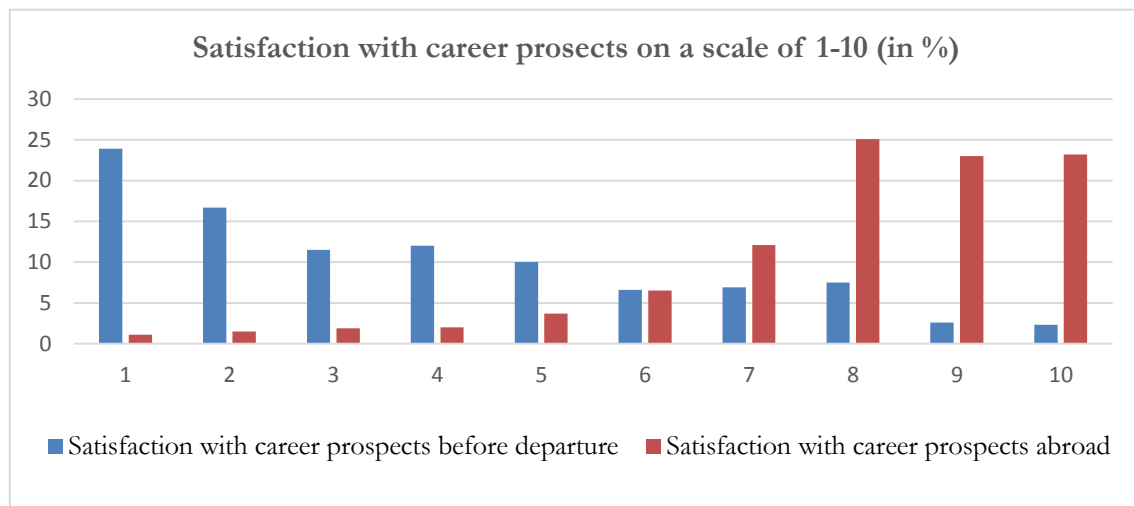


Figure 30. Emigrants’ levels of satisfaction with their career prospects

²⁵ Female, 35-39, Supply Chain Manager, USA.

²⁶ Female, 20-24, Manufacturing Engineer, UK.

²⁷ Female, 35-39, Finance, UK.

²⁸ Female, 30-24, Media, UK.

²⁹ Male, 25-29, Bricklayer, Australia.

³⁰ Male, 25-29, Carpenter, Australia.

For some this could be explained by the clear contrast between the career opportunities on offer at home and abroad. Whilst there had been no room to ‘excel or be promoted’ for one young female working in marketing in Ireland before she left, she became head of marketing for her company in Australia: ‘It’s a huge opportunity and I love it. It’s not a position that I would ever have been given in Ireland’.³¹ Another emigrant frustrated by the stagnation within the state healthcare sector in Ireland told of his rapid career progression in Australia: ‘I’ve been here about 14 months. I have already got one promotion. I would like to think I’m in line for a second promotion’.³² Many recent graduates felt that emigration enabled them to build up valuable job experience. A graduate dentist who moved to the UK stated that it had ‘pushed me to expand my skills. ... From an educational point of view, it’s been very beneficial’.³³ Another engineering graduate explained that his work was ‘in the field I was studying ... so it’s perfect. I’m getting a lot of opportunities. I’m getting trained up pretty highly’.³⁴ Although the establishment of some recent state programmes, such as JobBridge, were reported by some emigrants to provide valuable experience and references for the future, there appears to be a time limit for many to work for such limited financial returns: ‘The effect of not being paid ... wasn’t great. ... I wanted to be in a job where someone was paying me and it was a proper career’.³⁵ As a result, some used it as a platform to emigrate.

Emigrants’ quality of life is much better abroad than it was in Ireland before they left. Whilst emigrants gave an average rating of 5.5 out of ten for their quality of life at home, abroad the equivalent average rating reached was 7.9 out of ten.

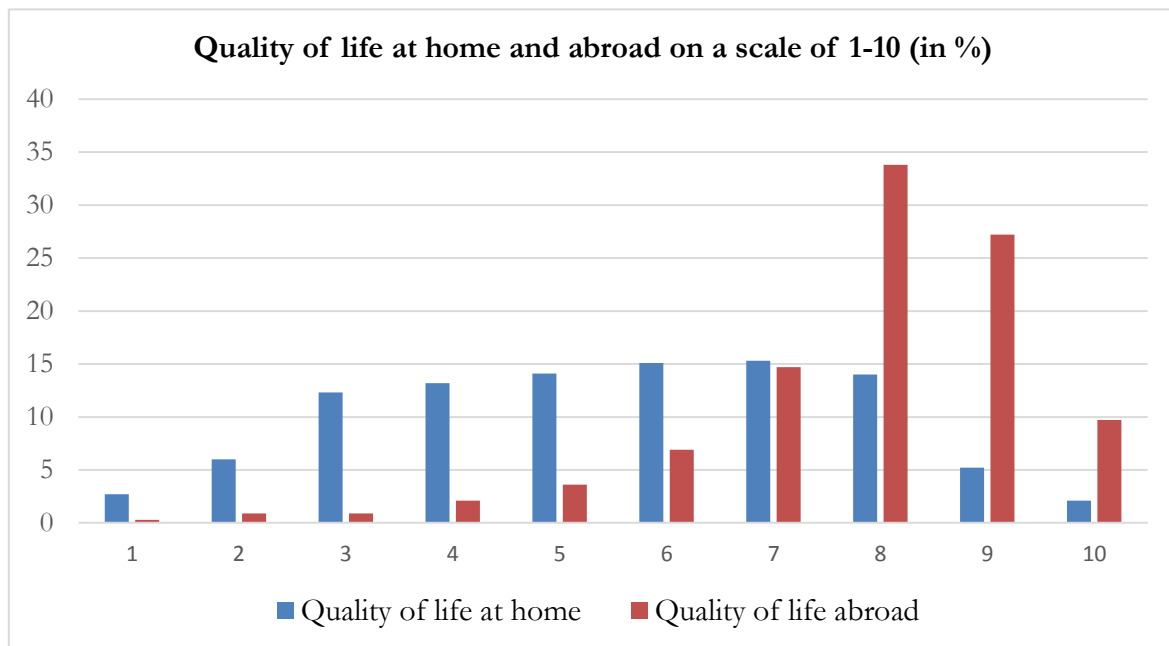


Figure 31. Emigrants’ ratings of their quality of life at home and abroad

This is wholly understandable considering that emigrants had much higher rates of full-time employment, greater job satisfaction, higher wages and much improved job prospects

³¹ Female, 25-29, Marketing Manager, Australia’

³² Male, 35-39, Nurse Educator, Australia.

³³ Female, 25-29, Dentist, UK.

³⁴ Male, 25-29, Researcher, UK.

³⁵ Female, 25-29, Architect, UK.

abroad. Significantly, those who had full-time positions came to a similar conclusion. Nevertheless, other factors contributed to some people's happiness, particularly the climate and lifestyle associated with life in Australia and New Zealand. Emigrants based in Canada appreciate the country's warmer summers but generally not their much colder and longer winters. The UK's healthcare system came in for continual praise from emigrants based across the Irish Sea.

Moving to another country also sometimes allows people to broaden their interests. An engineer based in Canada talked about learning to ballroom and salsa dance there – something he believes he never would have done at home: 'Because you don't know anyone here, you're less averse to risk. At home, peer pressure might have gone against it, [comments such as] 'You're gay boy'. But here, they're more open'.³⁶ He actually met his girlfriend whilst dancing. Other emigrants also met their spouses and partners abroad. In certain instances, they came from the country they moved to, in others from a third country or Ireland. One emigrant based in Australia met his Irish girlfriend during a GAA trip with his football club.

Emigrating was an enlightening experience for some young Irish abroad because '[i]t opens your eyes, forces you to think a bit about where you are in life and where you want to be in five years' time, what you're going to do and helps you set goals.'³⁷ A different respondent reflected that emigration is 'a challenge to yourself and you learn from that. ... Your interactions with people, you learn something from interacting with another culture. Personally, I think it's been of huge benefit to me.'³⁸ One female in London felt that it 'just opened my mind a lot more to what's out there in the world'.³⁹ Several emigrants interviewed believed that going abroad had opened up their eyes to some of the political issues facing Ireland, as exemplified by the comments of one male emigrant now based in London:

[I]t's very interesting seeing how Ireland is viewed outside of Ireland at the moment. It's rough to see it but it's a case where your country is the laughing stock of Europe. In terms of, even in the last few weeks the Anglo tapes. The abortion debate. All the messing that went on in the Dáil. All that stuff gets reported on and you're looking at it and you're seeing the comments from a different country's point of view and you are just like 'Jesus'. ... Ireland is still a very conservative state. I was never under any illusion about that. It is just rough seeing how your country is viewed from an outside perspective ... From the inside you get used to it. From the outside you are kind of just like 'wow'.⁴⁰

Emotional cost of emigration

The emotional cost for emigrants of living in another country away from their families stood out as the major downside to establishing a new life abroad. In the most poignant cases, people moved away from their spouses/partners and children in order to pay for the upkeep of those same people at home. Younger emigrants often worried about their parent's health in Ireland and their inability to provide support if anything occurred. Many missed their friends, even though these same friends had since left Ireland in certain cases.

³⁶ Male, 20-24, Mechanical Engineer, Canada.

³⁷ Male, 25-29, Electrician, Australia.

³⁸ Male, 30-34, IT Engineer, South America.

³⁹ Female, 25-29, Theatre, UK.

⁴⁰ Male, 25-29, Researcher, UK.

Homesickness became a real issue for some people, especially initially. A young female emigrant who had previously never lived outside her family home recounted that it hit her ‘pretty hard’ soon after she arrived in Australia: ‘I missed my family. I would be particularly close to my family. The homesickness was awful for the first couple of weeks. I used to ring home every day walking home from work and my Mum would be on to me as well.’⁴¹ Many living in Australia, New Zealand and Canada mentioned that not being able to return for Christmas was a source of much regret. One emigrant based in Melbourne found it particularly difficult:

I can remember last Christmas actually. I was in work and they put up a video of Irish mummies at the airport waiting to welcome back their kids from wherever they lived and my God, I was at my desk and there was tears streaming down my face and my boss came over to me and he was like ‘are you ok?’ and I was like ‘Aaah, I just really want to go home’ and he was like ‘take the morning off there and look after yourself’... I was a mess.⁴²

Sometimes coming home for a period helped to alleviate people’s homesickness. Whilst waiting for her visa to come through, one emigrant based in Canada returned to Ireland – with unexpected consequences:

That couple of months being at home waiting for my next visa to come through just opened up my eyes to just like, ‘Why are you even homesick?’. Because there wasn’t that much there. A load of my friends were all gone. I realised there was no point being like that anymore.⁴³

Marked differences existed between the degrees of separation of some people’s families. Those living in the UK, for instance, remain in regular physical contact with their families at home because of the proximity of their location. This is obviously not the case for the Irish living in more far-flung destinations, such as Australia. For many of the latter, a major worry is that if their parents become sick, they may not be able to offer the assistance and support that they would ideally like to provide, as typified by one female emigrant based in Australia:

[L]ike my Mam was – she wasn’t very sick – but she was pretty ill a couple of months ago. I had to decide should I go home because I really wanted to be there at home. It’s very difficult for families, especially close families. The distance – it is quite far. (Female, 30-34, Operations Assistant, Australia)

Another emigrant based in Sydney also dwelled on the same dilemma but his own father provided him with some philosophical advice to alleviate what the emigrant referred to as the ‘nightmare scenario’ of getting a phonecall to say that a family member had died: ‘My Dad is like ‘I am going to die at some stage so you need to have your life for after that as well’.⁴⁴

In the most extreme cases (discussed further overleaf), emigration results in real emotional hardship because of the absence of integral family members. But emigrants in their twenties and early thirties had often moved out of their parents’ homes (53.8% of emigrants lived outside their parents’ home before departing) – or would have been expected to move out in the near

⁴¹ Female, 25-29, Administration Assistant, Australia.

⁴² Female, 25-29, Marketing, Australia.

⁴³ Female, 20-24, Administrative Officer, Canada.

⁴⁴ Male, IT, 30-34, Australia.

future – prior to going overseas. Technology has helped to keep emigrants in regular contact with parents. Notwithstanding the benefits of technology, not being physically there for major events, such as weddings, funerals and births is a source of regret to many. One emigrant recalled that ‘This year, I missed my grandmother’s funeral, I missed my ‘auld man’s 50th, [and] my brother’s 21st.’⁴⁵ Emigrants with grandparents still alive note that the recent advances in technology do not apply equally to all generations. The elderly are often not familiar with applications such as Skype and WhatsApp. For that reason, one emigrant living in Canada made a special effort to spend time with his grandparents because ‘I didn’t know if they would be around in two years’ time, when I will probably visit next’.⁴⁶

Emigrants going with young children often lose valuable familial support from their own parents. In turn, those same family members in Ireland cannot play as central a role as they would like to in rearing their young relatives. One parent who moved to New Zealand with her partner and young daughter summed it up well:

It’s broken my mother’s heart, it really has and my father as well I have to say ... and my brothers and my sister ... she [her young daughter] is the only great grandchild as well so my grandparents, it really just tore them all apart. And even recently I was talking to my granny on the phone and she just burst into tears so you can’t ring every week unless you have built up the courage for it but it’s very hard for them.⁴⁷

The saddest cases involve the devastation that emigration can have on dependent relationships, as bleakly recounted by these two examples:

I was looking after my grandparents at home so trying to leave them was the hardest part of it really but it just came to the point where I just didn’t have a choice, I had to go...they are both quite elderly so I was living with them and caring, everything, doing everything really ... After I left they had to get in public care.⁴⁸

I don’t see my family – like, we talk on the phone. I’ve missed 18th birthdays, 21st birthdays, my own 25th wedding anniversary. I saw my wife last Christmas and I’ll see her again this Christmas. ... It’s been a total destruction of my life, my wife’s life, my two children’s lives. Mentally, I’m probably half-depressed all the time. ... I just look forward to Christmas.⁴⁹

Although relatively rare, it is important to stress these cases because of the enormous emotional toll that emigration takes in these instances. This type of narrative has rarely featured in media portrayals of recent emigration, as the latter emigrant explained:

[M]y daughter ... wrote an article for a [student] newspaper – now, she never sent it in, but she showed it to me. What she felt was that all the articles around about emigration ... were about younger people. And she felt that there was more than that. There was a

⁴⁵ Male, 25-29, Electrician, Australia.

⁴⁶ Male, 20-24, Mechanical Engineer, Canada.

⁴⁷ Female 25-29, Administrator, New Zealand.

⁴⁸ Male, 25-29, Carpenter, Australia.

⁴⁹ Male, 50-54, Engineer, Australia.

generation like me leaving their families behind. She described how she felt. It was heart-breaking to read. She wrote it so that people would seek help to cope with it.⁵⁰

Missing friends

Many emigrants (over 55%) had friends or family already in situ on arrival. This, according to one emigrant, is a key ingredient in easing the burden that emigration may cause: 'If you have people to talk to and friends, it makes emigration a lot easier ... It's really important to have people that you know'.⁵¹ Those who arrived without these types of networks, however, often had to create new friendships with people they had never met. For some in non-English speaking countries, it proved an especially difficult task. This could be sometimes as much for cultural reasons as linguistic ones, as was the case in the example below:

I don't have many friends here to be frankly honest. Of any kind. It's been very, very difficult to make friends. ... They're an extremely difficult people to get to know, they don't respond to small talk, they're not much craic which is a nightmare, there's... I constantly exhaust myself trying to engage people and trying to get some response but they just don't take you on is the best way to describe it. You're left with... Most of my acquaintances and friends would be other immigrants from around the world.⁵²

Some people, because of their careers, live quite transient lives, which can lead to similar social dislocation:

I've moved to London from the south of England and I don't really have any network of friends and definitely no family and obviously if I moved somewhere else in England which is likely given the choice of career path that I'm on, it will be the same. It will be me and whatever acquaintances I pick up but it won't be the same friendship groups that I grew up with and are still the most important friendship groups that I have.⁵³

A surprisingly large amount of Irish emigrants mentioned missing the 'banter' and the 'craic' of home, as well as the typical Irish humour.

⁵⁰ Male, 50-54, Engineer, Australia.

⁵¹ Female, 35-39, Supply Chain Manager, USA.

⁵² Male, 30-34, Translator, Europe.

⁵³ Male, Student, 20-24, UK.

Chapter 6. Return

6.1 Historical Return

Historic emigration never led to a breakdown of ties between those leaving and those staying behind. Instead, as David Fitzpatrick has surmised, emigration ‘challeng[ed] home certainties and invit[ed] reflections from both sides on the competing advantages of new and old worlds’.¹ Emigrants were often gone but very much not forgotten. The increase in English literacy after the establishment of Ireland’s national school system in 1831 allowed people to stay in continual contact with each other as letters became ‘an indispensable agent for sustaining the unity of families and neighbourhoods fractured by emigration’.² In addition to gaining constant updates about family and local news through personal correspondence, many emigrants could also attain regular and up-to-date information about political and social developments in Ireland through newspapers if they so wished, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century when the development of the telegraph system meant that international news became much more readily available. The ‘imagined’ Irish nation, therefore, extended well beyond the island of Ireland.

It was not only the Irish abroad who had first-hand experience of emigration. Scholars have devoted little time or space to discussing return migration to Ireland before independence. This is partly due to the lack of data and information available on the trend, but mostly because of the assumption that only a minimal number ever returned from across the Atlantic. Marjolein ’t Hart estimates that 10% of Irish emigrants who settled in the United States returned to Ireland in the second half of the nineteenth century.³ Despite having a much smaller return rate from America than many other European countries, the scale of return was still extensive considering that well over 3 million Irish people crossed the Atlantic between 1850 and 1900 (that would mean over 300,000 returned using ’t Hart’s estimates).⁴ Emigrants also returned from even more far flung destinations, such as Argentina and Australia.⁵ The development of steamship travel from the 1860s onwards meant that travel became much less onerous than previously and even cheaper – especially for the return journey because of greatly reduced prices.⁶ As Fitzpatrick has pointed out, ‘[r]eturn movement to Ireland, once rare and spasmodic, became commonplace’. In 1876, for example, almost as many returned from America as left for it – although many of those who came back did not settle permanently.⁷ Mark Wyman put forward a similar return rate as ’t Hart for Irish emigrants who arrived in the United States from 1908 to 1923 – a rather turbulent time in Irish history due to the First World War, the Easter Rising, the War of Independence and

¹ David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation. Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia* (Cork, 1994), 26.

² *Ibid*, 495.

³ As quoted in Marjolein ’t Hart, “Heading for Paddy’s Green Shamrock Shore”: The Returned Emigrants in Nineteenth-Century Ireland’, *Irish Economic and Social History*, 10 (1983), 96-7, 96 and reproduced in Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles* (Oxford, 1984), 426.

⁴ Three million is a relatively conservative estimate considering the Annual Registrars’ figures only take account of the United States and not Canada or elsewhere in the Americas, such as Argentina.

⁵ See Patrick McKenna, ‘Nineteenth Century Irish Emigration to, and settlement in, Argentina’, NUI Maynooth: Unpublished Geography MA (1994), 186 and David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation*, 530-4.

⁶ G.R.C. Keep points out that the return fare to Glasgow and Liverpool from America was halved in 1874. See Keep’s, ‘Some Irish opinion on population and emigration, 1851-1901’, *The Irish ecclesiastical record*, LXXXIV (1955), 377-386, 384. Referenced in David Fitzpatrick, ‘Emigration, 1871-1921’ in W.E.Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, Vol. VI. Ireland under the union, 1870-1921* (Oxford, 1996), 606-652, 633.

⁷ David Fitzpatrick, ‘Emigration, 1871-1921’, 633-4.

the Civil War, it must be emphasised. Nonetheless, his estimation of a return rate of 11 % meant that tens of thousands more also came home despite the numerous problems at home.⁸

The 'returned Yank' comprised three categories, according to 't Hart: those who had always intended to come home once they had saved enough money to invest in Ireland – often in farms or pubs,⁹ those who came back to inherit a farm or provide assistance at home, and those who just preferred to live in Ireland.¹⁰ Successful returnees' confidence, belief in democracy and lack of respect for traditional status often impressed locals and worried conservatives because of the challenges it posed for heretofore local conventions.¹¹ It also led to further emigration because of the power and wealth emigration was understood to potentially bring.

In contrast to the relatively low percentage of return for those who emigrated across the Atlantic, the amount of people who crossed back across the Irish Sea reached considerably higher levels due to the British mainland's proximity and the intertwined nature of the two economies. Ó Gráda has emphasized how scholars have continually underestimated the to-and-fro flow between Britain and Ireland from the 1850s to the 1920s.¹² Despite most of the island becoming independent in 1922, emigration continued. With the imposition of tighter immigration restrictions across the Atlantic, Britain – especially England, became the most popular destination. Due to its proximity, ties remained tight between people in Ireland and Irish emigrants in Britain. Seasonal migrants persisted in the long-held practice of going annually from the west and north-west of the country to England and Scotland until at least the 1950s. An *Irish Times* report from Achill Sound on the devastating news that ten young local male seasonal workers had perished in a fire in Kirkintilloch betrayed how transnational life was for many local families. Most of the dead young boys had been accompanied to Scotland by their sisters and several of them had fathers working in England and America whilst their mothers remained in Achill.¹³

During the Second World War, approximately 150,000 Irish moved to England.¹⁴ Delaney has underlined how even long-term migration to Britain held vestiges of seasonal migration because it enabled repeated visits home for weddings, funerals and holidays.¹⁵ When many of them returned for Christmas holidays, they made a marked impression on the towns and villages they descended upon, with their 'new suits and flashy ties ... in the fashion of the London-spiv'. Significantly, as John Healy recalled, '[t]hey had money and they were generous and that generosity sledge-hammered the last remaining defences in the rigid social and economic system'.¹⁶ A short-lived campaign by the first Inter-Party government to bring people back to

⁸ Mark Wyman, *Round-trip to America* (Cornell, 1993), 11.

