Rural Restructuring and Rural In-Migration Patterns in Ireland

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This wall mural is located in Castlebalyney, Co. Monaghan. It illustrates the processes and patterns of globalisation and multiculturalism within contemporary rural Ireland.

Abstract

In recent decades, the rural economic base in Ireland, similar to that of other developed countries across the globe, has witnessed a period of significant structural change, with academic literature coining the term rural restructuring to classify and describe this socio-economic transition. The restructuring or reshaping of rural areas is strongly influenced by the processes and patterns of globalisation. As a result, there has been a knock-on effect on population structure. Some locations, particularly those in close proximity to urban centres and with high levels of connectivity, have thrived whilst others, that are considered to be peripheral, have declined dramatically. In the past decade, there has also been a significant change in the ethnic composition of the population in Ireland. The foreign national population has steadily increased in both absolute and relative terms, from 5.8% (224,261) in 2002 to 12% (320,096) in 2011 (CSO, 2012). Despite the severe economic downturn, the number of foreign nationals has continued to increase, with a 124,624 rise in the number of foreign nationals between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population. The changing ethnic profile of Ireland is not a purely an urban phenomenon, with specific rural areas types witnessing a dramatic and sizeable inflow of economic migrants from across the globe. In some instances, this has occurred through the establishment of asylum centres in rural locations, but this thesis is solely examining the role of economic migrants who can legally and legitimately work in Ireland. On average, foreign nationals account for 5.8% of the total population residing in 'pure' rural areas (excluding towns and villages), with specific rural locations having a significantly higher proportion.

This thesis examines the linkages between rural restructuring and rural in-migration in Ireland and presents research findings from two contrasting case studies, specifically Counties Monaghan and Limerick. The utilisation of a cross-section of methodological tools, incorporating household and business questionnaires; and semi-structured interviews, whilst including secondary data analysis, provided a robust and triangulated approach to achieving the principle aim and objectives of this research project. Key findings from this study include: the diversification of the rural economic base providing employment opportunities for economic migrants (confined to particular rural area types), especially within low-paid and low-skilled occupations; the emergence of ethnic orientated / migrant businesses in locations with a high density of immigrants; a low labour market (job generation) multiplier effect associated with net in-migration; and a desire amongst in-migrants to remain resident at their current location for the foreseeable future. Furthermore, this thesis documents and analyses the various integration and diversity raising awareness initiatives / programmes devised by statutory and non-statutory agencies, thereby enabling the forging of positive community relations between the migrant and indigenous communities. However, these initiatives are currently being curtailed or abandoned due to a lack of financial resources. This thesis concludes by predicting future socio-economic and demographic changes within rural Ireland and by providing a list of recommendations for key stakeholders (migrant and indigenous communities; policymakers; statutory agencies; and community and voluntary sector) with respect to harnessing the socio-economic potential of migrants within a rural space.

Author’s Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis represents my own work and has not been submitted, in whole or in part, by me or any other person, for the purpose of obtaining any other qualification.

Signed: ____

Date: ____

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my parents, John & Margaret O'Sullivan, for their unyielding and continuous support.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Context of Research Topic

In recent decades, the rural economic base in Ireland, similar to that of other developed countries across the globe, has undergone a period of significant structural change, with academic literature coining the term “rural restructuring” to classify and describe this socio-economic transition (Marsden, et al., 1993; Neil & Tykkylainen, 1998). Rural restructuring is generally characterised by a decline in the agricultural workforce, mergers and rationalisations in the food processing sector, and the decline of traditional manufacturing industries. At the same time, the rural economy has benefited from the growth in rural tourism, the proliferation of ICT and improvements in physical infrastructure and inter-communications between urban and rural areas (Whelan, 2011). The restructuring or reshaping of rural areas is strongly influenced by the processes and patterns of globalisation. Economic restructuring has had a knock-on effect on population structure: some areas, particularly those within close proximity to urban centres and with high levels of connectivity, have thrived, whilst others, that tend to be characterised by peripherality, have declined dramatically in terms of population. This thesis will analyse the relationship between rural restructuring and population change, with particular reference to inward migration of foreign nationals into rural Ireland.

In the past decade, there has been a significant change in the ethnic composition of the population within Ireland. The non-Irish national population has steadily increased in both absolute and relative terms, from 5.8% (224,261) in 2002 to 12% (320,096) in 2011 (CSO, 2012a). Despite the severe economic downturn, the number of foreign nationals has continued to increase as 124,624 more non-Irish nationals were recorded in the 2011 Census of Population than in 2006. The changing ethnic composition has had far reaching social ramifications, with Polish now being the second most commonly spoken language in Ireland (CSO, 2012a). The changing linguistic landscape is further reflected through the 2011 Census of Population, with 89,561 people residing in Ireland being recorded as speaking English either ‘not well’ or ‘not at all’ (CSO, 2012b). Migrants with an inability to speak English proficiently are less likely to integrate into the social and economic communities, leading to risks of exclusion from mainstream society.