⁹ Arnold Schrier recounted that 'as late as 1955 it was declared that every bar in Killarney was run by a Yank'. See Arnold Schrier, *Ireland and the American Emigration 1850-1900* (Chester Springs, 1997 – originally publ. in 1958), 130. 't Hart also comments that 'Publicans were predominantly return emigrants' in Marjolein 't Hart, 'Irish return migration in the nineteenth century', *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, 76 (1985), 223-231, 225.

¹⁰ Marjolein 't Hart, 'Irish return migration in the nineteenth century', 224-5.

¹¹ Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 426.

¹² Cormac Ó Gráda, 'Note on Nineteenth-Century Irish Emigration Statistics', *Population Studies*, 29.1 (1975), 143-149, 145.

¹³ 'Grief-stricken parents: A village of mourning', *Irish Times*, 17 Sept. 1937.

¹⁴ Enda Delaney, *The Irish in Post-War Britain* (Oxford, 2007), 17.

¹⁵ As Delaney remarked, the ability to attend '[f]amily gatherings, weddings, funerals, and holidays all made for continuing interactions with the homeland.' *Ibid*, 10.

¹⁶ John Healy, *The Death of an Irish Town* (Achill, 1988), 19-20.

Ireland in the late 1940s gave way to the largest exodus per capita in over half a century during the 1950s. In the so-called ‘decade of doom and gloom’, over 400,000 (net) left the newly formed Republic of Ireland.¹⁷ Considering the country’s population then stood at less than 3 million, to lose almost 15 % of your population in one decade – there would have been a depletion rate of above 40 % amongst certain age-cohorts – was astonishing.¹⁸ Ireland actually shared the ignominy of being the only country in Europe to see its population decline in the 1950s with East Germany.¹⁹ Although Italy, Spain and Greece also saw large swathes of their populations emigrate in the decades after the Second World War, no other European country experienced it on the same scale as occurred in Ireland during the 1950s – apart, perhaps from Portugal for a short period in the early 1970s.²⁰ Although they had departed the country in their droves, Irish emigrants still made a massive contribution to life at home through remittances, which constituted 3.2% of national personal income in 1960. For certain counties, such as Mayo, remittances were an essential part of the economy, making up 10.5%, for example, of personal income in the county.²¹

Critically, Enda Delaney has noted that ‘estimates of net emigration do not take account of the fact that a substantial number of people may have left the Irish Republic and subsequently returned’.²² Many Irish migrants viewed living in Britain as a temporary sojourn and aimed to move back home when possible although, as Catherine Dunne recounted, ‘We never meant to stay,’ was a constant refrain among many of the London Irish she interviewed who never returned to settle in Ireland.²³ Nonetheless, improved economic circumstances in Ireland during the 1960s, and especially in the 1970s, did allow some to attain their goal of moving back across the Irish Sea. A number of studies carried out in the country throughout the 1960s found that between roughly a quarter and a third of respondents had previously lived outside Ireland.²⁴ In the 1970s, return migration to the Republic of Ireland increased further as returnees outnumbered emigrants for the first time since independence. The National Economic and Social Council estimated that an incredible 270,000 Irish people returned in the 1970s alone, which is an astonishing figure.²⁵ Many return migrants brought home children born outside Ireland, as demonstrated by the substantial increase in the English- and Welsh-born component of the Irish population, which rose from just over 45,000 in 1961 to more than 75,000 by 1971 and almost 135,000 by 1981. The following decade saw this inward flow reversed, however.

Other southern Mediterranean countries had experienced extensive post-war emigration but none of these same countries had to endure another exodus of its young people on the same

¹⁷ Mary Daly, *Slow Failure. Population Decline and Independent Ireland, 1920-1973* (Wisconsin, 2006), 184. Cormac Ó Gráda uses the term ‘decade of doom and gloom’ in his *A Rocky Road. The Irish economy since the 1920s* (Manchester, 1997).

¹⁸ See *ibid* for figures.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 183.

²⁰ Maria Ioannis Baganha, ‘Portuguese Emigration After World War II’, in António Costa Pinto (ed.), *Contemporary Portugal, Politics, Society and Culture*, New York: Boulder (2003), 139-158. See also Enda Delaney, ‘Placing Post-war Irish Migration to Britain in a Comparative European Perspective, 1945-1981’, in Andy Bielenberg (ed.), *The Irish Diaspora* (London, 2000), 331-356.

²¹ Miceal Ross, ‘Further data on county incomes in the sixties’, ESRI Papers No. 64 (1972). Referenced in NESAC (National Economic and Social Council), *The Economic and Social Implications of Emigration* (Dublin, 1991), 241.

²² Enda Delaney, *Demography, State and Society. Irish Migration to Britain, 1921-1971* (Liverpool, 2000), 272.

²³ Catherine Dunne, *An Unconsidered People. The Irish in London* (Dublin, 2003) 2.

²⁴ Enda Delaney, *Demography, State and Society*, 272.

²⁵ NESAC, *The Economic and Social Implications of Emigration*, 59.

scale as Ireland in the 1980s. Renewed economic difficulties resulted in renewed out-migration across the Irish Sea and the Atlantic, especially in the latter half of that decade. Although almost 360,000 left the country in the 1980s, 150,000 returned during the same period.²⁶ Of course, some of these would have re-emigrated again as economic conditions actually worsened throughout the decade, with one study carried out in 1988 finding that a quarter of return migrants surveyed intended to re-emigrate.²⁷ Nonetheless, many more of the 1980s' generation of emigrants returned later – especially from the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s, as Ireland experienced unprecedented economic growth.²⁸ The scale of this return is visible in figure 34, which shows when the almost 400,000 Irish people who claimed to be return migrants in the 2011 census came back to the country. Furthermore, almost 140,000 people living in the country with Irish nationality in 2011 were born elsewhere, the majority of whom are presumably the children of returned emigrants.²⁹

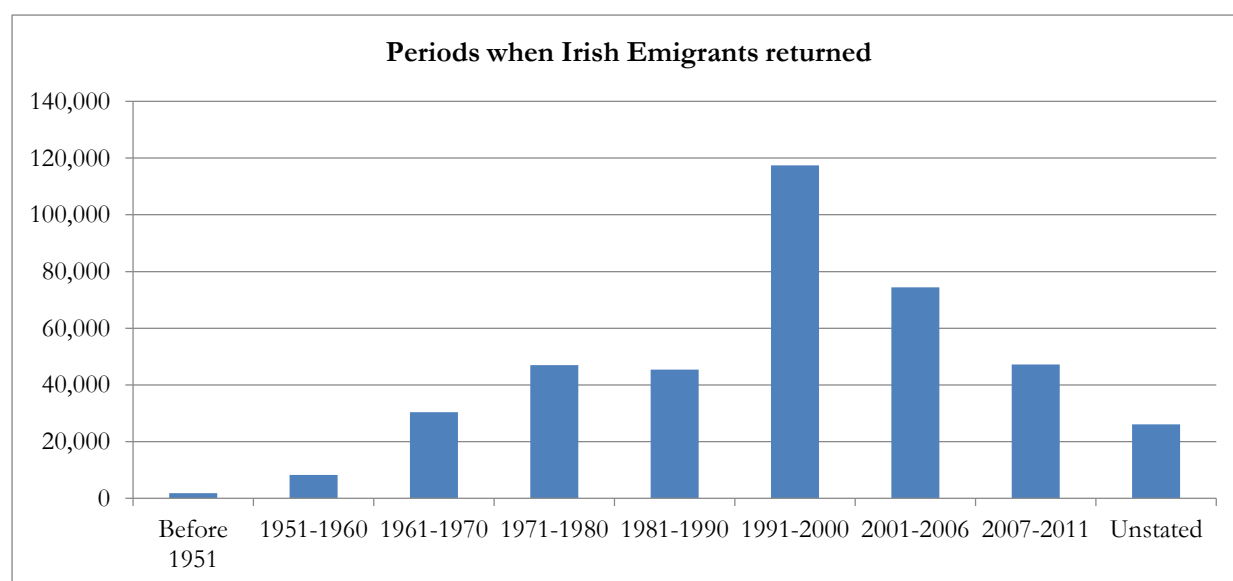


Figure 32. Periods when Irish emigrants returned³⁰

Despite the notable rise in emigration since the onset of the economic crisis and subsequent bailout of the Irish state in recent years – the amount of Irish people leaving the country more than trebled between 2008 and 2013 – return migration has continued to take place (Figure 34). From the twelve months leading up to April 2013, for instance, although 50,900 Irish people left the country, 15,700 Irish nationals came back.³¹

²⁶ *Ibid.* Damien Courtney estimates that between 1982 and 1993, 472,300 people emigrated from the country, with 263,500 people coming in to Ireland in the same time period. Both estimates calculated net emigration to be approximately 210,000 people. See Damien Courtney, 'Demographic Structure and Change in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland', in Patrick Clancy et al. (eds.), *Irish Society: Sociological Perspectives* (Dublin, 1995), 39-89, 68-9.

²⁷ Fiona McGrath, 'The Economic, Social and Cultural Impacts of Return Migration to Achill Island', in Russell King (ed.), *Contemporary Irish Migration* (Dublin, 1991), 55-69, 63.

²⁸ See Katy Hayward and Kevin Howard, 'Cherry-picking the diaspora', in Bryan Fanning (ed), *Immigration and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland* (Manchester, 2006), 47-62 for more information on the state's efforts to tempt Irish emigrants and their descendants back to Ireland.

²⁹ Mary Gilmartin, 'Changing Ireland, 2000–2012: immigration, emigration and inequality, *Irish Geography* (2013), 4.

³⁰ Numbers come from CSO, *This is Ireland. Highlights from Census 2011, Part 1* (Dublin, 2012), 88.

³¹ See CSO, 'Population and Migration Estimates', Dublin/Cork: CSO (Sept. 2013). Available online at <http://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/er/pme/populationandmigrationestimatesapril2013/#.UjyQIRVwalE> (last accessed 20 Sept. 2013).

6.2 Emigrants' relationship with home

That's one of the great advances of the twenty-first century. Facebook, Skype and these things are a godsend. My Mam loves Skype ... the first time my mother used Skype, she thought it was like science fiction. (Male, 30-34, Teacher, UK)

Irish emigrants remain in constant contact with home. They regularly Skype or call their families and use Facebook and other networking sites to chat to friends. The vast majority of emigrants who have left since 2008 have managed to visit home on at least one occasion since departing. Understandably, the frequency of return visits depends very much on emigrants' location. Those based in the UK visit Ireland regularly. Emigrants based in North America, Australia and, especially, New Zealand are not able to come home as often because of the time, distance and expense involved. Due to the availability of online newspapers, news websites and Irish radio stations, most emigrants closely follow what is happening in Ireland on a regular basis. As a result, they have strong opinions on Irish current affairs, especially with regard to topics that some feel contributed to their own departure. Somewhat surprisingly, over 50% of emigrants have sent money home to family, although only 14.6% do so on a regular basis. A similar number (13.2%) make regular mortgage repayments in Ireland.

Contact with home

Irish emigrants abroad use Skype and telephone calls, from landlines and mobiles, to stay in touch with their families in Ireland. While some laud Skype, others who became frustrated with it have reverted back to phonecalls instead. Letters are largely absent but, as one emigrant who previously left in the 1980s points out, 'my letter writing in some ways hasn't stopped but it takes the form of an email now'.³² Emigrants also stay in contact with family and friends, using Facebook in particular, and various free phone applications, such as WhatsApp and Viber. In many cases, parents and sometimes grandparents at home in Ireland have embraced the changes that technology has brought, although there can be some teething problems: '[T]hey're shouting at the laptop and I'm like, 'I can still hear you''.³³ Also, some emigrants find that they have to be a bit more cautious on Facebook because their family members can access their personal pages: 'Grandad is 86 and on Facebook ... so we have to be careful with photos on Facebook because he would comment on them.'³⁴ With many emigrants' friends from home spread across the world, technology can help to reduce the physical distance between them. One emigrant recounted the transnational nature of her interactions with friends: '[M]y group of friends have a WhatsApp conversation that goes on between seven or eight of us constantly. So there's someone in China, there's two of us here in London, there's people in Australia and in Canada and in Ireland'. As a result, she feels 'much closer, more related to each other'.³⁵

³² Male, 55-59, Management Consultant, UK.

³³ Female, 25-29, Administration Assistant, Australia.

³⁴ Female 25-29, Administrator, New Zealand.

³⁵ Female, 25-29, Architect, UK.

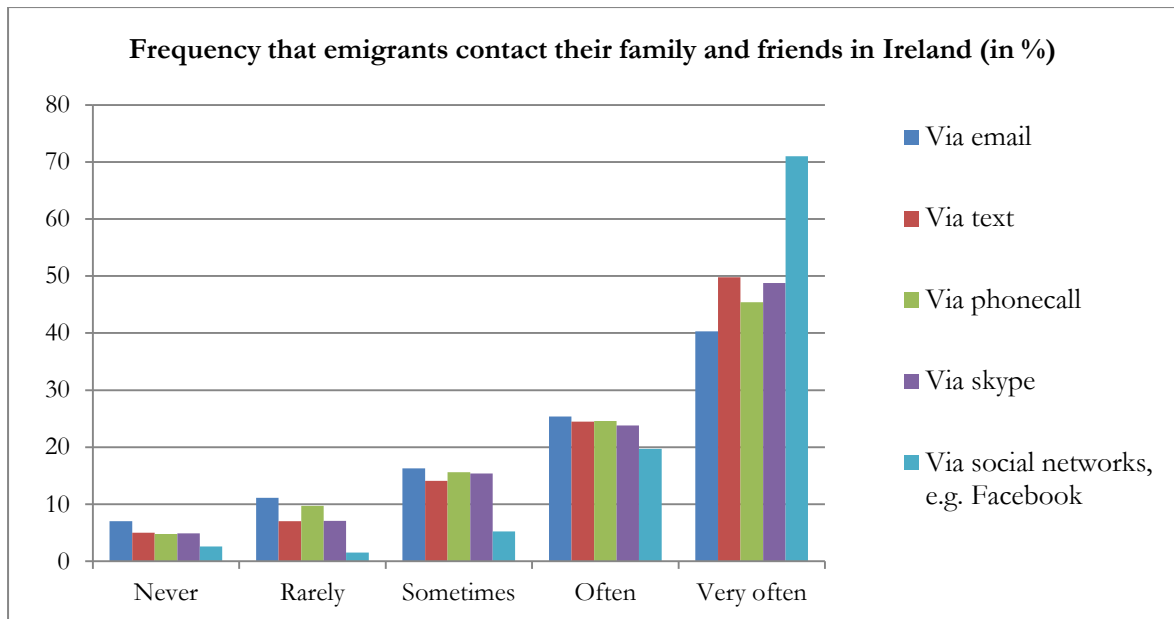


Figure 33. Frequency that emigrants contact their family and friends in Ireland

Almost 75% of emigrants use Skype regularly to maintain contact with family and friends in Ireland. Less than 5% of emigrants never use it. Therefore, Skype is an integral part of the modern-day Irish emigration experience. Many emigrants interviewed by the Emigre team underlined the benefits that come from using Skype. Most of them pointed out the visual advantages of the programme: ‘It’s really good. You can see their face. ... Obviously you’d rather be with them and doing things with them but if you can’t, that’s the next best thing’.³⁶ But others get annoyed by its lack of reliability and prefer to use their mobile phones or landlines to communicate with family members: ‘I can’t stand Skype ... my Dad hates it as well. Phoning is cheap. ... I often call hands-free when driving’.³⁷ The quality of phone lines has improved markedly and there are huge price differences between phone charges now and the recent past. One emigrant now based in the UK but who moved to Saudi Arabia during the 1980s highlighted these notable differences: ‘[B]ecause of the phone system in Saudi and the cost of making calls, we did not use telephones at all. So we have gone from that to now where I might call several times a day if there was a need to do so’.³⁸ The time difference can be an issue for emigrants living long distances from Ireland but most people have managed to find some balance:

‘Normally she [his mother] would call me with the news from home and it would generally be at seven in morning, my time, so I’m kind of groggy waking up and she just chats with me and I sometimes make responses. Normally it’s just sharing news and it’s fairly easy to keep in contact. The time difference is a bit of an issue but it’s not too bad. (Male, 25-29, English Teacher, Asia)

Despite the notable technological advances that have taken place in recent years, a small number of emigrants still revert to letters. One emigrant found that her young child got bored very easily when speaking on the phone or Skype to her grandmother in Ireland so now they

³⁶ Female, 20-24, Student, UK.

³⁷ Male, 25-29, Civil Engineer, Australia.

³⁸ Male, 55-59, Management Consultant, UK.

exchange letters with each other: 'I found that it was better so she draws pictures and I take pictures and get them printed out and we send them over so it's more personal'.³⁹

Over 90% of emigrants use Facebook and other social network sites to keep updated. It allows some emigrants to feel that they 'miss nothing that goes on at home. You see everything. They see everything that happens with you'.⁴⁰ As one emigrant commented, constant virtual contact 'gives you that admittedly superficial or shallow window into life, but because everyone's on the internet there's a certain equalisation of shallowness'.⁴¹

Visits home

The closer Irish emigrants are to home, the more frequent their return visits. Irish emigrants based in the UK, for instance, come home frequently. Flights are cheap and short in duration, meaning that many come home for weekends. This means that the emotional toll of living in a different country is much less heartfelt than for those located further afield, particularly those based in Australia and New Zealand, because it is far easier to attend special events throughout the year, such as weddings and birthdays, as well as to come home for Christmas. Indeed, several emigrants pointed out that it was quicker to get to their parents' home in Ireland from London than from Dublin.

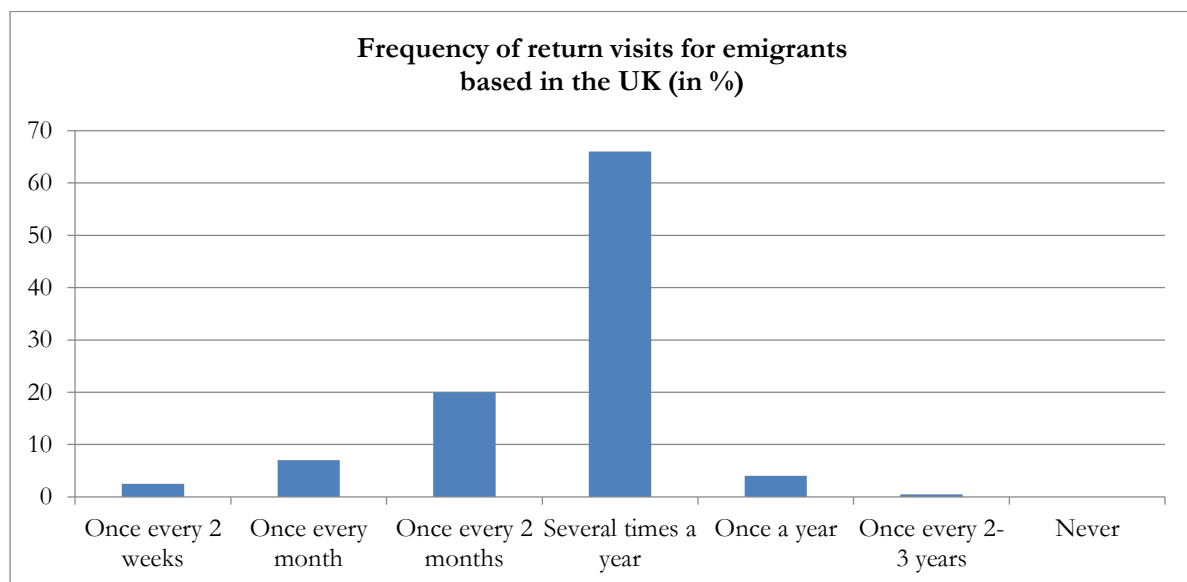


Figure 34. Frequency of return visits for emigrants based in the UK

Incredibly, over 95% of emigrants living in the UK come home more than once a year. As one emigrant based in London recounted, 'moving to England isn't as big a deal as moving to Australia, New Zealand, Canada, something like that. It's simple packing up the car, hopping on the ferry and driving to London and if you have any issues or you've forgotten anything it's a matter of flying back'.⁴² Although those moving to England in the 1950s and 1980s regularly came home on holidays, the price differential for flights has meant more regular visits, as one emigrant with previous experience of moving abroad highlighted:

³⁹ Female 25-29, Administrator, New Zealand.

⁴⁰ Male, 25-29, Carpenter, Australia.

⁴¹ Male, 30-34, Translator, Europe.

⁴² Male, 25-29, Researcher, UK.