The significant increase in non-Irish nationals coincided with the accession of 10 new members states (predominantly from Eastern Europe) into the European Union (EU) on 1 May 2004. The majority of economic migrants resident in rural Ireland have originated from Eastern Europe, particularly Poland and the Baltic States, and have arrived since the 2004 enlargement of the EU. In tandem with the EU expansion, Ireland was witnessing chronic labour shortages within the low-paid and low-skilled sectors of the economy and this vacuum was filled by economic migrants from the new EU Accession states (Dundon, et al., 2007; Kahanec, et al., 2010). Ireland, United Kingdom (UK) and Sweden were initially the only countries that provided unrestricted access to their respective labour markets (Barrett, 2009). This remains a contentious issue, with numerous newspaper and magazine articles articulating varying attitudes towards this policy decision. Strong proponents of economic immigration argue that migrants are necessary to fill job vacancies that have been shunned by the indigenous workforce, whilst opponents perceive economic migrants as having a detrimental effect of lowering wages and displacing the indigenous population from the workforce. Sensational headlines relating to immigrants and immigration have appeared within some Irish and British newspapers[1], thereby prejudicing public opinion against immigrants.

In recent years, migrants have to come to Ireland in order to secure a better standard of living. Bilefsky (2005) has highlighted in an article published in the New York Times, both the rationale (push factors) and extent of emigration from rural Latvia to Ireland:

> *'In this poor but proud farming region, where many of the small wooden houses have no electricity and people still read by candlelight, nearly every third house is empty. Their occupants have gone to pick mushrooms in Ireland'.*

[1] Recent newspaper headlines include: 'Border Alert' (*The Sun*, (UK ed.) 17 January 2013); 'Yes Poles are wonderful but for Tony Blair to be feted for letting them flood into Britain is a sick joke' (*The Daily Mail,* 17 January 2013); 'Migrants struggle to maintain cash flow to home' (*Irish Independent*, 19 January 2013); ''Irish first' councillor from Limerick denies he is a racist' (*Limerick Leader*, 30 March 2013) and 'SVP told don't feed destitute migrants so they'll go home' (*Irish Examiner,* 26 March 2012)

From the mid-1990s onwards, the horticulture sector (especially the mushroom industry) required migrant workers as the indigenous workforce started to shun low-paid and low-skilled employment. Subsequently, other sectors that required low-paid and low-skilled workers became reliant on migrant workers. Keeley (2009) has highlighted the negative social effects of emigration in Latvia, particularly in the Latgale region, as a significant proportion of the working age population and have subsequently emigrated to Ireland in order to pick mushrooms (or engage in other low-paid employment) have left their children behind in the care of grandparents. This has led to the coining of the phrase "mushroom orphans" to describe the youngest generation within this region. Laima Muktupavela, author of a Latvian best-seller book *The Mushroom Covenant,* articulates her own first-hand experience of picking mushrooms in Ireland. She describes the harsh working conditions, picking mushrooms from dawn until dusk, a lack of adequate safety equipment and receiving a weekly wage of €215. This wage was one and a half times the monthly minimum wage in Latvia. Even though the rate of remuneration in Ireland was significantly better in comparison to Latvia, it did not comply with the Minimum Wages Act or the Organisation of Working Time Act, 1997. Migrant workers in Ireland have faced numerous social, cultural and linguistic challenges but financial exploitation and discrimination of economic migrants remains a contentious topical issue. Exploitation and discrimination on the basis of nationality / ethnicity within the workplace is simply unjustifiable.

The changing ethnic profile of Ireland is not a purely urban phenomenon, as some rural areas types have also witnessed a dramatic and sizeable inflow of economic migrants from across the globe in recent years. In some instances, this has occurred through the establishment of asylum centres in rural locations, but this thesis is solely examining the role of economic migrants who can legally and legitimately work in Ireland: the socio-economic effects associated with migrants classified as asylum seekers and refugees are not within the remit of this study. On average, non-Irish nationals account for 5.8% of the total population residing in 'pure' rural areas (excluding towns and villages). However, there is significant spatial variation: with some locations experiencing higher rates of inward immigration than others. This thesis will identify the reasons for such variation by utilising a theoretical framework centred on the concept of rural restructuring. There is a dearth of academic literature focusing on the spatial, social and economic impacts of foreign national immigration into rural Ireland, with only a few notable exceptions such as Shuttleworth (2008); Coakley & MacÉinrí (2009); and Maher (2010). This thesis will provide a valuable contribution to academic discourse on the spatial impacts of immigration (especially from Eastern Europe) into rural Ireland, with particular reference to the social and economic contributions of rural migrants.

1.2 Aim and Objectives

The principle aim and the objectives of this research thesis are as follows:

1.2.1 Aim

To examine the linkages between rural in-migration and rural restructuring through the adoption of a case study approach in Ireland.