When we moved in the early 80s, I remember at one point paying £326 for a return flight to Dublin at Christmas. Now I can fly to Dublin for £70 or even less. Recently I paid £50 for a return fare. It was much more difficult to return then but now ... I don't see the distance issues as what they were years ago. (Male, 55-59, Management Consultant, UK)

Those living further afield in continental Europe are also able to come back more regularly as a result:

[N]owadays going on a flight to Ireland is like catching a bus. And that's another aspect that doesn't just apply to Irish people, when I'm getting on a plane ... I feel a very strong kinship between Polish people and Irish people and Lithuanians, Latvians as well, because whenever I go on a Ryanair flight, I see exactly the same experience as my experience; people who are just in a country for a couple of years to earn a few quid to buy a house back where they're from and they didn't want to leave in the first place. And I see that look on their face when they meet their friend at the airport who's working in another part of [the country] and they have such craic and it's very, very, it's a modern... I wouldn't say modern miracle but it stops emigration from being final, the fact that we have this Ryanair link and this Skype link and for me that's something I won't hear a word said against, Ryanair. (Male, 30-34, Translator, Europe)

Air prices to more far-flung destinations have also reduced over the last thirty years – but not to the same extent as occurred with flights within Europe because of the large distances involved. This is especially true of New Zealand. Emigrants based there only return once every two or three years (56.2%), compared to Australians (40.6%) and Canadians (27.1%). Most Irish in Canada get to return once a year (52.1%), whereas only a quarter of those in New Zealand and 43.5% of those in Australia are able to do the same.

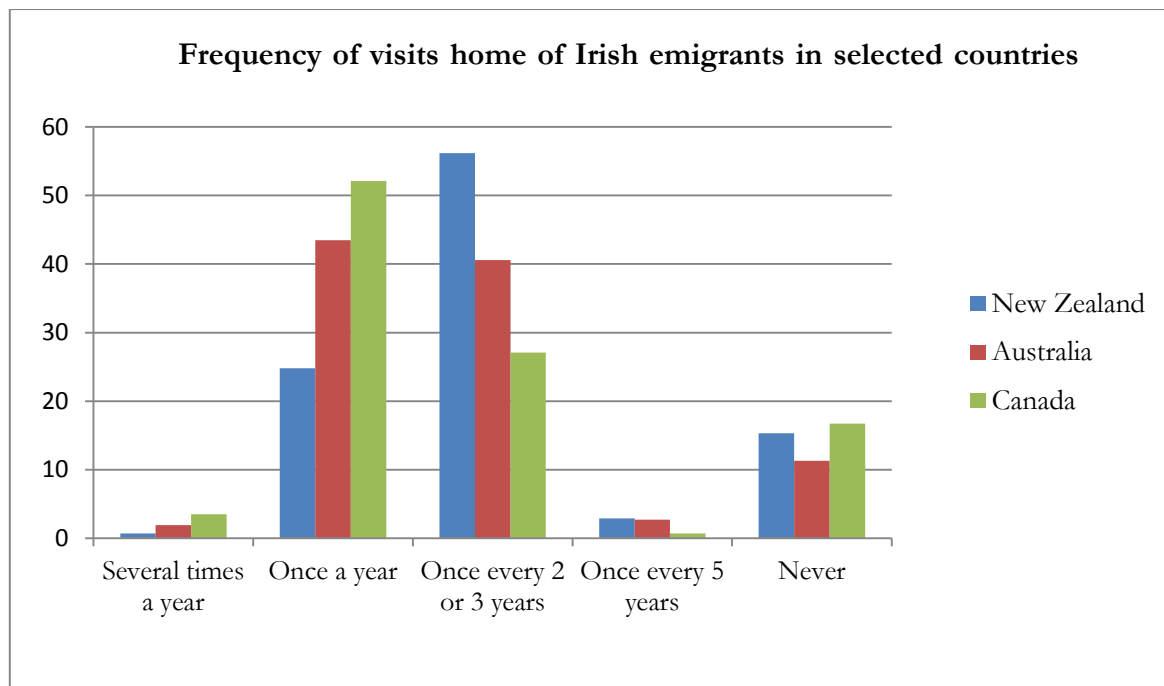


Figure 35. Frequency of visits home of Irish emigrants in selected countries

As a result of the large distances separating Ireland and Australasia, people based there have to carefully choose when they come home:

It's caused me to miss a lot of family events like people I'm very close to have got married, had kids that I haven't even met yet. It impacted a lot on my closeness to my family. I still keep in contact with all of them but you'd like to be home for all those family events you know. ... My next trip home is for a family wedding. All the family are going to be there so it's my one chance to meet everyone. (Male, 25-29, Carpenter, Australia)

Emigrants and Irish politics

Irish emigrants closely follow Irish current affairs and politics. Over 70% of emigrants frequently read Irish newspapers online, while another 16.4% read Irish papers sometimes. Many mentioned following the news on RTÉ's website or the RTÉ App. Many emigrants also listen to Irish radio stations regularly (32.8%). As one Irishman in Australia reflected, listening to Irish radio stations allowed him to retain an important link with home: '[W]hile I'm away I feel like I'm still part of Ireland. I'm trying to keep hold of that part of my life'.⁴³ One emigrant was so well versed on current affairs and local news in Ireland that he stated the following 'I'm telling them [family] the news'.⁴⁴

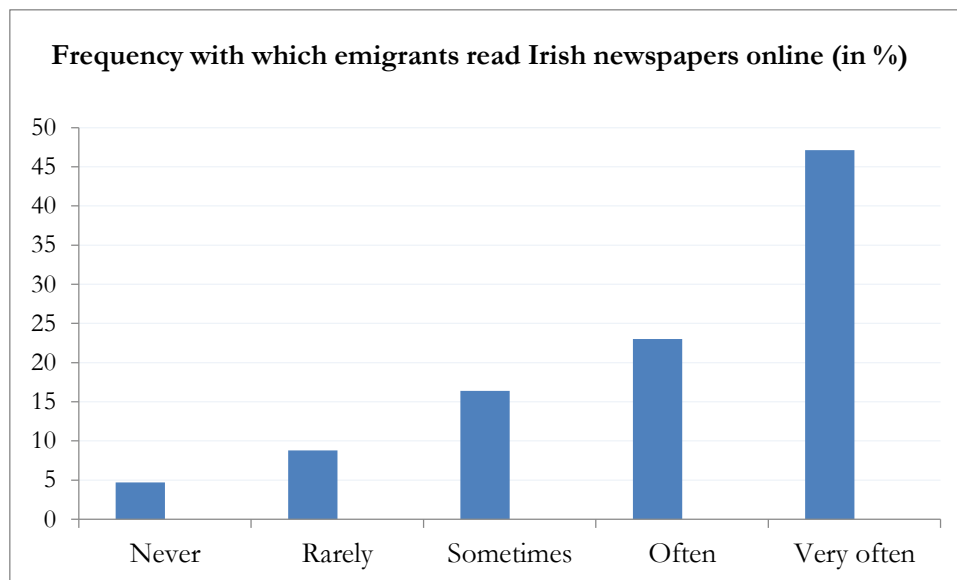


Figure 36. Frequency with which emigrants read Irish newspapers online

Various emigrants commented on the recent abortion debate and the release of the Anglo tapes in Ireland. Many felt anger at those deemed at fault for Ireland's economic collapse and the perceived lack of subsequent accountability. They also pointed the finger of blame at the politicians who were in government at the time of the banking fiasco and subsequent guarantee:

I never thought I would have to leave Ireland to get work. I thought those days were gone. When I was a young fella growing up in the street, you'd see all the lads who didn't do well in the Leaving Cert, who didn't get into college. You'd see them getting on a

⁴³ Male, 25-29, Structural Engineer, Melbourne.

⁴⁴ Female, 20-24, Civil Servant, UK.

plane a few months later and you'd see them again at Christmas. When I was 6 or 7 years old, that's what we thought our lives would be like. We actually used to play 'emigration' 'Oh I live in London now, I'm off to go see Arsenal', or someone would say 'I'm living in New York now, I'm off to the Statue of Liberty' and I thought those days had gone but they came back and, as is becoming increasingly clear, especially with these Anglo tapes, it came back because the politicians, pardon my French, hadn't a fucking clue what they were doing. (Male, 30-34, Teacher, UK)

Emigrants also felt enraged at the situation facing those still in Ireland, especially their family and friends. Despite sometimes feeling lucky to be away from the continuing problems besetting the country, emigrants knew that their loved ones were suffering as a result. Irish politicians' attempts to put forward a positive picture of the Irish economy caused frustration among certain emigrants:

I was beginning to think at one stage was there something wrong with me that I had to be out here. ... Everything was being portrayed as so lovely and rosy a while ago. Was I misreading the whole situation? But when you look at the number of Irish people out here, I know I'm not the only one. (Male, 50-54, Engineer, Australia)

Emigrants generally did not place much trust in current government politicians' ability to tackle the factors that have caused an increased outflow of Irish people in recent years.

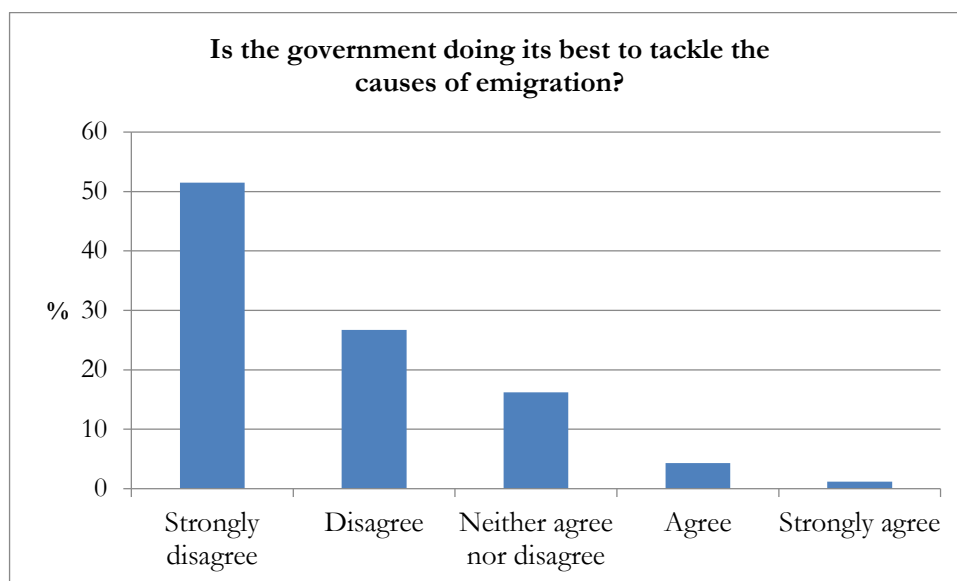


Figure 37. Is the government doing its best to tackle the causes of emigration?

Many emigrants also complained about a perceived disregard for the Irish abroad from the State once they had left. 48% of emigrants disagreed with the statement that the government provided adequate support for Irish emigrants. Only 11.8% of emigrants agreed, with the remaining 39.3% neither agreeing nor disagreeing. Two emigrants interviewed gave voice to those who felt aggrieved at the lack of state interest in the rights and needs of the Irish abroad:

When you start to say on an institutional level you can leave, almost in a sense 'You should leave, don't be waiting around and drawing down the dole, don't be drawing out money', it's kind of basically saying, 'You're a weight on the State', in a sense. I kind of

feel like, that message says, 'You're not worth it' and I don't think that that is particularly useful. (Female, 30-24, Media, UK)

If I came back tomorrow, I wouldn't be able to go on the dole as far as I know. I had been working since I was 14 or 15. ... I paid my PRSI and paid my PAYE and when I left the country I saved them dole money and it's basically 'See ya later, don't want to know ya an if you come back, you're not getting anything'. (Male, 25-29, Structural Engineer, Melbourne)

A minority of emigrants asserted that contemporary emigration may be good for the country. One emigrant argued, for instance, that 'not everyone is going to go' and those at home had a better chance of finding work because of less competition, due to the departure of some of their peers.⁴⁵ Another noted that it reduced the amount of live register benefits the State had to fund, thereby 'help[ing] to pay off the IMF'.⁴⁶ More commonly, those who felt emigration could lead to positive results believed that people might come back with valuable professional experience, hence 'broaden[ing] their horizons' and 'bring[ing] back new ideas, new skills and new ways of doing things'.⁴⁷ However, the same emigrant added an important caveat at the end of her point: 'That's if they come back'.⁴⁸

The clear majority of emigrants that the Emigre team interviewed felt that Ireland had lost a vital part of its young population at a crucial time when vitality and innovation were required. Many people referenced the skilled nature of current emigration. One emigrant explained that 'Out of five kids [in his family], four of them are gone. They're all college graduates. It's economically bad for our country to be losing people that are highly trained'.⁴⁹ Another predicted future problems for the country as a result of what he termed 'a massive brain drain'.⁵⁰ One emigrant based in the Middle East pointed out that emigration meant 'less of a youth voice' at home, which meant that 'there is not enough of a youthful spark'.⁵¹

Financial ties to Ireland

Almost half (48.6%) of emigrants never send money home to their families in Ireland and over 20% only rarely. Nevertheless, 16.5% do so sometimes and 14.6% send money back on a regular basis. Therefore, remittances still play a role in the Irish emigrant story, albeit a lesser one than in the 1960s when they constituted over 3% of national income in some years.⁵² Some people had spouses, partners and children to support in Ireland. In some cases, presumably, emigrants were helping their parents and siblings in Ireland who had perhaps lost valuable sources of income as a result of the recession.

⁴⁵ Female, 20-24, Administrative Officer, Canada.

⁴⁶ Female 25-29, Administrator, New Zealand.

⁴⁷ Female, 35-39, Media, Australia.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Male, 30-34, IT Engineer, South America.

⁵⁰ Male, 25-29, Researcher, UK.

⁵¹ Female, 30-34, Advocacy, Middle East.

⁵² Micheal Ross, 'Further data on county incomes in the sixties', ESRI Papers No. 64, 1972, Tables 1,2 and 3. Quoted in National Economic and Social Council (NESC), *The Economic and Social Implications of Emigration* (Dublin, 1991), 242.

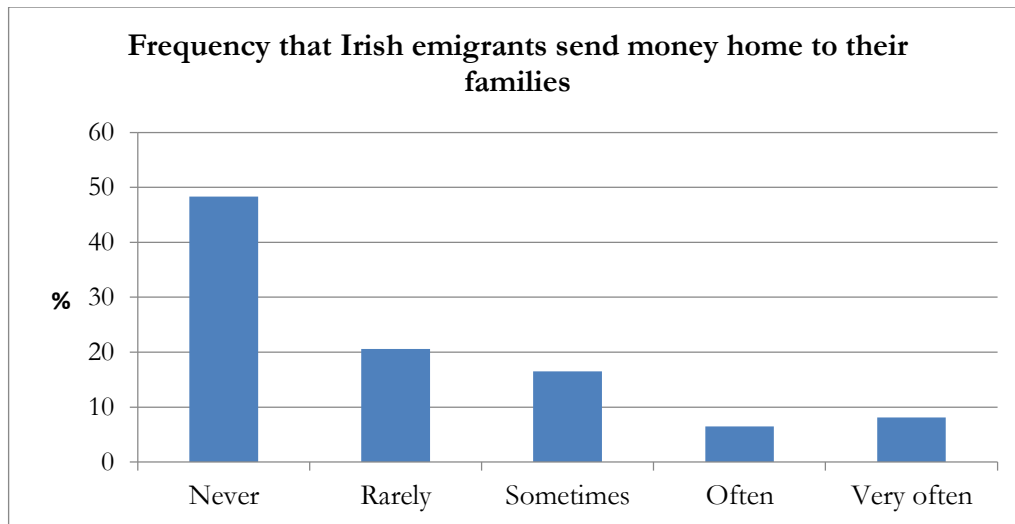


Figure 38. Frequency that Irish emigrants send money home to their families in Ireland

13.2% of emigrants regularly send money home to pay for mortgages on properties they own in Ireland. Some made occasional or sporadic mortgage repayments (3.7%), possibly because some emigrants had relinquished control of their properties in Ireland. One emigrant explained how this could easily happen, especially for those in negative equity:

They [the bank] were very arrogant to start with: ‘You must do this and you must do that’ to my wife and I took over correspondence then ... He [bank representative] threatened to repossess the house. I said, ‘Listen mate, if you want, take it. We don’t need it. It’s not a family home anymore; we’re not living in it. So after about three or four days, we got an email, very apologetic, willing to talk. A new handler was appointed. He was very nice, very easy to get on with and we resumed the payments and made the back payments. ... When you think about it, they screwed [up], they got bailed out and now they are screwing the people over. ... I know a lot of people that have just left the house. (Emigrant X)

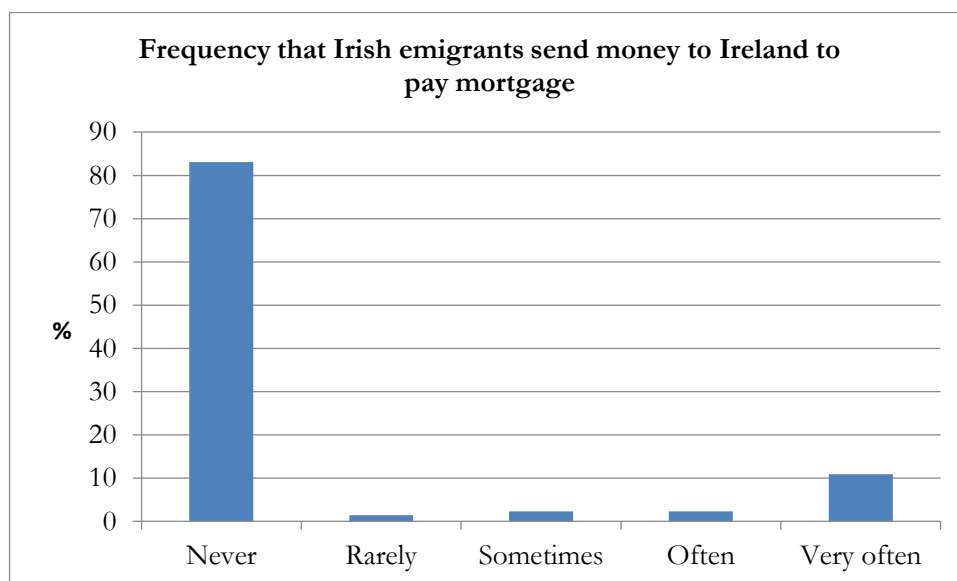


Figure 39. Frequency Irish emigrants send money to Ireland to pay mortgage

Most of those with mortgages still in Ireland rented them out to tenants. For some, this covered the mortgage repayments. Nevertheless, it is still a 'concern' for many because, as one emigrant stated: 'if we do think about going back, and if we can't get jobs and then we have a mortgage It is definitely something that plays on our minds about how we'd cope with that'.⁵³ For those whose rent does not cover the mortgage, the related complications and responsibilities are compounded, as one emigrant's account demonstrates:

I'm renting it to a friend but it doesn't cover the mortgage at all because the houses are only worth about €80,000 now so you can buy one for about €300 a month [in mortgage repayments] and my mortgage is about €800 ... I send about 30% of my salary home ... It will never be paid for because it's in a ghost estate so I'll never be able to sell it. (Female, 35-39, Supply Chain Manager, USA)

⁵³ Female, 35-39, Media, Australia.

6.3 Public and Political Discourses of Emigration

The language used to discuss emigration in Ireland is, and always has been, highly polarised and is frequently highly emotive as well.

On the one hand a strong popular current, which can be traced back to the 19th century, sees emigration as unequivocally and irredeemably disastrous, both for the emigrant and for the country which he or she has left behind. There are few Irish emigrant songs extolling the wonderful future awaiting the emigrant on a foreign shore; most are gloomy, backward-looking and inclined to idealise the country, and particularly the place, left behind. Inspired by memories of Famine, oppression and poverty, as well as by fear of the often difficult life the emigrant faced in a foreign and unfamiliar country, the traditional picture of emigration was not a positive one.

This picture of emigration spans the period of Ireland under British rule down to the present day. Its modern signs are seen every Christmas, when TV crews film departing sons and daughters at Irish airports. The language of this type of media reporting and popular perceptions, rightly or wrongly, captures a particular view of emigration as rarely a freely chosen option. References to the 'scourge of emigration' are still frequent in media reporting on the matter.

The following *Irish Independent* article, 'The lost boys of Lixnaw: town laments scourge of emigration' from January 2013 is typical of this genre

It is a story that's not unique and is repeated in countless rural communities across the country decimated by emigration. The photograph of the fourth class of Lixnaw Boys' National School taken in 1996 starkly illustrates the wave of emigration from one village. The 11 boys pictured smiling in their grey-and-maroon school uniforms are full of hope about what the future holds in store. Today, only three remain – the other eight have all gone...⁵⁴

Another recent *Irish Independent* article, 'Emigration is still breaking hearts in West - bishop', uses similar rhetoric:

The ongoing scourge of emigration has left "broken hearts" in families and a lot of "justified anger", according to the most senior Catholic bishop in the west of Ireland. Archbishop Michael Neary of Tuam told the *Irish Independent* there were "impoverished" communities left behind as the young continued to leave. He expressed concern over the impact emigration was having on rural dioceses. "There is something particularly sad about seeing rural areas today that cannot field a football team because the young men and girls have gone off to Australia or Canada," he said. Referring to people's anger, he said many believed that had those responsible for the economic crisis "been less arrogant", they might have been able to take "corrective action" before the situation reached the stage it is at now...⁵⁵

In opposition to this traditional picture of emigration as departure, loss and exile, another picture, both more positive and more complex, may also be discerned, whereby emigration was sometimes positive for the emigrant and many went on to prosper in their new countries. The Irish Diaspora became a force to be reckoned with in several countries around the world. The

⁵⁴ Majella O'Sullivan, 'The lost boys of Lixnaw: town laments scourge of emigration', *Irish Independent*, 14 January 2013.

⁵⁵ Sarah MacDonald, 'Emigration is breaking hearts in west – bishop', *Irish Independent*, 29 July 2013.

backward look was not always a regretful one. Moreover, recent generations of emigrants are increasingly well-educated, skilled and confident. A more recent theme has been to stress that emigration is not permanent and that the emigrant will return to the homeland with valuable skills and experience.

Much of this more balanced and even positive view of emigration does indeed reflect the nuanced realities of contemporary Irish emigration. But there has also been a temptation on the part of Ireland's political classes, seen as unable to tackle the underlying causes of economic underdevelopment initially and economic crisis more recently, to stress this more positive view of emigration for partly self-serving reasons. It is a tendency found on both sides of the mainstream political spectrum in Ireland and one designed to under-play or even sanitise emigration by presenting it as almost invariably a positive, win-win opportunity for emigrant and country of origin. As social geographer Jim MacLaughlin put it

Government officials in particular have promoted this image of 'new wave' emigration as a voluntary activity involving young adults who have qualified themselves out of the Irish labour market by qualifying themselves into the labour markets of Europe and the United States. They have also suggested that emigration is so deeply embedded in the Irish psyche that it is entirely natural that Irish young adults should leave Ireland in search of *Lebensraum* or 'living space' abroad. This suggests that 'new wave' emigration is a welcome development because it encourages young adults to leave Ireland in search of work and opportunities abroad.⁵⁶

These polarised views of emigration, whether excessively negative or excessively upbeat, go back a long way. It is possible to trace the 'narrative of victimhood' back to the 19th century, and, specifically, to the work of one man, John Mitchel. His 1861 best seller *The Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps)* asserted the vision of oppression and victimhood in the clearest terms.

There began to be an eager desire in England to get rid of the Celts by emigration; for though they were perishing fast of hunger and typhus, they were not perishing fast enough.⁵⁷

This negative, indeed pessimistic, view of Irish emigration is deeply embedded in Irish popular and media articulations of national feeling on this matter. It was not entirely misplaced either. The first several decades of the 20th century were a stark picture of emigration, notably from rural Ireland. Perhaps the iconic representation of this phenomenon was journalist John Healy's 1968 publication *No one shouted Stop: Death of an Irish Town*, concerning the decline of his local town, Charlestown in County Mayo.⁵⁸

In the modern period, the underlying popular undercurrent of powerful emotions about Irish emigration has found new forms, notably through the continuing vitality of the folk tradition in finding ways of expressing an inchoate popular feeling about the topic. Classic songs of emigration were supplemented by new everyday masterpieces such as *Thousands are Sailing* and

⁵⁶ Jim MacLaughlin, *Ireland: the Emigrant Nursery and the World Economy* (Cork, 1994), 43.

⁵⁷ John Mitchel, *The Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps)* (Glasgow, date unknown) (accessed at <http://archive.org/stream/lastconquestofir00mitc#page/n9/mode/2up> on 24 September 2013), 139.

⁵⁸ John Healy, *No one shouted Stop! Death of an Irish town* (Cork, 1968).

Fairytale of New York. While this new generation wrote new songs, it always tapped into a very old and powerful vein in popular visions of emigration.

All this presented an obvious problem to ‘official Ireland’. If the country was so wonderful, why were so many leaving? Answers varied, but their response is also characterized by an extraordinary continuity, transcending party political lines.

De Valera’s reaction to emigration in 1951 was to blame the victim. Emigrants, it seemed, were in denial. Better conditions were on offer in Ireland and the siren appeal of foreign lands was a snare and a delusion.

The saddest part of all this is that work is available at home, and in conditions infinitely better from the point of view both of health and morals. In many occupations, the rates of wages are higher at home than they are in Britain. It is true that, in some cases, an Irish worker’s total earnings in Britain are high, but this is often due to the fact that the conditions in which he finds himself obliged to live are so unattractive that he prefers unduly long hours of overtime to a leisure which he cannot enjoy. There is no doubt that many of those who emigrate could find employment at home at as good, or better, wages—and with living conditions far better—than they find in Britain. Moreover, not only do they fail to improve their own circumstances by going abroad, but they leave enterprises for the development of our own national resources without sufficient labour to enable progress to be made as rapidly as we would all desire.⁵⁹

It should be noted that these remarks were the subject of a robust editorial rebuttal in the *Irish Times* (admittedly not a paper sympathetic, in those days, to Irish nationalism):

An emigrant is always at the mercy of the country that adopts him: the real fault for his harsh treatment lies with the country that permits him – or compels him – to go away.⁶⁰

The undercurrent of disbelief and denial runs through much of the rhetoric of ‘positive’ expressions about emigration in recent decades. At its heart lay an attempt by official Ireland to absolve itself from any direct blame or indeed any suggestion that Irish economic under-performance might have some part in the matter. This view had already been foreshadowed by the then Director of the Central Statistics Office (CSO), R. C. Geary, who wrote in 1951

It is a gross over-simplification to suggest that emigration is due solely, or even principally, to lack of economic development in Ireland

An emerging tendency to portray emigration in essentially benign terms may be discerned in the contribution made by Alexis Fitzgerald to the *Report of the Commission on Emigration*, including the following well-known passage:

I cannot accept either the view that a high rate of emigration is necessarily a sign of national decline or that policy should be over-anxiously framed to reduce it... In order of values, it seems more important to preserve and improve the quality of Irish life...than it is to reduce the numbers of Irish emigrants...High emigration, granted a population

⁵⁹ Speech by Mr De Valera in Galway, quoted by Enda Delaney, *State, Demography and Society: Irish Migration to Britain 1921-1971* (Liverpool, 2000), 194.

⁶⁰ Editorial, ‘Eastward Hol’, *Irish Times*, 31 August 1951.

excess, releases social tensions which would otherwise explode and makes possible a stability of manners and customs that would otherwise be the subject of radical change.⁶¹

It is easy to characterise this view nowadays as a cynical way of sanitising a huge problem in Ireland in the 1950s and such a characterisation would not be unreasonable. It should also be borne in mind that it represented, in some respects, an attempt at least to see emigration for what it was, in an era when little account was taken of the reality of emigration and little or no preparation was provided for those leaving in order to equip them for life in another country.

The tension between the ‘catastrophist’ view of emigration illustrated earlier, on one hand, and one which saw the decision to leave as positive and life-enhancing, on the other, has been a feature of political and media discourse ever since. Perhaps the most enduring expression of the positive view in the 1980s was that put forward by then Foreign Minister Brian Lenihan Snr, in an interview with *Newsweek* magazine in 1987

What we have now is a very literate emigrant, who thinks nothing of coming to the United States and going back to Ireland and maybe on to Germany and back to Ireland again...the world is now one world and they can always return to Ireland with the skills they have developed. We regard them as part of a global generation of Irish people. We shouldn’t be defeatist or pessimistic about it. We should be proud of it. After all, we can’t all live on a small island.⁶²

This theme, of emigration as a freely chosen option of a new generation of globalised, highly educated Irish, recurs again and again. A fairly typical example was the statement by then Tánaiste in the Fianna Fáil/Green Government, Mary Coughlan, in February 2010, on the BBC’s *Hard Talk* television programme:

The type of people who have left, some of them find they want to enjoy themselves and that’s what young people are entitled to do. Moreover, they are coming with a different talent, they are coming with degrees, PhDs, they have a greater acumen academically and have found work in other parts of the world and that’s not a bad thing.⁶³

The present Government has proved no different from previous ones in its anxiety to present emigration as a positive individual choice. In remarks made in January 2012, Minister for Finance Michael Noonan was unequivocal:

There are always young people coming and going from Ireland and some of them are emigrants in the traditional sense. Others simply want to get off the island for a while. You know, a lot of the people who go to Australia... it’s not being driven by unemployment at home, it’s driven by a desire to see another part of the world and live there. It’s not about putting on the green jersey or taking off the green jersey, it’s just that’s life in modern Ireland, and they have to do their best. I hope they are successful abroad. What we have to make sure is our young people have the best possible

⁶¹ Alexis Fitzgerald, in *Report of the Commission on Emigration and other Population Problems* (Dublin, 1954), 222.

⁶² Brian Lenihan, interview in *Newsweek*, 13 October 1987.

⁶³ Mary Regan, ‘Coughlan: young people emigrate ‘to enjoy themselves’’, *Irish Examiner*, 16 February 2010.

education, so that when they go, they are employed as young professionals in their country of destination.⁶⁴

A much more fine-grained language is needed. It should address, above all, the differential experiences and expectations of Irish migrants as well as addressing, in an honest and realistic manner, the likelihood of return for those who would wish to. In a modern, highly globalised, labour economy, there are winners and losers in a more fluid, dynamic and unpredictable world of migratory flows and stocks. None of the existing dominant discourses whereby such processes are narrated in popular and political terms in Ireland fully captures the complexity and indeed inequalities of such movements of peoples, including Irish migrants, in an age of crisis and change.

⁶⁴ Patrick Counihan, 'Michael Noonan slammed after branding emigration a 'lifestyle choice'', *Irish Central*, 20 January 2012 (accessed at <http://www.irishcentral.com/news/Michael-Noonan-slammed-after-branding-emigration-a-lifestyle-choice-137747553.html> on 24 September 2013).

6.4 Voting Rights

Background – the voting rights of emigrants

Irish emigrants in general have no right to vote in Irish elections at any level. Indeed, they lose such rights as soon as they leave the country, unless their absence is a very brief one. While someone's name might remain on the electoral register even after that person has left, in practice it would be impossible, barring a physical return to the person's home constituency, for an emigrant to vote. Moreover, any attempt to vote during such a return (unless the absence is purely temporary) would be in breach of the law:

Under Irish electoral law, unless you are "ordinarily resident" in the country (that is, living in Ireland on 1 September in the year before the voting register comes into force) you cannot cast a ballot in elections. To live outside the Republic of Ireland and attempt to vote constitutes electoral fraud and carries a maximum sentence of two years in prison.⁶⁵

There are certain exceptions to the above.⁶⁶ The most obvious is that graduates of the National University of Ireland (NUI), Recognised Colleges of the NUI and graduates of former Recognised Colleges of the NUI who have an NUI degree, as well as graduates of Trinity College (University of Dublin) and graduates of colleges that award University of Dublin degrees (e.g. D.I.T.) have the right to vote in the two university constituencies, with three seats each, in Seanad elections⁶⁷. This right applies irrespective of the graduate's country of residence. However, graduates of other third-level institutions have no representation in the Seanad.

Members of the Defence Forces, *Gárda Síochána* (the national police service) and Diplomatic Service, working abroad in the service of the State, and their spouses, are also entitled to vote while on active duty outside the country. Even in the case of employees of the Department of Foreign Affairs and civil servants from other departments working abroad, this right was only extended in the relatively recent past (1986)⁶⁸. This gave rise to the unusual situation, prior to that right being conceded, whereby staff in Irish diplomatic and consular missions abroad (and themselves subject to the full rigours of Irish taxation) served as a channel for the transmission of military and *Gárda* voting papers but were themselves denied the right to vote.

Apart from these exceptions, emigrants in general cannot vote in Irish national or local elections or in referenda in Ireland. This does not, obviously, affect their rights to vote in EU

⁶⁵ Peter Geoghegan, 'Irish emigrants deserve a vote' *Guardian*, 22 January 2011 (accessed at <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/jan/22/irish-emigrants-vote-ireland-election> on 08 September 2013).

⁶⁶ Citizens Information Board 'Registering to Vote' (accessed at http://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/government_in_ireland/elections_and_referenda/voting/registering_to_vote.html on 8 August 2013).

⁶⁷ Citizens Information Board 'Seanad – the University Constituency' (accessed at http://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/government_in_ireland/elections_and_referenda/national_elections/seanad_university_constituency.html on 31 August 2013).

⁶⁸ Footnote 68 'Personal communication, retired DFA officer; personal experience of report co-author – see contribution to Constitution Convention, 28 September 2013, at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GFtLaG1ZCJc&list=UUH1XuybPHA2o6E5AqUg8wdg>'

elections where they are resident in another EU Member State, but only for candidates in that state. Some emigrants may, of course, acquire in due time citizenship in their new country of residence and thus exercise the right to vote in that country, but a period of residence of several years is usually required before eligibility for citizenship arises.

Most recent emigrants are therefore likely to find themselves deprived of any franchise, either in Ireland or in their new country of residence, at least for a period of some years after their departure. A notable exception is Britain, where the mutual and reciprocal nature of the rights and entitlements extended to citizens in each country mean that Irish citizens may vote in UK elections as a matter of automatic right (Ireland Act 1949), just as UK citizens are entitled to do in Ireland other than in referenda and presidential elections (Electoral (Amendment) Act 1985).

Voting rights for citizens of other countries

The Irish position concerning votes for emigrants does not accord with that followed by most countries. A major 2006 study⁶⁹ is unequivocal: ‘blanket franchise ineligibility for non-resident citizens appears to be increasingly the minority practice’. A small number of countries, including Ireland, Hungary, South Africa, Zimbabwe, El Salvador, India and Nepal are mentioned, but ‘most other states’ extend the franchise to what are referred to as ‘external citizens’. A number restrict the exercise of that right to a certain period of residence abroad – these include Germany, UK, Canada and New Zealand – after which their citizens are no longer entitled to vote. Some require the emigrant to return home in order to exercise the franchise: for example Israel, Taiwan, El Salvador and Slovakia. Finally, as Spiro says, ‘there is an increasing number of countries that extend the franchise to all non-resident citizens and allow ballots to be cast either through the mail or at embassies and consulates’⁷⁰.

Such countries include the vast majority of EU Member States as well as countries such as the US and Canada (subject to the caveat mentioned above). The sight of Polish voters queuing to vote in Polish general elections here in Ireland is no longer surprising; French, US citizens and others also exercise the same rights. A small number of countries, including Portugal, France and Colombia, reserve seats in the upper legislative chamber for non-resident citizens: this option will be discussed later.

Summing up, it would be true to say that the granting of the franchise to emigrant citizens, while the terms and conditions may vary, is the rule rather than the exception. One other generalisation which may safely be made is that voter participation among non-resident citizens tends to be low⁷¹.

A 2006 factsheet prepared by the website GlobalIrish.com gave the following summary of countries extending rights to such citizens⁷²:

- 21 African nations
- 13 North and South American countries

⁶⁹ P.J. Spiro, ‘Perfecting Political Diaspora’ *New York University Law Review*, v81 (2006), 207-233.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 212.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 215

⁷² EAN (GlobalIrish.ie), ‘External Voting: a Global Irish.ie Factsheet’ (accessed at <http://www.ean.ie/issues/emigrant-voting/> on 8 August 2013).

- 15 Asian countries
- 6 Pacific countries
- 36 European countries.

The refusal of the Irish State to extend any kind of general franchise to Irish emigrants is therefore anomalous when compared to general practice elsewhere.

Past campaigns on voting rights

The campaign to give emigrants the right to vote began on Saturday 12 November 1988 in Áras na nGael in London, when the Irish Interest Group invited Liam Ó Cuinneagáin of Oideas Gael and Senator Joe O'Toole, INTO to speak at a conference on 'Alternatives to Irish Emigration'. Out of this conference came Glór an Deoraí (Irish Emigrants' Voice), a group formed to campaign for the right of Irish emigrants to vote in Ireland⁷³.

The movement mentioned above, Glór an Deoraí, spearheaded what became a wider campaign during the 1990s, a period when emigration and the Diaspora became the subject of public attention, both because of the high emigration of the 1980s and because of the particular emphasis placed on the subject by incoming President Mary Robinson. Glór an Deoraí's policy document, published in the early 1990s, called for voting rights to be extended to Irish emigrants for up to 20 years after departure.

However, progress on voting rights was slow and ultimately unsuccessful. In 1991 a Private Members' Bill was introduced by the then Labour Party spokesman on emigration⁷⁴. It proposed a period of 15 years during which emigrants would continue to exercise the right to vote. Fine Gael, the main opposition party at the time, followed a different route, with a proposal that an additional three Seanad seats should be created in order to give voice to emigrants in that House. The Labour Party's proposal was defeated by the Government of the day. It would be fair to say that, while the position advanced by the Government of the day did contain arguments which merited further discussion, others were spurious.

Following the defeat of all attempts to advance the agenda in 1991, the emigrant vote movement widened with the setting up of the Irish Emigrant Vote Campaign in the USA and Irish Votes Abroad in Australia. The position of these mainstream bodies always focused on Dáil representation and the right to vote in presidential elections; the proposal for Seanad seats was generally seen as a red herring. As Glór an Deoraí put it, 'The group does not consider Seanad Eireann to be an appropriate forum for giving the Irish abroad a voice in the Government of Ireland'⁷⁵

In the mid-1990s the subject of votes for emigrants returned to the political agenda. The Coalition Government, consisting of Fine Gael, Labour and Democratic Left, did not honor a commitment to implement some form of representation as soon as it was feasible. The Minister

⁷³ Glór an Deoraí – Irish Emigrant Voice, 'Votes for the Irish Abroad in Irish Elections', (accessed at <http://ireland.iol.ie/~gad/gadstor.htm> on 7 September 2013).

⁷⁴ Dáil Debates, Volume 405, No 9, 5 March 1991 (accessed at <http://debates.oireachtas.ie/dail/1991/03/05/00021.asp> on 8 September 2013).

⁷⁵ Glór and Deoraí, *ibid*.

responsible had announced, ahead of a keynote speech by President Robinson to the Houses of the Oireachtas, that three Seanad seats for emigrants would be proposed. Ultimately this did not happen, with the Government, almost incredibly, citing a ‘divergence of views’ among emigrant voting groups as one of the reasons for the retreat from its position⁷⁶. It was also claimed that a practical voting system could not be implemented, even though such systems are the norm among most other countries.

No further practical or legal progress was made since the late 1990s. It may be the case that the decisive nature of the rejection of all proposals for reform and the return to Ireland of many of the 1980s generation of Irish emigrants dampened debates for a number of years. However, the issue was never fully off the agenda. Thus, the Seventh Report of the All-Party Committee on the Constitution (2002) reported on a submission made by the Irish Emigrant Vote Campaign in early 1999. The Report concluded that the right to vote in Oireachtas elections should continue to be confined to citizens ordinarily resident in the State, a position which has remained unchanged and which was repeated by then Minister for Foreign Affairs in reply to a parliamentary question in 2010⁷⁷. The same reply made reference, however, to further consideration being given to the question of whether emigrants should be given the vote, and under what circumstances, in Presidential elections. Although the issue had been included in the 2009 Programme for Government of the Fianna Fáil/Green coalition, nothing was done by that administration.

The Programme for Government for the present Fine Gael/Labour administration⁷⁸ also made reference to the presidential vote only, with a promise that the issue would be referred to the proposal Constitutional Convention. This has now happened and the more general issue of voting rights for emigrants has been the subject of a number of representations from individuals and organisations. Of particular note is the emergence of a new lobby group, Votes for Irish Citizens Abroad (VICA). VICA is London-based, but is building a world-wide membership. Its position on voting in the Dáil is as follows:

The right to vote in elections for the Dáil be granted to all Irish citizens abroad who are first generation (that is, who emigrated from Ireland) with no time limit. This to be managed through a system of reserved constituencies in order not to swamp the votes of resident citizens.⁷⁹

On the issue of presidential elections, VICA favours a inclusive approach:

All Irish citizens abroad, including those of Irish descent, should be able to exercise the right of voting for the President of Ireland.

⁷⁶ Dáil Debates Volume 471 No 5, 13 November 1996 (accessed at <http://oireachtasdebates.oireachtas.ie/debates%20authoring/debateswebpack.nsf/takes/dail1996111300020?opendocument> on 8 September 2013).

⁷⁷ Dáil Debates – Written Answers Volume 699 No 1, 19 January 2010 (accessed at <http://debates.oireachtas.ie/dail/2010/01/19/00450.asp> 7 September 2013).

⁷⁸ Government of Ireland, *Programme for Government 2011* (accessed at <http://www.merrionstreet.ie/index.php/about/programme-for-government/> 9 September 2013).

⁷⁹ Votes for Irish Citizens Abroad, *Review of the Dáil Electoral System* (accessed at <http://www.vica.ie/index.php/aboutus> on 8 September 2013).

The extension of the right to vote in presidential elections to all those holding Irish citizenship would represent, according to VICA, a concrete expression of commitment and solidarity, while recognizing that ‘the stake in Ireland of someone of Irish descent is different to that of an emigrant who has left the country in which s/he was raised’.

Contemporary contacts between Ireland and its Diaspora, including issues concerning voting rights – evidence from the Emigre project.

Today’s emigrants find themselves living in a more fluid universe than ever before. As already pointed out in Section 6.1, emigration is no longer a question (if it ever was) of leaving ‘country of origin A’ for ‘destination country B’, never to return. Much migration is multi-stage, or circular, and marked frequently by uncertainty as regards future intentions. Emigrants see themselves as living in a connected, transnational world, where in many cases the possibility of return remains at least a live option. Contact with the homeland, using social media, the internet and other means, is constant. Cheap travel often means regular home visits. Online media make it possible to stay constantly in touch with politics, culture and live current issues at home.

Many of today’s ‘emigrants’ do not even describe themselves as such and inhabit an ambivalent world, where they are ‘in between’ as well as simultaneously residents of the host-land, or destination country, while retaining virtual residence of the homeland. Most maintain a strong on-going connection with Ireland and hold a range of views and emotions (including anger, nostalgia and a passionate ongoing interest in Irish affairs) about their native country. This is true, even though today’s generation is often well-qualified, outward-looking, confident and successful.

It is precisely in this context that it seemed to us in the Emigre Project to be especially relevant to ask emigrants about their interest in voting in Ireland.

The Emigre Project’s household survey and online survey, as well as the interviews with emigrants which were carried out, focused on **two** issues regarding voting rights

- a) whether emigrants should have the right to vote in Irish presidential elections
- b) whether emigrants should have the right to vote in national elections.

Moreover, in both cases, we sought to find out whether emigrants

- a) should not have such rights at all
- b) should have them for a limited period or
- c) should have them for life.

In light of the Government’s stated intention to organise a referendum to abolish the Seanad, a question was not asked about the option of giving emigrants seats in that body. Moreover, as noted, the question of giving emigrants some kind of right to vote for seats in the Seanad, while mooted on a number of previous occasions, was not generally favoured by emigrant lobbies themselves.

Key findings

Based on the household survey and the online emigrant survey, a clear majority favour the extension of some kind of voting rights to emigrants.

Household survey

This was based on a response rate, as mentioned elsewhere, of 41.4% (933 households), from a representative sample of 2,495 households (2,253 excluding unoccupied). It should be borne in mind that the majority of such households did **not** have emigrants in their immediate circle who had recently left, although approximately one half of all households had family members who had experienced emigration at some time in their lives. It may, therefore, be regarded as a broad reflection of opinion in general in Ireland.

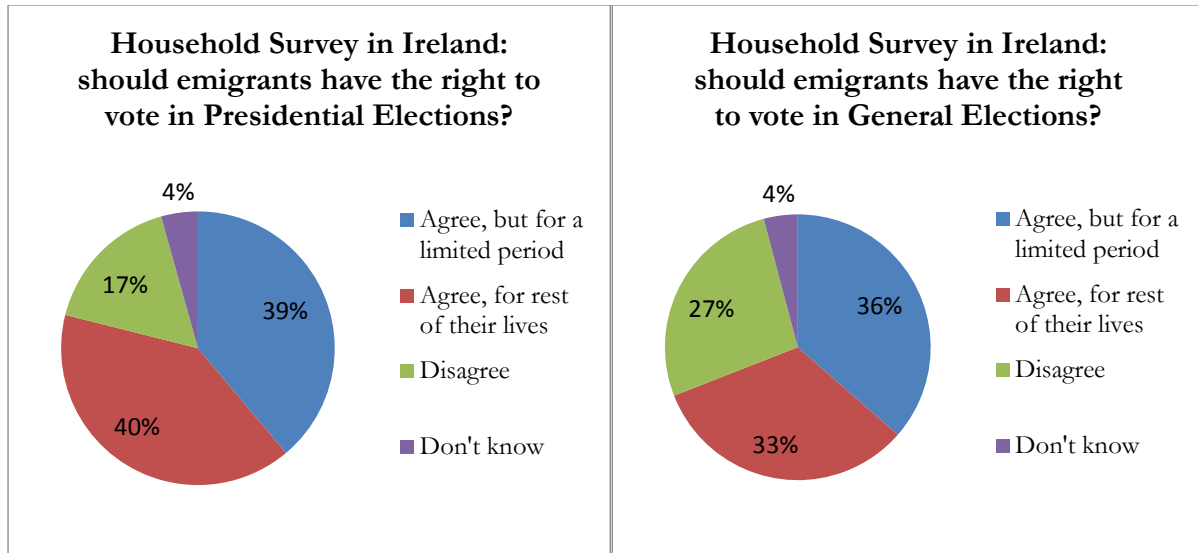


Figure 40. Household respondents' levels of agreement with the right for emigrants to vote in Presidential and General Elections

Emigrant Online Survey

This survey contains the views of a large sample (N: 1024), which was weighted for representativeness. It represents the views of emigrants themselves. Interestingly, it does not differ greatly from the results obtained in the representative household survey. Many emigrants, perhaps unsurprisingly, felt passionate about having a voice in the affairs of their homeland. One emigrant, who sends money home 'all the time' and felt that he had 'as much right as anyone else to vote in the country' summed up these feelings quite well:

Even if I had a vote to elect a TD that was going to represent emigrants, I'd vote for them. There were a lot of people who felt they had to leave. Just because you had to leave you deserve an input into the country. The instant you leave the country, you immediately lose that privilege of voting. It's like as if the country ignores you. Even though I worked for the last 15 years there. The instant I step on to the plane, I have no voice. (Male, 50-54, Engineer, Australia)

Some felt that they had a right to have a say in elections because political decisions had caused them to emigrate in the first place: 'It's the Irish government's fault that I'm stuck out here. We should be afforded some bit of a say in the situation'.⁸⁰ Others pointed out that Ireland's uniqueness in not allowing its citizens abroad to partake. As one young emigrant able to vote in the UK ('it doesn't really mean anything to me because I'm more interested in Irish politics'), observed, 'Most other countries just go to the embassy and cast their vote. I don't

⁸⁰ Male, 25-29, Civil Engineer, Australia.

know why we don't'.⁸¹ Another emigrant based in the UK refused to vote in national elections there because she followed Irish current affairs, not British politics:

I can't imagine voting in British elections. I don't feel informed enough. I don't feel entitled to vote here. I don't consider myself British and I don't plan to stay here long-term. I consider myself Irish. I am far more invested in the Irish future than the British future. I strongly feel that I ought to be able to vote. I'd like to be able to shape Ireland's future. I'd like to be able to cast my vote on really important issues instead of sitting over here saying 'I can't believe they did that'. ... Certainly for a limited period we should be able to vote. (Female, 25-29, Dentist, UK)

A number of emigrants interviewed stated that those who wanted to return home at some stage should have an input because 'If I want to go back, I would like a say in what's going on at home'.⁸² A minority did not regard it as a major issue. For some, Irish politics did not 'hold the interest that it did' previously and for others it was not an issue that struck any chord: 'I don't mind not having a vote, I'll be honest'.⁸³ One emigrant who did feel strongly about the issue doubted that any changes would occur in the near future, despite recent political debate on the topic:

Of course the Constitutional Convention says emigrants should be able to vote, but nothing will happen. Nothing. It's an international law. I can tell you from working in an embassy how easy it is to set up voting boxes, it's about as easy as going making a cup of tea. If countries like Tunisia, Iraq, Libya, South Sudan, which have little or no infrastructure or infrastructure that has been destroyed and can still manage to do it ... what is the argument for Irish people not doing it? The answer is a culture of sheer bloody-minded laziness and contempt for anyone who is living outside the state as it's defined, and that's a term that offends me as well by the way, because as citizens of Ireland, we are the state, wherever we are. (Male, 30-34, Translator, Europe)

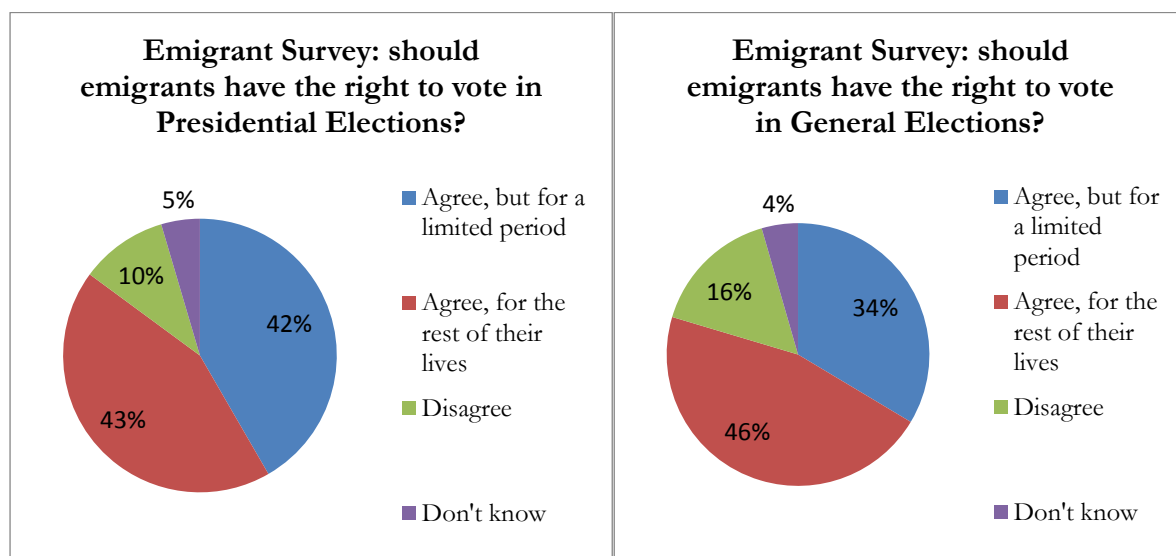


Figure 41. Emigrants levels of agreement with their right to vote in Presidential and General Elections

⁸¹ Female, 20-24, Manufacturing Engineer, UK.

⁸² Female, 20-24, Administrative Officer, Canada.

⁸³ Female, 30-34, Advertising, UK and Female, 50-54, Secretary, United States.

In sum

- In the case of voting rights in Presidential Elections, 79% of householders (whether there are emigrants in the household or not) and 85% of emigrants think there should be a right to vote. There is a fairly even split between those who think such a right should be limited in time (5-10 years) and those who think it should be granted for life
- In the case of voting rights in General Elections, 71% of householders in Ireland and 80% of emigrants think there should be a right to vote. A greater number of emigrants (46%) think such a right should be a lifetime one, compared to 34% who think it should be limited in time.
- The only substantial minority (27%) of those who would disagree with the extension of the franchise consists of those householders who would not extend the franchise to emigrants in the case of General Elections. But even in this case almost 70% are in favour.

Bearing in mind that Ireland is one of the few EU countries which does not extend the franchise to its own emigrants, the case for reform seems unanswerable.

It should be noted that the data relates to the question of the extension of voting rights to emigrants (i.e. first generation migrants, usually born in Ireland) and does not address the situation of other non-resident citizens, a much larger category in the Irish case.

6.5 Emigrants' likelihood of Return

In relation to the question of Return, there are a number of factors that need to be taken into account to fully understand the emigrant situation, the most recent being: To what extent an emigrant would like to return; how likely they see it that they will return; and what changes at home or abroad would influence their prospects of returning. In each of these areas, emigrants are largely divided, with a significant proportion being unsure or undecided. There are clear conflicts between what an emigrant desires and what they see as likely to happen. It is also clear that emigrants' plans relating to return often change over time, with life events and changes at home or abroad exerting power over their decisions in this regard.

The desire to return

A significant proportion of emigrants would like to return to Ireland in the next three years (39.5% either 'a great deal' or 'quite a lot', Figure 44). There are a variety of motivating factors underpinning this, including an overarching desire to be 'home', wishes to be closer to family and a variety of other factors viewed as being better in Ireland than abroad.

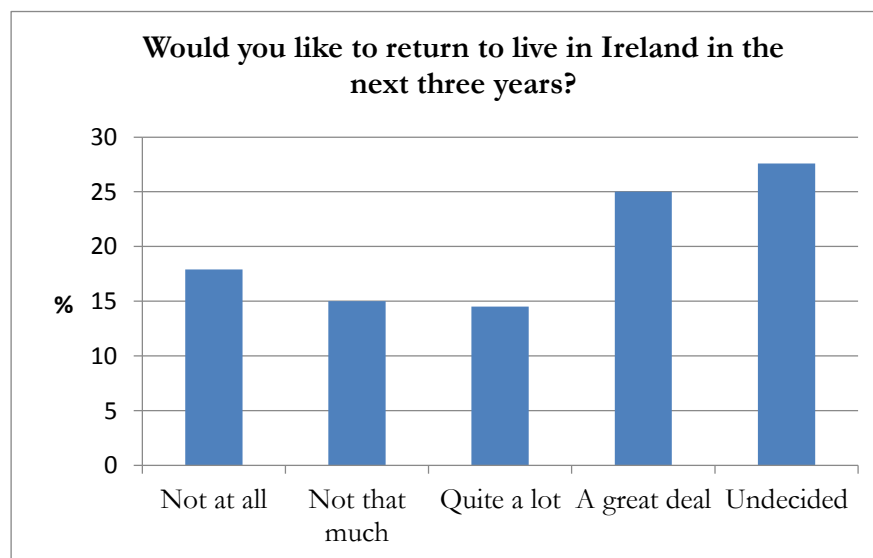


Figure 42. Emigrants' levels of desire to return

One of the most significant life events that stands out as increasing an emigrant's desire to return is having children. The majority (59.4%) would like to raise their children in Ireland 'a great deal' or 'quite a lot', with 23.9% undecided. Emigrants attribute this desire to a number of factors, the most common relate to having their children in close proximity to their family, the Irish education system and the Irish mentality generally.

Given the choice, they would all prefer to have children in Ireland [emigrants]. A sense of community. It's all around us. It's people saying hello. It's people helping you out... and also the education system... Family, schooling, peacefulness that's what would sway my mind. [Female, 30-34, Radio Producer, UK]

The education system in Ireland is absolutely amazing. It's only since I've come here that I've realised the vast difference. If you send your child to a public school in Ireland, they'll get an amazing education. I went to a public school. I think I got a very good

education for almost free. College is almost free. I just think the level of education is so much better. [Female, 30-34, Operations Assistant, Australia]

I can't see us staying here for the long term. Probably 5 years. That's what we have given ourselves. It's mainly because of our family. There's no better place to bring up your kids and the Irish people as a whole are very welcoming and friendly so I would eventually like to return... I think they need their family as well. [Female, 25-29, Administrator, New Zealand]

On the other hand, 16.5% of emigrants would prefer to raise their children abroad. Lifestyle, education and closeness to family are viewed as less relevant in the decision making of those who question their ability to financially support a family in Ireland.

I'm getting to the age where I will want to start having kids and stuff and I would want the best possible upbringing for them and I suppose I would be able to support them better over here. I know they would be missing out on the whole family thing as well....Employment is the problem. Not being able to get a job, or not being able to get a job that would support us to have a family. [Male, 25-29, Plumber, Canada]

Both myself and my wife were in this country I'd say four weeks before we said that we would never move home. We knew straight away that this was the right decision. I need a good job to be able to provide for my family. My family come first so as long as I'm happy doing my work and being able to provide for my family, it's what's best for them. [Male, 20-24, Electrician, Australia]

Another life event that emigrants envisage returning to Ireland for is buying a house, which is perceived as one of the major steps towards 'settling down'. However, question marks regarding the likelihood of being able to obtain a mortgage act as a disincentive to return for a number of those that were interviewed.

Ideally we'd love to get a mortgage. We're saving a lot while we're here but I just don't know how long it's going to take until people get mortgages again at home.... Everyone dreams of owning their own house sometime and I just hope it will still happen for us because I want to own my own house in Ireland. I don't see myself owning a house over here or bringing up my children here. I want to go home. [Female, 25-29, Administration, Australia]

32.9% of emigrants are 'not that much' or 'not at all' likely to return in the next three years. Of those interviewed, memories of being unemployed, or in a job that they were not happy with in Ireland, play a part in how they envisage their life after return. Similarly, memories of the 'doom and gloom' pre-departure can make emigrants less likely to return.

I definitely felt that I couldn't go back to Ireland. I hated being on the dole. I hated every second of it and I couldn't stand going back to that. [Male, 30-34, Teacher, UK]

Definitely not [return] because it's so expensive to live and everybody is depressed over there. Everybody is so down because they haven't got jobs. It's quite sad at the moment. [Female, 20-24, Student, UK]

I don't know how I could move back to Ireland really because there wouldn't be a job there for me so it would kind of be going back to where I was before, where you're working crazy hours and you are not earning money. [Female, 35-39, Manager, USA]

Another group (27.6%) is undecided. This emerged as a common theme in interviews. The decision to stay or go is evidently a decision that is made over a protracted period for many.

Yeah, yeah, I mean who knows? But yeah it can go either way. If it was some kind of job offer on the table, I'd certainly consider it y'know. I suppose if you called me at the end of December, well actually no - it's not snowing that much in December - but at the end of January or February, I'd probably say I'd come back to Ireland. [Male, 45-49, Teacher, Other Europe]

The likelihood of Return

There is an understandable overlap between factors influencing an emigrant's desire to return and their likelihood of return, so many of the previous points are equally relevant when considering how likely it is that an emigrant will move home. There are, however, clear differences between how emigrants view the two. The majority of emigrants (52%) see their return in the next three years as 'not likely at all' or 'unlikely' and 32.9% of those who would like to return do not see it as likely.

That's the thing. Everyone wants to come back but what are you coming back to like? I mean you're facing going on the dole, which no one wants to be honest, or you're talking about getting some job in a call centre. That's pretty much your prospects. [Male, 25-29, IT, Australia]

I'd love to [go home] but I don't see it happening in the next ten years. I don't see it changing or evolving enough to...It's just not there, so to come back and take a big step backward....It would be a big decision...as much as I'd love to, I don't see it happening in the near future. In terms of why I left, it's because there were no jobs. In terms of why I'm staying, it's because of career.



Figure 43. Emigrants' likelihood of return to Ireland

There is a clear disconnect between people's initial plans and the eventual reality. Emigrants' motivations are often fluid in nature and many who initially wanted to come home

do not end up doing so. The emigrant survey revealed a negative correlation between time spent abroad and likelihood of return - 32% of those that left in 2008 see return in the next three years as 'not likely at all'. 18.6% of those that left in 2012 feel the same.

...everyone eventually wants to end up at home you know, no one is like 'I am moving to Australia for the rest of my life, forever'. Everyone always wants to come back. [Female, 25-29, Marketing, Australia]

I just hope the time will come when the decision would be easy to make. The people I talk to here had no idea they were going to stay here for that long. [Female, 20-24, Public Servant, UK]

Only 22.0% of emigrants see it as 'very likely' or 'likely' that they will return in the next three years. In the household survey, 59 emigrants (32.9%) that left in 2006 or later have since returned. For this group, the most common reasons cited for their return were: expired visas, work opportunities in Ireland, family reasons, to have children and to study.

Factors that might change an emigrants' likelihood of return

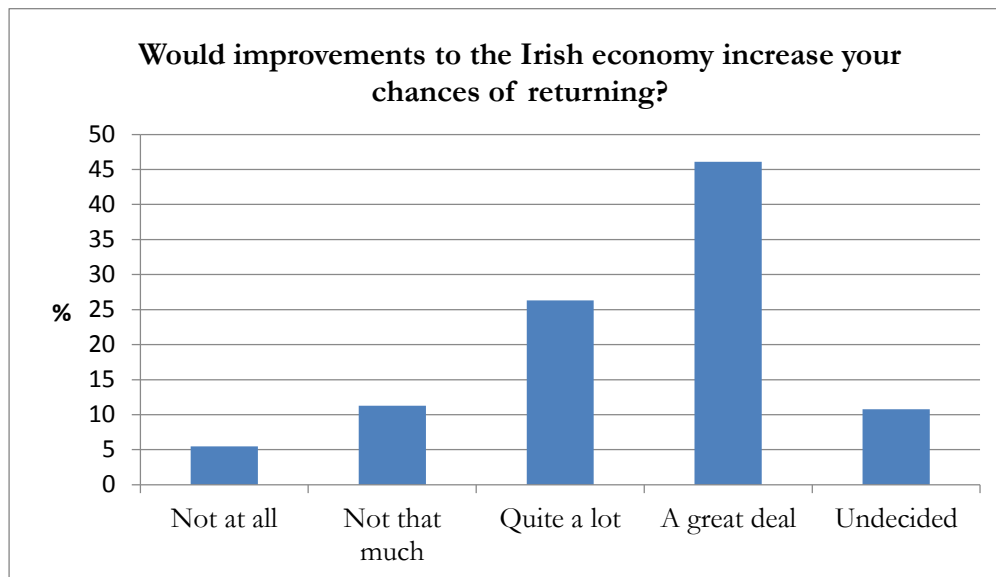


Figure 44. Effect of changes to Ireland's economic situation on emigrants' likelihood of return

Ireland's economic situation and the availability of jobs were the two most common factors that emerged as influencing the chances of an emigrant returning home. It is clear that, for many, the reasons for leaving overlap with their reasons not to return. 60.6% stated that Ireland's economic situation was 'extremely' or 'very influential' in their decision to leave, while 72.4% stated that it would influence their decision to return to the same degree. This surplus is indicative of the changing nature of motivations over time and it is clear that, although the economic situation might not have influenced the decision of some people to leave Ireland, it is a reason for them not to return. For the 51.4% that left for travel and culture related reasons, improvements to the Irish economy would increase their likelihood of returning 'a great deal'. Indicative of the same phenomenon, 21.4% of those that moved outside the EU for culture/travel related reasons now have obtained permanent status to remain there.

Initially when I left, we had a plan. We have a four year visa here and we planned just working and having as much as we could for the four years and going back. But right now, the money we can make here and the opportunities that we have here are great.... On the other side, in four years' time, my son will be 8. He's going to be well settled here. He's going to be in school. We'll be saying 'Is it worth lifting him up out of school and moving back home?' That's the thing that's running through our heads every night. Did we do the right thing, did we do the wrong thing. You don't know, you don't know...we're not fighting, we're not bickering, we're not stressing over money. You know the fridge is full. The bills are paid...time will tell, time will tell. [Male, 25-29, Carpenter, Australia]

People will settle somewhere else but if the opportunities are there they will come back. That's what Ireland has done; it has created a whole load of people who are very educated and very ambitious but there are only a limited number of jobs on the island of Ireland and so they emigrate, they progress up a work chain and then there's nothing equivalent back home..[Female, 30-34, Researcher, UK]

Meeting a partner and having children are life events that can result in an emigrant deviating from their initial intentions.

If I meet an Australian girl and get married, that's going to massively dictate, whereas if I meet an Irish girl or an English girl that would dictate it as well. I don't think I've met anyone over here who woke up one morning and said, 'You know what, I am going to stay in Australia for the rest of my life'...they have just fallen into it. You just take lots of little steps and then ultimately at one point...you are actually 'here I am' [Male, 30-34, IT, Australia]

When their visas run out, or they do not get sponsorship, emigrants often move back home. This is borne out by the statistics which indicate that 38.4% of those on working holiday visas are 'likely' or 'very likely' to return in the next three years.

Things are starting to change here. A lot of friends started moving home. The city or the setup is changing. You find a lot of people approaching the four year mark; approaching whether or not to get permanent residency or whether to become a citizen. That's the kind of time that people either decide to properly stay and properly invest in their future here or start to move home. [Female, 25-29, Management Consultant, Australia]

Throughout the course of the interviews, it became apparent that there are groups of people that return to Ireland only as an intermediate step before moving on to another destination. Although a difficult group to identify statistically, evidence suggests that this is particularly true of those on temporary visas who do not get sponsorship to remain.

A good few have come back from the town. Only because they couldn't renew their visas but they would have stayed over there easily....I think they are going to be gone again. They're not going to stick around for long. There's one girl who came back and she's pregnant so she's going to be sticking around but other than that I don't think they will be sticking around for very long. There's no jobs. They're after trying. I've got friends who were putting in for 15 jobs a week you know. You can't keep that up like.

Nobody is employing. And they're applying for all kinds of jobs. They're not fussy like. [Female, 20-24, Student, UK]

I just said goodbye to two of my friends last week. A couple. They didn't get sponsored. The night they were going away we all called over to say goodbye. It was kind of like a removal. It was really, really sad because we don't know what they're going back to and they don't either. They are going home but they have London in their minds because they have to have a backup plan if Ireland or Cork doesn't work out for them. [Female, 25-29, Administration, Australia]

The dreaded illness or death of a family member also stood out as something that would significantly influence an emigrants' decision to return.

If anything happened with my family or his family that was serious - I think we'd definitely go home straight away if anything happened to either of our families. There'd be no question there that we'd go home but other than that I don't really think so, unless I got a job in Ireland then I'd go home. [Female, 25-29, Theatre Artist, UK]

Chapter 7. Current Irish Emigration Compared

7.1 North and South Contrasted

Recent emigration from Northern Ireland

Historically, emigration, if measured in terms of the rate of emigrants per thousand, has been higher in most periods in the Republic than in Northern Ireland, the exception being the 1970s. During the key earlier reference periods discussed in this report, the 1950s and the 1980s, it was 6.7 per thousand in the North compared to 13.8 in the South in the 1950s and 4.5 per thousand in the North compared to 14.0 in the South in the 1980s¹.

There were other significant factors at play as well. Roman Catholic emigration was disproportionately higher from Northern Ireland in the 1950s, at more than twice the rate of the various Protestant communities – and it had been even higher in the preceding fifteen years². Such data reflect in part the sectarian and discriminatory nature of the Northern state at that time and the relatively poorer employment opportunities open to Roman Catholics. It should be recognized that the record of the Irish Free State was also a patchy one, with the departure of large numbers of Protestants in the early years³ as well as those who found themselves on the losing side after a bloody civil war⁴.

The 1970s and the advent of the Troubles saw a period of historically high emigration from the North (7.2 per thousand from 1971-1981), even as the Republic experienced net immigration for the first time since independence (although, as noted elsewhere, the vast majority of immigrants were in fact returning Irish emigrants, mainly from the UK, and their families). A relatively larger percentage of emigration from Northern Ireland in that period was Protestant than in previous phases; some of this outward movement consisted of young people who decided to pursue their third level education in the UK⁵.

The most recent available data (up to June 2012) indicates that in the previous year 24,600 persons left Northern Ireland, whereas 23,300 persons arrived, a net loss of just 1,300.⁶ In the Republic of Ireland, for the nearest comparable period (to March 2013) 89,000 persons left and 55,900 persons arrived in the State, a net loss of 33,100⁷. These differences are dramatic, and equate to a figure of fewer than 1 person per thousand net out-migration for Northern Ireland, compared to 7.5 per thousand for the equivalent period in the Republic. If the *gross* figure for out-migration is considered, this amounts to just over 13 per thousand for Northern Ireland,

¹ Bronwen Walter et al, *Irish Emigrants and Irish Communities Abroad: A study of existing sources of information and analysis for the Task Force on Policy regarding Emigrants* Dublin, 2002), 15.

² Task Force, p. 15

³ Andy Bielenberg and Ray Ryan, *An Economic History of Ireland since Independence* (London 2012), p. 170

⁴ Gavan Foster, “No ‘Wild Geese’ this time”? Irish Emigration after the Irish Civil War’. *Éire-Ireland*, Vol XLVII: 1-2, (2012) 94-122.

⁵ Johanne Devlin Trew ‘Negotiating Identity and Belonging: Migration Narratives of Protestants from Northern Ireland’, *Immigrants and Minorities* 25:1 (2007), 22-48.

⁶ NISRA (Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency), *Population and Migration Estimates Northern Ireland (2012) – Statistical Report* (accessed at http://www.nisra.gov.uk/archive/demography/population/midyear/MYE_2012_Report.pdf on 20 August 2013).

⁷ CSO (Central Statistics Office), *Population and Migration Estimates April 2013* (accessed at <http://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/er/pme/populationandmigrationestimatesapril2013/#.UkNiA40jKSo> on 15 September 2013).

compared to a figure of over 19 per thousand in the case of the Republic. Unfortunately no NI data for emigration by nationality is available, making it impossible to determine what percentage of those leaving are from other EU Member States or elsewhere compared to the percentage born in Northern Ireland. Nonetheless, the current picture, whereby emigration is occurring on a greater scale in the South than in the North, and is also an issue of greater prominence in terms of public, political and media discourse, is worth teasing out a little further. This is the case, even though (or perhaps, especially because) there are relatively few direct comparative studies of migration and labour market issues in the two parts of Ireland.

A number of reasons may be advanced to explain the very different emigration patterns, experiences and discourses of north and south. Historically the North-East was the only relatively industrialised part of the island of Ireland and the factories and shipyards of Belfast, as well as the textile mills of Derry and other places, offered some alternative to rural employment and/or emigration. By contrast, a largely agricultural Republic had fewer options, at least until the period of modernization and encouragement of foreign direct investment in the 1960s following the publication of T.K. Whitaker's *Economic Development* in 1958⁸. This did not mean that the experiences of rural emigration from North and South, for instance, were entirely dissimilar. Thus, early 20th century seasonal migration to Scotland from Mayo, Donegal and the part of Northern Ireland west of the Bann probably had broadly similar underlying structural factors. But in general the two post-Partition Irelands evolved differently.

It can hardly be denied that the under-developed and largely agricultural nature of the southern economy until the 1950s, as well as a severely under-developed educational, social, health and transport infrastructure, go a long way to explaining the disparity between the two jurisdictions. This does not, however, explain the divergent patterns of emigration from the two parts of the island between the 1960s and the present day. Nor does it explain the centrality of emigration in the discourses, myths and narratives of southern life compared to the relative silence accorded to the topic in Northern Ireland.

There are some obvious reasons for this difference. Nowadays Northern Ireland still has a much larger public sector (31% in 2010)⁹, compared to approximately 17% in the case of the Republic¹⁰. Public sector employment, subsidized by the British taxpayer, at least offered a measure of stability and predictability, although it cannot be denied that a portion of such employment arose directly from ongoing civil conflict. While the fall in construction in Northern Ireland since the economic crisis was dramatic, from 45,800 to 32,200, or a fall of 46% between Q1 2008 and Q1 2012, it pales by comparison with the losses in employment in construction in the Republic in the same period, from 261,900 in Q4 2007 to 103,100 in Q1 2012, or a loss of three in every five posts¹¹.

That said, it should not be forgotten that even though the Republic experienced more dramatic highs and lows in employment and emigration than those experienced in Northern Ireland, underlying job growth in the Republic has nonetheless far outstripped that in Northern

⁸ Ken Whitaker, *Economic Development* (Dublin, 1958).

⁹ ONS (Office for National Statistics), *Subregional analysis of public and private sector employment* (Newport, 2011), 16.

¹⁰ OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development), *Government at a Glance 2011* (Paris, 2011), 103.

¹¹ NERI (Nevin Economic Research Institute (2012) *Quarterly Economic Facts*, 14.

Ireland in the past three decades. The total number of persons employed in Northern Ireland increased from 560,000 in 1986 to almost 800,000 in 2013 (an increase of 42%), but the number of those at work in the Republic in the same period increased from 1,091m to 1,869.9 in 2013, an increase of 71%.¹² However, it would also be fair to say that the growth of employment in the Republic took place against a backdrop of questionably high rates in economic growth and ultimately of an unstable and unsustainable dependence on cheap credit (notably following Ireland's adherence to the Eurozone), a property bubble and unwise policy decisions which led directly to a very hard landing in 2008 and a consequent dramatic rise in unemployment and emigration. Events in Northern Ireland were far less dramatic and the consequences in terms of unemployment and emigration were not as serious or as disruptive.

There remains the question of the political weight attached to emigration in the two jurisdictions. For one thing, emigration in the Irish Free State, later the Republic, came to be seen as one of the key yardsticks by which the viability and even the very survival of the State might be judged. The 1950s were a particularly difficult period because it was no longer possible, as it had been in the period before independence, to blame external factors such as British rule or the malign influence of absentee landlords. The fact that some elements in Irish society saw emigration through the lens of a ruralist anti-modernism and even blamed emigrants themselves¹³ for their own forced departure merely underlines the central and emotive nature of the issue for southern society. The disproportionate number of female emigrants was also an unusual factor. The decision to constitute the *Commission for Emigration and Other Population Problems* was, in itself, an indication of the importance attached to the issue. Even though the results and recommendations were arguably flawed and incomplete, the six-year enquiry led to the collation of an extraordinary body of data and set the stage for major changes in the State's economic and investment policies. There was no equivalent process of public enquiry in the case of Northern Ireland and it has even been suggested that the high rate of emigration by Roman Catholics was not to the displeasure of the administration of the day¹⁴.

More recently, in the 1980s, the return of high rates of emigration in the Republic, although it was due to perfectly explicable economic and demographic factors, nevertheless came as a real shock to a country which thought that EEC membership was a get-out-of-jail card for a state which previously saw itself as peripheral and poor. The sense of shock and disillusionment occasioned by the crisis of the 1980s was caused in part by disbelief: this ought not to have happened again. One reaction was the commissioning of another major report *The Economic and Social Implications of Emigration*, published in 1991. It also marked the beginning of a more proactive engagement with emigrants themselves, including the realization that they might constitute a significant resource, a factor identified during the years of the Robinson Presidency and her outreach to the Irish Diaspora from the early to mid-1990s. It can hardly be denied that the emergence of a more heterogeneous, better educated and vocal diaspora meant their voices could no longer as readily be quelled, even if the continuing refusal to grant emigrants voting rights showed the nervousness of successive administrations.

Ten years later, the publication of *Ireland and the Irish Abroad: Report of the Task Force Regarding Emigrants*, presented in 2002 to the then Minister for Foreign Affairs, Brian Cowan T.D., was an

¹² NERI (Nevin Economic Research Institute (2012) *Quarterly Economic Facts*.

¹³ De Valera's 1951 speech has been dealt with in section 6.3.

¹⁴ Johanne Devlin Trew, *Op Cit.*, 27-28.

ongoing indication of the salience of the issue for southern policymakers. There are no equivalent indications of official concern in the case of Northern Ireland. Academic research in the field is equally limited.

In this historical context it is possible to see the representation of southern emigration as an ongoing series of inter-related and almost inevitable unfolding tragedies, connecting present and past back to the days before the foundation of the State, all the way back to the Famine and earlier. This seamless narrative of emigration as tragic, historically ordained, central and continuing, is itself connected to nationalist narratives of victimhood as well as to broader debates about the construction of the new State. As discussed elsewhere, the emigration narrative is one which continues to exercise a powerful but sometimes distorting impact on public discussion of emigration today.

By contrast, the representation of emigration in Northern Ireland has little of the same resonance. For one thing, Unionist narratives of migration are necessarily different. Migration between Northern Ireland and Great Britain, which was for decades the dominant destination for emigrants from the North as much as those from the South, was constructed, not so much as emigration (with all of the baggage which the term entails) as internal migration within the broader polity of the UK. Moreover, Nationalist northerners were often invisible in an Irish 'national narrative' which became to all intents and purposes a southern narrative, while Unionists, as suggested above, would have been reluctant to address the type of discrimination within Northern Ireland which led to higher rates of nationalist departures in the first place. Local geographies also played a role, as regions of Northern Ireland west of the Bann remained less developed and received less support than core Unionist-dominated areas further east. Thus, while emigration from rural Tyrone or Armagh, as already suggested, may have been as grievous in its local impact as the equivalent movements away from rural Donegal or Mayo, it was not situated within a comparable national narrative of deprivation, disruption and dislocation. It would be dishonest not to concede that the existence of a 'partition mentality' south of the border, as much as north of it, tended to erase such shared realities.

As suggested above, the southern narrative of emigration also came to incorporate a long, historically-determined tradition through which 'emigration' was inevitably fashioned as 'exile'¹⁵ and was readily connected, rightly or wrongly, with the notion of constraint rather than choice, of forced departure, American wakes and a limited likelihood of return. It was also a powerfully confessionalised narrative, in which 'Irish' and 'Catholic' were seen as identical and the role of the Protestant tradition, both older and more recent, was largely neglected or erased.

In sum, the 'one size fits all' narrative of southern emigration, in itself an inaccurate account in the first place, does not really find an echo in Northern Ireland. In fact, it glosses over the complexity and multiplicity of emigrant voices and choices on both sides of the Border.

The present research project does not seek fully to address these issues, for the simple reason that the core methodology is based on the CSO's new small areas and the funding was based on one jurisdiction. However, we are conscious of the comparisons that may be drawn between the two parts of Ireland and have also sought to explore these issues through interviews with emigrants from both jurisdictions.

¹⁵ Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford, 1985).

7.2 Just one of the P.I.I.G.S. or a European outlier?

The Irish migration experience has been studied mostly in the singular rather than the plural. Although several historians have contrasted Irish emigrants' experiences in different locations, few have compared Ireland's experience of emigration with other countries.¹⁶ The limited numbers of modern historical works that do exist tend to focus on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁷ Comparing Ireland's recent emigration to other Western European countries that have experienced similar economic difficulties since the onset of the economic crisis can help to highlight whether Ireland's case is unique or typical. Or, to put it in cruder terms, it can demonstrate whether Ireland is one of the P.I.I.G.S (Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece, and Spain), which had all experienced significant post-war emigration, or a European outlier.

Setting the Context: Post-War European Emigration

Following the end of the Second World War, Western Europe badly needed to rebuild since 40 % of German housing, 30 % of British housing and 20 % of French housing had been destroyed during the war.¹⁸ As a result, Western Europe required labour, especially when many core European countries' economies began to take off once again in the 1950s. Millions of people, predominantly from rural backgrounds, migrated from Italy, Greece, Spain and Portugal to the Benelux countries, Switzerland, France and Germany as part of bilateral agreements made between these different sender and receiver states. Irish post-war emigrants went predominantly to the UK. Irish and Italian emigration peaked in the 1950s; Spanish, Greek and Portuguese emigration peaked in the 1960s and early 1970s. Between 1945 and 1960, over half a million Irish people (net) and over four million Italians (gross) emigrated.¹⁹ Between 1955 and 1973, approximately one million moved away from Greece.²⁰ More than 2 million Spanish left during

¹⁶ See, for example, D.H. Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer* (Belfast, 1993) and Malcolm Campbell, *Ireland's New Worlds: Immigrants, Politics and Society in the United States and Australia, 1815-1922*, (Madison Wisc., 2008).

¹⁷ Timothy Hatton and Jeffrey Williamson, *The Age of Mass Migration: Causes and Economic Impact*, (New York, 1998); Hasia Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Mass Migration*, (Cambridge, MA, 2002); Irial Glynn, 'Emigration in the Atlantic: Irish, Italians and Swedes compared (1800-1950)', *European History Online/Europäische Geschichte Online* (2011); D.H. Akenson, *Ireland, Sweden and the Great European Migration, 1815-1914* (Liverpool, 2011); John Belchem, 'Patterns of Mobility: Irish and Polish Migration in Comparative Historical Perspective', in Sabine Egger and John McDonagh (eds), *Polish-Irish Encounters in the Old and New Europe* (Oxford, 2011). One notable exception is Enda Delaney's 'Placing Post-war Irish Migration to Britain in a Comparative European Perspective, 1945-1981', Andy Bielenberg (ed.), *The Irish Diaspora* (Harlow, 2000), 331-356.

¹⁸ Tony Judt, *Postwar. A History of Europe since 1945* (London, 2005), 82.

¹⁹ The Irish numbers come from Bronwen Walters (et al.), 'A study of the existing sources of information and analysis', (Dublin, 2002), 6 and the Italian figures are derived from Gianfausto Rossoli, *Un Secolo di Emigrazione Italiana* (Rome, 1978), 345-383.

²⁰ Charalambos Kasimis and Chryssa Kassimi, 'Greece: A History of Migration', Migration Information (2004). Available online at <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=228> (last accessed on 21 Sept 2013).

the 1960s and 1970s, and 1.2 million Portuguese departed between 1965 and 1974.²¹ Comparing the scale of emigration per capita for each country reveals that Ireland (in the 1950s) and Portugal (in the late 1960s and early 1970s) were hardest hit by people moving abroad. Emigration was almost three times as large per capita in Ireland and Portugal as it was in Italy, Greece and Spain.²²

In the immediate post-war decades, Ireland did not represent a wholly unique European case – although its roughly equal gender divide did make it stand out from its counterparts. Many other Western European states with large rural populations and struggling economies provided labour to those industrial countries in Western Europe that experienced extensive post-war economic growth. When emigration reached extremely high levels again from Ireland in the late 1980s, however, the country did represent an exceptional case. By then, recently democratic Portugal, Spain and Greece had joined the European project and had embraced various industries, most notably tourism. Internal migration had largely replaced out-migration from Italy. In the 1980s, Ireland stood out from its EU peers. Is the same true for today?

Current Irish Emigration Compared

The model of lightly regulated financial capitalism that emerged over the past three decades resulted in the onset of the worst international economic downturn in 2008 since the 1930s. The global financial crisis, variously referred to by leading economists as the ‘Great Recession’ and the ‘Lesser Depression’, has had an enormous impact on peripheral Western European countries in the Eurozone, such as Greece, Ireland and Portugal.²³ Greece entered into its first bailout with the IMF and the Eurozone countries in May 2010. A second bailout with the ‘Troika’ of the IMF, ECB and the EU commission followed less than two years later. Ireland and Portugal required their own bailouts from the Troika in November 2010 and May 2011 respectively.

²¹ Francisco Javier Moreno-Fuentes, ‘Spain’, in Matthew Gibney and Randall Hansen (eds.), *Immigration and Asylum since 1900 to the present*, Vol. II (Santa Barbara, 2005), 580-586 and Maria Ioannis Baganha, ‘Portuguese Emigration After World War II’, in António Costa Pinto (ed.), *Contemporary Portugal, Politics, Society and Culture*, New York: Boulder (2003), 139-158, 148.

²² Almost 15 people left for every 1,000 of the population emigrated from Ireland annually during the 1950s. Levels also approached 15 per 1,000 in Portugal in the late 1960s. The peak of Italian post-war emigration, by contrast, only saw the departure of between 5 to 6.5 people per thousand. Greek emigration in certain years in the 1960s reached similar levels to Italy, as did Spanish emigration, which reached a peak of 7.2 per 1,000 in 1964. Figures are derived from Bronwen Walters et al., *A study of the existing sources of information and analysis and analysis about Irish emigrants and Irish communities abroad* (Dublin, 2002), 12; Guido Tintori, ‘Italy: The continuing history of emigrant relations’, in Michael Collyer, *Emigration Nations. Policies and Ideologies of Emigrant Engagement*, Basingstoke, 2013), 126-152, 129; Maria Ioannis Baganha, ‘Portuguese Emigration After World War II’, 147; Mario Izquierdo, Juan F. Jimeno, and Aitor Lacuesta, ‘Spain: From (massive) immigration to (vast) emigration?’, paper prepared for IZA/Center of Human Capital Workshop on Migration and Human Capital, IZA, Bonn, May 23-24, 2013, p. 14 – produced with the kind permission of Mario Izquierdo (Bank of Spain); and NESF, *The Economic and Social Implications of Emigration*, 63.

²³ Joseph Stiglitz, *Freefall. Free Markets and the Sinking of the Global Economy* (London, 2010), xi; Paul Krugman, ‘The Lesser Depression’, *New York Times*, 21 July 2011.

Following the rise of Spanish and Italian bond yields to unsustainable levels in the summer of 2012, the ECB established its long-term refinancing operation (LTRO) and pledged to purchase an unlimited sovereign debt to ensure the survival of the Euro. All five countries have experienced a notable rise in unemployment since the start of the crisis.

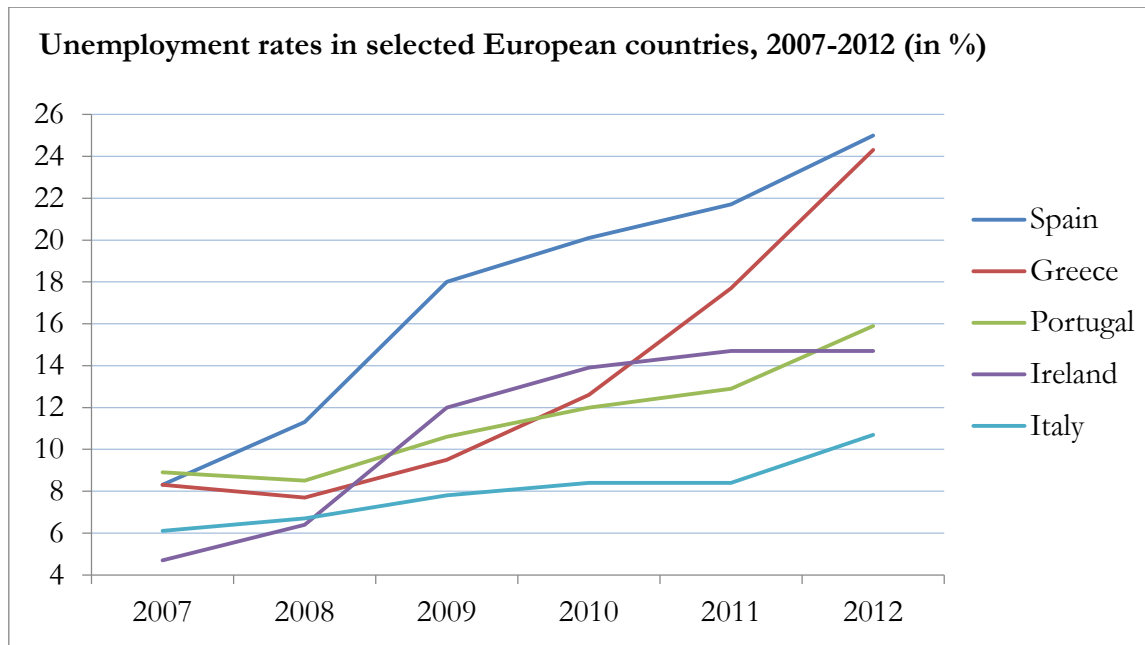


Figure 45. Unemployment rates in selected European Countries (Source: Eurostat)

Spanish, Greek and Irish unemployment trebled between 2007 and 2012, whilst Portuguese and Italian rates almost doubled. Rocketing youth unemployment became an enormous problem, particularly in Spain and Greece, where 55.2% and 57.9% of 15-24 year olds in the labour force were without work in 2012.²⁴ In response, emigration re-emerged as an issue in these countries. However, the scale, makeup and destinations involved differed considerably between countries.

Unfortunately, the statistics available for national emigration rates differ for each country. The Bank of Spain has produced annual estimates for emigration of Spanish nationals based on the amount of Spaniards registering at foreign embassies.²⁵ The Italian statistics office, ISTAT, collects similar data. These statistics have to be treated with care, however, because not all Spaniards and Italians register with their embassies, which helps to explain the disparity that arises sometimes when comparing different destination data with embassy registers. It is important to note that the Spanish and Italian estimates also contain sizeable proportions of people who were actually born outside Spain and Italy but either gained citizenship after

²⁴ Eurostat, 'Unemployment statistics', July 2013. Available at http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Unemployment_statistics (last accessed on 23 Sept 2013).

²⁵ Mario Izquierdo, Juan F. Jimeno, and Aitor Lacuesta, 'Spain: From (massive) immigration to (vast) emigration?', 14.

immigrating to these countries in recent years or, more usually, qualified for citizenship through their parents or grandparents. Whilst the Irish statistics office provides detailed annual estimates for emigration, researchers have to rely on immigration statistics in destination countries to build up a picture for certain countries, such as Greece. Nonetheless, an approximate picture can still be presented.

Germany represented one of the most popular destination for southern European emigrants in the post-war decades and the same appears to be true for current trends due to continued German economic growth. Remarkably, annual Greek emigration to Germany has increased from under 9,000 in 2009 to over 34,000 in 2012.²⁶ Dramatic increases in Italian, Spanish and Portuguese migrants to Germany have also occurred. In 2012, for instance, Germany received between approximately 40% and 45% more Portuguese, Greek and Spanish emigrants than the previous year.²⁷

Emigration to Germany in 2012 by selected nationalities ²⁸				
	Greece	Italy	Spain	Portugal
Number of immigrants in 2012	34,109	42,167	29,910	11,762
Increase on 2011	43%	39.8%	44.7%	43%

Table 3. Emigration to Germany in 2012 by selected nationalities

Analogous patterns emerge from the British data. In 2012/13, over 45,000 Spaniards, almost 33,000 Italians and nearly 25,000 Portuguese applied for British National Insurance numbers. For the Spanish figures, this represented a more than three-fold rise since 2009/10. The number of new Italian and Portuguese arrivals seeking work in the UK also more than doubled during the same period.²⁹ On a much smaller scale but following a similar trend, slightly over 2,300 Greeks applied for National Insurance Numbers in the UK in 2009/2010 but almost 8,700 did

²⁶ Marcus Engler and Vera Hanewinkel, 'The Current Development of Immigration to Germany', Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 22 March 2013. Available at <http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/dossier-migration/157131/germany?p=all> (last accessed on 24 Sept 2013). 'Germany sees sharp rise in Greek immigration', ENet English, 7 May 2013. Available at <http://www.enetenglish.gr/?i=news.en.article&id=840> (last accessed on 24 Sept 2013).

²⁷ See Statistisches Bundesamt, 'Weiter hohe Zuwanderung nach Deutschland im Jahr 2012', Press release 7 May 2013. Available at https://www.destatis.de/DE/PresseService/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2013/05/PD13_156_12711pdf.pdf?__blob=publicationFile (last accessed on 24 Sept 2013) and Juna Gómez and Rodrigo Silva, 'Emigrantes españoles a Alemania', El País, 7 May 2013. Available at http://economia.elpais.com/economia/2013/05/07/actualidad/1367920585_302120.html (last accessed on 24 Sept. 2013).

²⁸ Juna Gómez and Rodrigo Silva, 'Emigrantes españoles a Alemania', El País, 7 May 2013. Available at http://economia.elpais.com/economia/2013/05/07/actualidad/1367920585_302120.html (last accessed on 24 Sept. 2013).

²⁹ Statistics are derived from the UK's Department for Work and Pensions' Stat-Xplore tables.

so in 2012/2013.³⁰ Irish figures, by contrast, only rose by 150% in the same period. However, many Irish emigrants may already have held national insurance numbers from previous time spent in the UK.

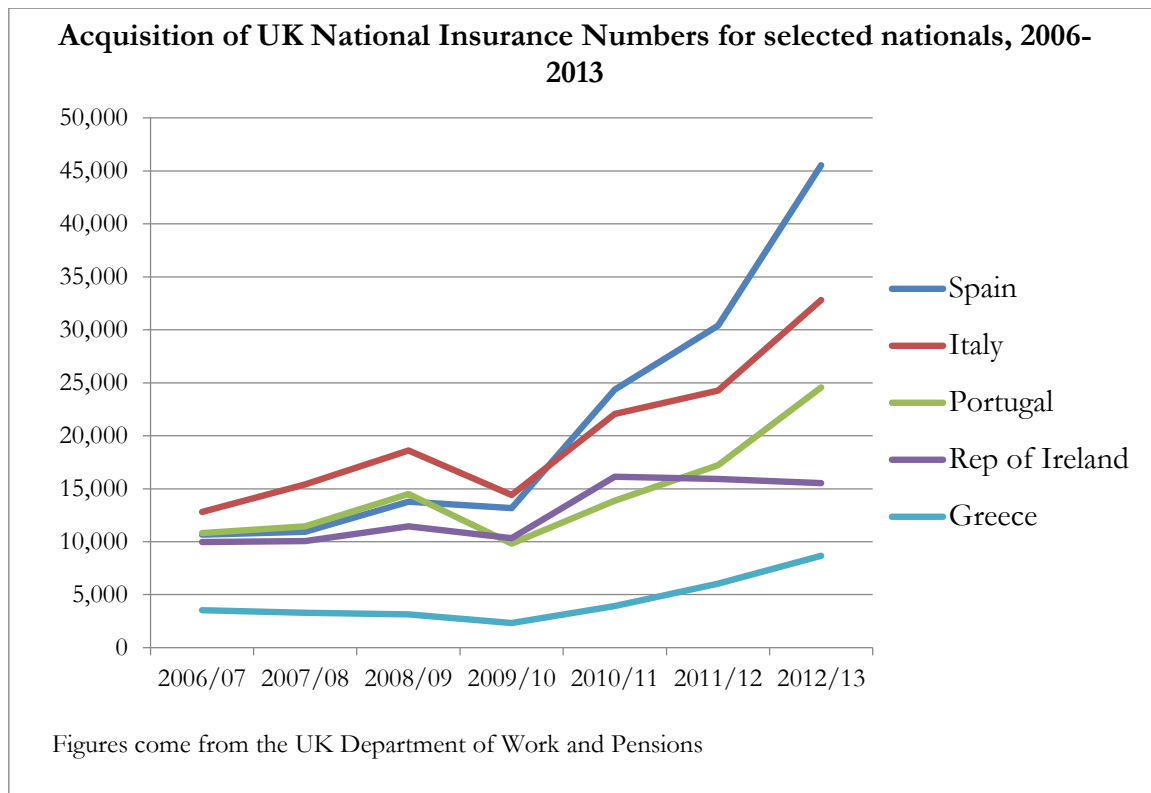


Figure 46. Acquisition of UK National Insurance Numbers for selected nationals, 2006-2013

In the post-war decades, Australia represented a popular destination for Greek emigrants but today no working holiday visa scheme exists, as yet, between the two countries.³¹ Italy, which has a similar history of post-war emigration to Australia as Greece, does have a working holiday visa arrangement with Australia. The number of Italians attaining working holiday visas has increased from just over 4,636 in 2008-09 to 15,973 in 2012/13.³² Nevertheless, only slightly over 1,600 Italians currently resident in Australia have skilled working visas (457s).³³ Emigration to the United States – another destination of choice in the past for each country – has become more complicated since September 2001 and America has suffered its own economic problems

³⁰ Statistics are derived from the UK's Department for Work and Pensions' Stat-Xplore tables.

³¹ Michael Sweet, 'More Greeks calling Australia home', 20 May 2013. Available at <http://neoskopos.com/news/en/more-greeks-calling-australia-home> (last accessed on 24 Sept 2013).

³² Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 'Working Holiday Visa Report', June 2013, 18. Available at <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/statistics/pdf/working-holiday-report-jun13.pdf> (last accessed on 24 Sept. 2013).

³³ Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 'Subclass 457 State/Territory summary report, 2012-13 to May 2013', 17. Available at <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/statistics/pdf/457-state-territory-summary-report-may13.pdf> (last accessed on 24 Sept. 2013).

since 2008. Emigration has taken place from Spain and Portugal to South and Central America but numbers remain relatively low compared to the amount of Spaniards or Portuguese moving to European destinations and, in the Portuguese case, to certain African countries.

In the aftermath of Portugal's bailout with the Troika in 2011, the Angolan president and the Portuguese Consul General based in Mozambique highlighted the opportunities that existed for Portuguese emigrants in both countries.³⁴ Having experienced annual growth of around 7-8%, largely due to their vast wealth of natural resources, significant government reform and the prospect of peace, stability and prosperity, Portugal's former African colonies had much to offer emigrants.³⁵ There is a demand in both countries for skilled professionals within the urban development and architecture sector, the mining and natural resource extraction industries and the growing medical industries.³⁶ Most importantly, Portuguese is spoken in both countries as a result of a colonial history that has resulted in numerous cultural similarities. Annual Portuguese emigration to Angola measures approximately 25,000-30,000 and some commentators have estimated that 20,000 have moved to Mozambique in the last two years.³⁷

In response to austerity measures, Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece and Spain have all experienced increased emigration in recent years. The scale of this outflow per capita differs markedly between countries, however. Italy's annual figures, although seemingly large in gross terms, are actually quite low when compared to the size of the Italian population. If Italy experiences outward emigration of 78,941 of its citizens,³⁸ as estimated for 2012, this amounts to 1.3 emigrants for every 1,000 of the Italian population. If the provisional estimate provided by the Bank of Spain for the total number of Spanish nationals emigrating in 2012 (73,215) is taken, then Spanish emigration would measure 1.6 per thousand of the Spanish population. No annual official estimates are available for the gross amount of Greek annual emigration but judging from annual entrants to Germany and the UK, and considering the size of Greece's population, Greek

³⁴ Akari O. Izumi Kvamme, 'Seeking greener pastures: Portuguese emigration to former African colonies', Consultancy Africa Intelligence Discussion Paper, 28 Aug. 2013. Available at http://www.consultancyafrica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1338:seeking-greener-pastures-portuguese-emigration-to-former-african-colonies&catid=57:africa-watch-discussion-papers&Itemid=263 (last accessed on 24 Sept. 2013).

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ BBC, 'Portuguese flee economic crisis', 25 Jan. 2013. Available online at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-21206165> (last accessed on 24 Sept. 2013); Alexis Akwagyiram, 'Portugal's unemployed heading to Mozambique 'paradise'', 5 April 2013. Available online at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-22025864> (last accessed on 24 Sept. 2013).

³⁸ Elena Dusi, 'La grande fuga dei giovani dall'Italia. 80mila dicono addio, soprattutto al Nord', *La Repubblica*, 7 April 2013. Available online at <http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2013/04/07/la-grande-fuga-dei-giovani-dallitalia-80mila.html> (last accessed on 24 Sept 2013).

emigration appears to be significantly higher than Italian or Spanish emigration. Portuguese emigration for 2012 measured between 80,000 and 100,000. This means a per capita emigration rate of between 7.6 and 9.5 per 1,000 inhabitants.³⁹ Again, this is considerably higher than Italian and Spanish emigration, as well as the Greek estimates. Nevertheless, Irish emigration measures significantly more per capita than any of its European counterparts. When the gross figure for the emigration of Irish nationals for 2012 (50,900) is used to calculate per capita emigration, it results in a figure of 11.1 per thousand inhabitants. As occurred in the post-war decades of emigration, Ireland and Portugal stand out as the countries most affected by emigration despite not necessarily experiencing the same level of unemployment as Spain or Greece.

Explaining similarities and differences

Michele Lamont and Peter Hall recently edited a book on ‘social resilience’. They termed social resilience the ‘capacity of groups of people bound together in an organisation, class, racial group, community, or nation to sustain and advance their well-being in the face of challenges to it.’⁴⁰ Certain Europeans from countries most affected by the economic crisis were able to sustain their pre-crisis well-being by emigrating to countries less affected by the crisis. However, in an age of neoliberalism, these people had to have certain transnational skills that would endear them to the receiving states. If you were a young southern European moving to a certain northern European country or a non-EU country undergoing growth, this might mean being able to speak the native language to a high level and have a skill that was in demand in the receiver country. Significantly, the person in question had to be able to attain – or with the money they earned, enable their family at home to attain – a similar standard of living to what they had experienced pre-crisis. Otherwise, it was not worth their while to move.

To explain the diverging levels of skilled intra-EU migration from peripheral states, one needs to analyse the ‘transnational skills’ of young citizens in the countries in question. A large number of Portuguese emigrants are moving to countries that speak Portuguese. Similarly, the vast majority of Irish emigrants are departing for English-speaking countries. Language competency remains an essential tool for emigrants. But emigration is also contingent on the economic needs of receiver states. Angola, Mozambique and, to a lesser extent, Brazil, are experiencing sustained economic growth, as is true for Australia and Canada, two target countries for Irish emigrants. South America, by contrast, is not experiencing the same kind of expansion, meaning that Spaniards are not emigrating across in comparable numbers to these non-EU destinations. Further research will be required to examine whether emigration traditions

³⁹ Estimates courtesy of Joana Azevedo, Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia, Lisbon (23 Sept. 2013).

⁴⁰ Peter A. Hall and Michèle Lamont (eds.), *Social Resilience in the Neoliberal Era* (Cambridge, 2013), 2.

can explain current patterns but it appears more than coincidental that Ireland and Portugal felt the impact of emigration more than the other countries under discussion in the decades after the end of the Second World War and perhaps the fact that Ireland also experienced extensive emigration once more in the 1980s meant that tradition played an even more important role.

For Irish people to attain employer sponsorship in Australia or Canada, they must have certain skills that these receiver states desire. Similarly, to emigrate to Angola, most Portuguese emigrants require certain desirable skills. Fortunately, Irish and Portuguese emigrants also have important historical links with the host countries in question, which makes it easier to attain visas. To explain the lack of sizeable emigration amongst non-skilled citizens from the countries under discussion, it is necessary to compare the wage levels between pre-crisis employment in these countries and post-crisis employment in foreign states. By moving to Germany, France, Scandinavia, or the UK, unskilled citizens from southern Europe or Ireland would not be able to attain the same standard of living as before because wages for unskilled people are not as high in these countries as they might have earned in the pre-crisis period at home when the cost of living is taken into account. Also, they might encounter stiff opposition from locals and, more likely, other migrants from non-EU and Eastern European EU migrants. For unskilled (and skilled) non-EU and Eastern European EU migrants, the wages they can earn in Western Europe are still much greater than what they can earn at home. Therefore, it makes sense for these people to emigrate. This might help to explain why unskilled Lithuanians and Romanians, for example, are still emigrating in large numbers within the EU but unskilled Italians, Greeks, Spanish and Irish, are not.

Appendices

A1. Household Survey



To fill out this survey online,
please see the attached letter
for details.



Please try to return this
questionnaire within 7 days

START HERE



1.a What, in your opinion, is the main reason people are leaving Ireland today?

Please tick one box only

- ☐ To gain job experience
☐ To find a job
☐ To travel
☐ To experience another culture
☐ Don't know
☐ Other

1.b In your opinion, are most people moving abroad because:

Please tick one box only

- ☐ They want to
☐ They have to
☐ Don't know/No opinion

2. How many people from the following categories are you aware of that have left Ireland since 2006:

Please write a rough estimate of NUMBER

- Your immediate family (e.g. parent, child, grandchild, sibling)?
- Your extended family (e.g. first cousin, aunt, uncle, etc.)?
- Your circle of friends?

3. What effect do you think people moving abroad is having on Ireland today?

Please tick one box only

- ☐ Very positive effect
☐ Positive effect
☐ Neither negative nor positive effect
☐ Negative effect
☐ Very negative effect
☐ Don't know

4.a What effect do you think people moving abroad is having on your local community today?

Please tick one box only

- ☐ Very positive effect
☐ Positive effect
☐ Neither negative nor positive effect
☐ Negative effect
☐ Very negative effect
☐ Don't know

4.b If people moving abroad is having an effect on your local community, could you provide more details?

5. To what extent do you agree or disagree: Irish nationals abroad should retain their right to vote in Irish PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

Please tick one box only

- ☐ Agree, they should be able to vote for the rest of their lives
☐ Agree, but for a limited period (e.g. 5-10 years) after leaving Ireland
☐ Disagree
☐ Don't know

6. To what extent do you agree or disagree: Irish nationals abroad should retain their right to vote in Irish GENERAL ELECTIONS.

Please tick one box only

- ☐ Agree, they should have the right to vote for the rest of their lives
☐ Agree, but for a limited period (e.g. 5-10 years) after leaving Ireland
☐ Disagree
☐ Don't know

7. To what extent do you agree or disagree: The Irish state provides adequate support for Irish emigrants overseas.

Please tick one box only

- ☐ Strongly agree
☐ Agree
☐ Disagree
☐ Strongly disagree
☐ Don't know

8. To what extent do you agree or disagree: The Irish government is doing its best to tackle the causes of emigration.

Please tick one box only

- ☐ Strongly agree
☐ Agree
☐ Disagree
☐ Strongly disagree
☐ Don't know

9. What is your nationality?

- ☐ Irish
☐ Other NATIONALITY, write below

10. Where is your place of birth?

Give the place where your mother lived at the time of your birth.

If IRELAND (including Northern Ireland), please write in the COUNTY below, e.g. Co. Cork.

If ABROAD, please write in the COUNTRY below, e.g. Poland.

11. Did you grow up in a:

Please tick one box only

- ☐ City
☐ Suburb
☐ Town
☐ Rural village
☐ Rural townland

12. Family status

Tick more than one box if necessary

- ☐ Married
☐ Partner
☐ Widowed
☐ Single
☐ Separated/Divorced
☐ Other

13.a What is your gender?

Please tick one box only

- ☐ Male ☐ Female

13.b What age category are you in?

Please tick one box only

- ☐ 15-19 ☐ 20-24 ☐ 25-29
☐ 30-34 ☐ 35-39 ☐ 40-44
☐ 45-49 ☐ 50-54 ☐ 55-59
☐ 60-64 ☐ 65-69 ☐ 70-74
☐ 75-79 ☐ 80-84 ☐ 85+

TURN OVER ➡

14. What is the highest level of education/training you have completed?

Please tick one box only

- ☐ Primary
☐ Lower Secondary
☐ Upper Secondary
☐ Post Leaving Certificate Course
☐ Diploma
☐ Completed Apprenticeship
☐ Degree
☐ Postgraduate Diploma/ Masters
☐ PhD or higher

15. How would you describe your present employment status?

Please tick one box only

- ☐ Working full-time
☐ Working part-time
☐ Unemployed
☐ Student
☐ Looking after home/family
☐ Retired
☐ Unable to work due to illness/ disability
☐ Other, please write below

16. Please write below what your main occupation was or is.

17. How many people, including you, usually live in your household?

Please tick one box only

- ☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2
☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5
☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 or more

18. How many children usually live in your household?

Please tick one box only

- ☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2
☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 or more

19.a What age is the oldest child?

Please tick one box only

- Does not apply ☐ 0-4 ☐ 5-9
☐ 10-14 ☐ 15-19 ☐ 20-24
☐ 25-29 ☐ 30-34 ☐ 35+

19.b What age is the youngest child?

Please tick one box only

- Does not apply ☐ 0-4 ☐ 5-9
☐ 10-14 ☐ 15-19 ☐ 20-24
☐ 25-29 ☐ 30-34 ☐ 35+

20.a How likely is it that any member of your household will move abroad within the next 3 years?

Please tick one box only

- ☐ Extremely likely
☐ Likely
☐ Not sure
☐ Unlikely
☐ Extremely unlikely

20.b If someone from this household is likely to move abroad in the next 3 years, please provide details of who might leave and where they might go (e.g. My son is planning on moving to Perth, Australia.)

21. Does your household own or rent this accommodation?

Please tick one box only

- ☐ Owns with mortgage or loan
☐ Owns without mortgage or loan
☐ Rents from private landlord
☐ Rents from local authority
☐ Lives here rent-free
☐ Other

22.a Has anyone from your household, including you, EVER lived outside Ireland for over 1 year?

Please tick one box only

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

22.b If yes, please write below the person(s) who lived abroad, the location(s) and the time period (e.g. I lived in England from 1985 to 1995).

23. Which of the following categories best describes your household?

Please tick one box only

- ☐ One person household
☐ Husband and wife household
☐ Husband, wife and children household
☐ Cohabiting couple household
☐ Cohabiting couple and children household
☐ Father and children household
☐ Mother and children household
☐ Couple and other people household
☐ Couple, children and other people household
☐ Father, children and other people household
☐ Mother, children and other people household
☐ Two or more family units in one household
☐ Non-family household
☐ Two or more non-family household

24. Does anyone from your household, including you, work abroad but still live at home (e.g. returns at weekends)?

Please tick one box only

- ☐ Yes (please provide details on annex)
☐ No

25. How many people from your household, or people who used to live in your household, have lived abroad for over one year SINCE 2006?

Note: This includes anyone who has left Ireland since 2006 but has since returned.

- ☐ 0 (YOU HAVE FINISHED. Thank you for your time and input)
☐ 1 (please fill out one page of the pink annex)
☐ 2 (please fill out both sides of the pink annex)
☐ 3 or more (please fill out two annexes)

26. If you have anything to add, please write below.

PLEASE FILL OUT THE ANNEX IF SOMEONE FROM YOUR HOUSEHOLD, OR WHO USED TO LIVE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD, MOVED ABROAD FOR OVER 1 YEAR SINCE 2006

ANNEX

PERSON 1 WHO HAS LIVED ABROAD FOR AT LEAST 1 YEAR SINCE 2006

A1. Please write below what his/her relationship is to you? (e.g. myself, my daughter/son; my sister/brother)

A2 What is his/her gender?

Please tick one box only

☐ Male ☐ Female

A3.a Please provide details below of the location(s) (i.e. city/region/state and country) and the year(s) he/she has spent abroad (e.g. Sydney, Australia, 2011+).

A3.b If someone who moved abroad since 2006 has since returned, please write down the reason he/she came back:

A4. What age category was he/she in when he/she left?

Please tick one box only

☐ 0-4 ☐ 5-9 ☐ 10-14
☐ 15-19 ☐ 20-24 ☐ 25-29
☐ 30-34 ☐ 35-39 ☐ 40-44
☐ 45-49 ☐ 50-54 ☐ 55+

A5. What was his/her status when leaving?

Tick more than one box if necessary

☐ Married
☐ Partner
☐ Single
☐ Separated/Divorced
☐ Other

A6. What was the highest level of education/training (full-time or part-time) which he/she had completed before departing?

Please tick one box only

☐ Lower Secondary
☐ Upper Secondary
☐ Post Leaving Certificate Course
☐ Diploma
☐ Completed Apprenticeship
☐ Degree
☐ Postgraduate Diploma/ Masters
☐ PhD or higher

A7.a What was his/her employment status before he/she left Ireland?

Please tick one box only

☐ Working full-time
☐ Working part-time
☐ Unemployed
☐ Student
☐ Looking after home/family
☐ Retired
☐ Other

A7.b Please write below what his/her main occupation was before leaving Ireland.

A8.a Was he/she involved with any organised community activity in Ireland before departing (e.g. sports, music, societies, church)?

☐ Yes
☐ No

A8.b If yes, please write below the type of activity.

A9.a Did he/she leave with:

Tick more than one box if necessary

☐ Child/children
☐ Friend(s)
☐ Immediate family (e.g. brother)
☐ Extended family (e.g. cousin)
☐ Partner or spouse
☐ Alone

A9.b Did he/she have people he/she already knew living in the location he/she moved to?

Tick more than one box if necessary

☐ Yes, friend(s)
☐ Yes, immediate family (e.g. sister)
☐ Yes, extended family (e.g. cousin)
☐ Yes, spouse or partner
☐ No

A10. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being the lowest and 10 being the highest, how would you rate his/her:

a. Quality of life before he/she left?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

b. Quality of life abroad?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

A11.a How would you describe his/her employment status abroad?

Please tick one box only

☐ Working full-time
☐ Working part-time
☐ Unemployed
☐ Student
☐ Looking after home/family
☐ Retired
☐ Other

A11.b Please write below what his/her main occupation is or was abroad.

A12. In your opinion, what influence did Ireland's economic situation have on his/her decision to leave?

Please tick one box only

☐ Not at all influential
☐ Slightly influential
☐ Moderately influential
☐ Very influential
☐ Extremely influential
☐ Don't know

A13. How likely do you think it is that he/she will return to live in Ireland in the next three years?

☐ Extremely likely
☐ Likely
☐ Don't know
☐ Unlikely
☐ Extremely unlikely
☐ He/she has already returned

FURTHER COMMUNICATION

As part of this UCC project, we are trying to speak to people who have lived outside Ireland for over one year since 2006. If you think anyone who left your household might be willing to speak to us, please provide your NAME and CONTACT DETAILS (phone no. and/or email address):

Please note that space is available at the end of the next page for any comments that you would like to add.

PLEASE COMPLETE ALL OF THE NEXT PAGE IF MORE THAN 1 PERSON FROM YOUR HOUSEHOLD MOVED ABROAD SINCE 2006

PERSON 2 WHO HAS LIVED
ABROAD FOR AT LEAST 1 YEAR
SINCE 2006

B1. Please write below what his/her relationship is to you? (e.g. myself; my daughter/son; my sister/brother)

B2. What is his/her gender?

Please tick one box only

☐ Male ☐ Female

B3.a Please provide details below of the location(s) (i.e. city/region/state and country) and the year(s) he/she has spent abroad (e.g. London, UK, 2007-2011)

B3.b If someone who moved abroad since 2006 has since returned, please write down the reason he/she came back:

B4. What age category was he/she in when he/she left?

Please tick one box only

☐ 0-4 ☐ 5-9 ☐ 10-14
☐ 15-19 ☐ 20-24 ☐ 25-29
☐ 30-34 ☐ 35-39 ☐ 40-44
☐ 45-49 ☐ 50-54 ☐ 55+

B5. What was his/her status when leaving?

Tick more than one box if necessary

☐ Married
☐ Partner
☐ Single
☐ Separated/Divorced
☐ Other

B6. What was the highest level of education/training (full-time or part-time) which he/she had completed before departing?

Please tick one box only

☐ Lower Secondary
☐ Upper Secondary
☐ Post Leaving Certificate Course
☐ Diploma
☐ Completed Apprenticeship
☐ Degree
☐ Postgraduate Diploma/ Masters
☐ PhD or higher

B7.a What was his/her employment status before he/she left Ireland?

Please tick one box only

☐ Working full-time
☐ Working part-time
☐ Unemployed
☐ Student
☐ Looking after home/family
☐ Retired
☐ Other

B7.b Please write below what his/her main occupation was before leaving Ireland.

B8.a Was he/she involved with any organised community activity in Ireland before departing (e.g. sports, music, societies, church)?

☐ Yes
☐ No

B8.b If yes, please write below the type of activity.

B9.a Did he/she leave with:

Tick more than one box if necessary

☐ Child/children
☐ Friend(s)
☐ Immediate family (e.g. brother)
☐ Extended family (e.g. cousin)
☐ Partner or spouse
☐ Alone

B9.b Did he/she have people he/she already knew living in the location he/she moved to?

Tick more than one box if necessary

☐ Yes, friend(s)
☐ Yes, immediate family (e.g. sister)
☐ Yes, extended family (e.g. cousin)
☐ Yes, spouse or partner
☐ No

B10. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being the lowest and 10 being the highest, how would you rate his/her:

a. Quality of life before he/she left?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

b. Quality of life abroad?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

B11.a How would you describe his/her employment status abroad?

Please tick one box only

☐ Working full-time
☐ Working part-time
☐ Unemployed
☐ Student
☐ Looking after home/family
☐ Retired
☐ Other

B11.b Please write below what his/her main occupation is or was abroad.

B12. In your opinion, what influence did Ireland's economic situation have on his/her decision to leave?

Please tick one box only

☐ Not at all influential
☐ Slightly influential
☐ Moderately influential
☐ Very influential
☐ Extremely influential
☐ Don't know

B13. How likely do you think it is that he/she will return to live in Ireland in the next three years?

☐ Extremely likely
☐ Likely
☐ Don't know
☐ Unlikely
☐ Extremely unlikely
☐ He/she has already returned

If there is anything that you would like to add that this survey did not capture, please write below.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND INPUT

A2. Jobsfair Survey



<http://emigre.ucc.ie>



START HERE



1. What is your main reason for thinking of moving abroad?

Please tick one box only

- ☐ To gain job experience
☐ To find a job
☐ To travel
☐ To experience another culture
☐ Other, please write below

2. Are you thinking of moving abroad because:

Please tick one box only

- ☐ You want to ☐ You have to

3. How many people from the following have left Ireland since 2006:

Please write a rough estimate of NUMBER

- Your family
 Your circle of friends?

4. Where do you intend to move to?

Please tick one box only

- ☐ UK
☐ Australia
☐ United States
☐ Canada
☐ New Zealand
☐ Other, please write below

5. What is your nationality?

- ☐ Irish
☐ Other NATIONALITY, write below

6. Please write below what COUNTY you are from, e.g. Kildare. If you were born ABROAD, please write in the COUNTRY below.

7. Did you grow up in a:

- ☐ City ☐ Suburb
☐ Town ☐ Rural village
☐ Rural townland

8. What is your gender?

- ☐ Male ☐ Female

9. Family status

- ☐ Married ☐ Partner
☐ Widowed ☐ Single
☐ Separated ☐ Other

10. Do you have any children?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No

11. Do you have a mortgage in Ireland?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No

12. If you think you will leave Ireland, who will you go with:

Tick more than one box if necessary

- ☐ Child/children
☐ Friend(s)
☐ Immediate family (e.g. sister)
☐ Extended family (e.g. cousin)
☐ Partner or spouse
☐ Alone

13. What age category are you in?

- ☐ 15-19 ☐ 20-24 ☐ 25-29
☐ 30-34 ☐ 35-39 ☐ 40-44
☐ 45-49 ☐ 50-54 ☐ 55+

14.a What is the highest level of education/training you have completed?

- ☐ Lower Secondary
☐ Upper Secondary
☐ Post Leaving Certificate Course
☐ Diploma
☐ Completed Apprenticeship
☐ Degree
☐ Postgraduate Diploma/ Masters
☐ PhD or higher

14.b Please write the year you finished your education/training.

15. Please write what your main occupation was or is in the box below.

16. How would you describe your present employment status?

- ☐ Working full-time
☐ Working part-time
☐ Long-term Unemployed (more than 1 year)
☐ Short-term Unemployed (less than 1 year)
☐ Student
☐ Looking after home/family
☐ Other, please write below

17. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being the lowest and 10 being the highest, how satisfied are you in Ireland with:

a. Your job?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

b. Your salary?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

c. Your career prospects?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

18.a Have you EVER lived outside Ireland for over 1 year?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No

18.b If yes, please write below the location(s) and the time period (e.g. I lived in UK from 2005-2007).

19. How likely are you to leave Ireland in the next six months?

- ☐ Extremely likely
☐ Likely
☐ Not sure
☐ Unlikely
☐ Extremely unlikely

20. If you leave Ireland, do you think you will return to live here in the future?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Not sure

FURTHER COMMUNICATION

As part of our study, we would like to check in six months time whether people who completed our survey are still in Ireland. Therefore, we would appreciate it if you could provide your EMAIL ADDRESS below:

NOTE: YOUR CONTACT DETAILS WILL NOT BE SHARED WITH ANY THIRD PARTIES

5.e Before you left Ireland, on a scale of 1 to 10 with 1 being the lowest and 10 being the highest, how satisfied were you with your SALARY? *

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

5.f Before you left Ireland, on a scale of 1 to 10 with 1 being the lowest and 10 being the highest, how satisfied were you with your CAREER PROSPECTS? *

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

6.a Were you involved with any organised local community activity in Ireland before departing (e.g. sport, music, societies, church)? *

☐ Yes ☐ No

6.b If yes, please provide details.

7.a Prior to departure, did you live: *

Please select more than one box if necessary

☐ Alone

☐ With child/children

☐ With parent(s)

☐ With other family member(s)

☐ With housemates/flatmates

☐ With partner

☐ With spouse

☐ Other

7.b In the property you lived in prior to leaving Ireland, were you:

Please select one

☐ Renting

☐ The owner with a mortgage

☐ Living with parent(s)

☐ Other:

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Edit form - [EMIGRE: Profiling Irish Emigration and Return (Emigrant survey)] - Google Docs

☐ 16-20
☐ 21-25
☐ 26-30
☐ Over 30

12.c How many of your family have left Ireland since 2006? *
 Provide a rough estimate of the number
☐ 0
☐ 1
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5
☐ 6
☐ 7 or more

13. On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is the lowest and 10 is the highest, how would you rate your quality of life in Ireland before departure? *
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

POST-ARRIVAL EXPERIENCE

14. On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is the lowest and 10 is the highest, how would rate your quality of life abroad? *
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

15. Where are you currently based? *
 Please select one only
☐ UK
☐ United States
☐ Canada
☐ Australia
☐ New Zealand
☐ Other:

16.a How would you describe your present employment status? *
☐ Working full-time

8/16

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☐ Working part-time
☐ Unemployed
☐ Student
☐ Looking after home/family
☐ Retired
☐ Unable to work due to illness/disability
☐ Other

Page 4
 After page 3
 Continue to next page

Note: "Go to page" selections will override this navigation. [Learn more.](#)

EMPLOYMENT ABROAD

16.b What is your current occupation? *

16.c To what extent would you agree or disagree: My work is suitable for someone with my qualifications and skills. *
 Please select one only
☐ Yes
☐ No

16.d What type of contract do you have? *
 Please select one only
☐ I am not working
☐ Temporary
☐ Fixed-term
☐ Permanent
☐ No contract
☐ Other:

16.e On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1 being the lowest and 10 being the highest, how satisfied are you with your JOB abroad? *
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

16.f On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1 being the lowest and 10 being the highest, how satisfied are you with your SALARY abroad? *
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

16.g On a scale of 1 to 10 with 1 being the lowest and 10 being the highest, how satisfied are you with

8/16

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102/13

your CAREER PROSPECTS abroad? *

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

16.h How long did it take you to find a job abroad? *

Please select one only

☐ I am not working

☐ My job was organised before my arrival

☐ Less than 1 week

☐ Less than 2 weeks

☐ Less than 1 month

☐ Less than 2 months

☐ Other:

16.i Did Irish contacts help you to find a job abroad? *

Please select one only

☐ I am not working

☐ Yes, Irish friends from home

☐ Yes, Irish people I met since my arrival

☐ Yes, an Irish employer

☐ No

☐ Other:

17. Did Irish contacts help you to find somewhere to live abroad? *

Please select one only

☐ Yes, Irish friends from home

☐ Yes, Irish people I met since my arrival

☐ Yes, an Irish employer

☐ No

☐ Other:

18. For respondents living outside the EU, do you have:

Respondents living within the EU should skip to Q. 20

☐ Does not apply

☐ Permanent status to remain

☐ Sponsorship to remain

☐ A fixed term visa

☐ A tourist visa

☐ A working-holiday visa

102/13

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102/13

19.a For respondents living outside the EU, has your visa status changed since your arrival?

☐ Does not apply

☐ Yes

☐ No

19.b If yes, please provide details:

20.a Have you ever lived for over one year in another country outside Ireland that is different to the one you reside in now? *

☐ Yes

☐ No

20.b If yes, please provide details:

e.g. location(s), year(s) and any other information that you think is relevant.

21.a In the property you currently reside in, are you: *

☐ Renting

☐ The owner

☐ Other:

21.b In the property you currently reside in, do you live: *

Please select more than one box if necessary

☐ Alone

☐ With child/children

☐ With parent(s)

☐ With other family member(s)

☐ With housemates/flatmates

☐ With partner

☐ With spouse

☐ Other

21.c How many people live in the property you currently reside in? *

7/16

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Continue to next page

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Do you email your friends and family in Ireland?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you keep in contact with friends and family in Ireland via social network sites?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you send money home to family in Ireland?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you send money back to Ireland to repay a mortgage?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

23. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: *

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
I feel that I am accepted by local people where I live.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

24.a Family status: *
(please feel to choose more than one box if necessary)

☐ Married
☐ Same-sex marriage
☐ Partner
☐ Same-sex partner
☐ Widowed
☐ Divorced
☐ Separated
☐ Single
☐ Other:

24.b If you are married or with a long-term partner, is this person:

☐ Does not apply
☐ Irish
☐ A citizen of the country in which you reside
☐ Other:

25. Do you have children: *

☐ Yes
☐ No

☐ 1
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5
☐ 6
☐ 7
☐ 8 or more

21.d If you live in a rented property, do you live:

☐ Alone
☐ With Irish people only
☐ With Irish and non-Irish people
☐ With non-Irish people only
☐ Other:

22. Please state to what extent the following apply to you. *

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
Do you socialise with Irish people?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you participate in organised Irish community activity (e.g. sport, music, culture)?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you participate in organised local community activity (e.g. sport, music, culture)?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you socialise with people from the country you are currently living in?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you socialise with other, non-Irish, immigrants?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you read Irish newspapers online?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you buy Irish foods online or where you live?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you listen to Irish radio stations?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you skype friends and family in Ireland?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you phone friends and family in Ireland?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you text friends and family in Ireland?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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CHILDREN

25.a How many children do you have? *

☐ 1
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5 or more

25.b What age is your oldest child? *

☐ 0-4
☐ 5-9
☐ 10-14
☐ 15-19
☐ 20-24
☐ 25-29
☐ 30-35
☐ 35+

25.c What age is your youngest child? *

☐ Does not apply
☐ 0-4
☐ 5-9
☐ 10-14
☐ 15-19
☐ 20-24
☐ 25-29
☐ 30-35
☐ 35+

25.d Are all your children currently living in the same country as you? *

☐ Yes
☐ No

25.e If no, please provide details.

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THE QUESTION OF RETURN

26. On average, do you return to Ireland, AT LEAST: *

☐ Once every fortnight
☐ Once a month
☐ Once every two months
☐ Several times a year
☐ Once a year
☐ Once every two or three years
☐ Once every five years
☐ Never

27. Would you like to return to live in Ireland in the next three years? *

☐ A great deal
☐ Quite a lot
☐ Undecided
☐ Not that much
☐ Not at all

28.a How likely is it that you will return to live in Ireland in the next three years? *

☐ Not likely at all
☐ Unlikely
☐ Not sure
☐ Likely
☐ Very likely

28.b If you selected 'Likely' or 'Very likely', do you think you would return to live in an Irish:

☐ City
☐ Suburb
☐ Town
☐ Rural village
☐ Rural townland
☐ Not sure

29. If you already have children or think you will have children in future, would you like to raise them in Ireland? *

☐ A great deal
☐ Quite a lot
☐ Undecided
☐ Not that much
☐ Not at all
☐ Does not apply

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30. Would improvements to the Irish economy increase your chances of returning to live in Ireland? *

- ☐ A great deal
☐ Quite a lot
☐ Undecided
☐ Not that much
☐ Not at all

31. For respondents with a visa of a fixed duration (e.g. a 1 or 2 year work visa), do you intend to:

- ☐ Does not apply
☐ Extend your visa if possible
☐ Return to Ireland when visa expires
☐ Migrate to another country when visa expires
☐ Stay no matter what
☐ Other:

32. To what extent do you agree or disagree

	Agree, for an unlimited period (e.g. 5-10 years after leaving)	Disagree	Don't know
Irish nationals abroad should have the right to vote in Irish PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Irish nationals abroad should have the right to vote in Irish GENERAL ELECTIONS	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

33. Please state to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements. *

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The Irish government provides adequate support for Irish emigrants overseas	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The Irish government is doing its best to tackle the causes of emigration	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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BACKGROUND

34.a Are you male or female? *

- ☐ Male
☐ Female

34.b What is your sexual orientation? *

- ☐ Heterosexual/straight
☐ Gay
☐ Gay woman/lesbian
☐ Bisexual
☐ Prefer not to say
☐ Other:

35. What is your place of birth? *

If born on island of Ireland, please write in the COUNTY. If you were born outside of Ireland, please write in the COUNTRY.

36. What is your nationality?

If you have more than one nationality, please declare all of them.

- ☐ Irish
☐ Other:

37. What age category are you in? *

38. Did you grow up in a: *

- ☐ City
☐ Suburb
☐ Town
☐ Rural village
☐ Rural townland

39. How would you describe your father's present status? *

40. What is the highest level of education/training (full-time or part-time) which your father has completed? *

Mark only one box.

41. What is/was his main occupation? *



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