1.2.2 Objectives

- To identify and analyse spatial patterns in regard to the location of immigrants within Ireland.

- To identify factors which have attracted foreign nationals to reside in rural areas.

- To identify the extent to which the Irish rural economy has been affected as a result of recent immigration by examining two contrasting case studies – Co. Monaghan, a region that has experienced recent in-migration, and Co. Limerick which has experienced relatively minimal in-migration.

- To survey incomers and host communities in order to gain insights into specific processes of rural restructuring.

- To assess likely future demographic patterns and other dimensions of rural restructuring, and to put forward recommendations on how rural communities can avail of opportunities and overcome challenges in respect of in-migration.

Following the literature review these research objectives will be further specified through a set of research questions.

1.3 Thesis Outline

In order to address the central aim and objectives of this study, in respect to analysing the relationship between rural restructuring and migration patterns in Ireland since 1990, it is essential to compile an in-depth literature review, to devise a set of research questions, and to construct a robust methodological framework for the primary research. The first section of this thesis, the literature review (chapter 2) provides an overview of the theoretical concepts and previous research findings relating to rural restructuring and migration studies, within both a national and international context. The analysis of the literature is not confined to contributions by academics, but seeks to scrutinise policy documents and statistical outputs by statutory and non-statutory agencies. Key themes emanating from the literature review include: the role of globalisation in fashioning new spatial patterns within rural areas; the declining economic importance of the agricultural sector, the broadening of the rural economic base from being primarily dependent on agriculture and the growing prominence of the service sector; the spatial distribution of migrants in contemporary rural Ireland, particularly East European migrants; the economic multiplier effects associated with rural in-migration; and the social complexities associated with integration of migrants and non-migrants within contemporary society. The chapter concludes with a list of research questions which emanate from this analytical and theoretical discussion, and which form the basis for subsequent enquiry.

The methodological framework (chapter 3) provides an overview of the tasks undertaken by the researcher to address the research questions. This entails selecting case study territories that are suitable for analysing the socio-economic impacts of rural in-migration in contemporary Ireland by virtue of representing both high and low spatial concentrations of East European immigrants. This chapter also specifies indicators that will enable the researcher to assess the local and regional economic impacts associated with immigration, thereby guiding the adoption of specific approaches and techniques for the fieldwork and data collection. The next section of the thesis (chapter 4) profiles the spatial distribution of migrants by nationality across the selected case locations, Counties Monaghan and Limerick. This area profile clearly illustrates the varying spatial concentration of migrants within rural Ireland, with Co. Monaghan experiencing proportionally higher rates of inward migration than Co. Limerick. Spatial variation is also identified at the micro ED level. Furthermore, this chapter provides an overview of the economic structure by analysing rural typologies and constructing an occupational profile of both selected case study locations.

Each of the research questions is answered within the results chapters, Co. Monaghan (chapter 5) and Co. Limerick (chapter 6). The penultimate chapter (chapter 7) provides a synthesis of the research findings from this study with respect to the principal socio-economic impacts of migrants within rural areas and a comparative analysis of the relationship between rural restructuring and migration patterns throughout the globe, with a strong focus on European case studies. The main findings include: significant differences in the spatial distribution and concentration of migrants according to rural area type; a lower employment multiplier effect for economic migrants resident in rural Ireland in comparison to the effect found in studies conducted elsewhere; a tendency for migrants to be employees rather than employers; a strong desire for migrants to procure goods and services within the local community, thereby providing a positive economic effect; the necessity for statutory and non-statutory agencies to provide bespoke services to allow migrants integrate into the community, particularly English language classes and information provision facilities. A summary of the key research findings, along with a list of recommendations for relevant stakeholders are outlined in the final chapter.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Since the early 1990s, rural Ireland has witnessed a major restructuring in its economy. This restructuring is characterised by a decline in the size of the agricultural workforce, mergers and rationalisations in the food processing sector and the decline of traditional manufacturing industries. At the same time, the rural economy has benefited from growth in rural tourism, the proliferation of ICT and improvements in physical infrastructure and inter-communications between urban and rural areas (Neil & Tykkylainen, 1998). As a result, there has been a knock-on effect upon the population structure; some areas have thrived whilst others have declined dramatically. This study will focus on the demographic changes in rural Ireland and in particular on in-migration. It will be imperative to examine the theoretical concept of rural restructuring and its impact in creating an increasingly uneven spatial distribution of the rural population. On ascertaining this information, it is essential to document the opportunities and challenges encountered by both immigrants and host communities within the newly transformed rural space and to clarify the extent to which Irish rural society and its economy have been affected due to recent immigration.

Rural Ireland has observed a period of substantial change due to the transformation of its economic base, predominantly due to restructuring and diversification within agriculture, forestry and fisheries (Boyle, 2008). In response to these changes, there has been a significant shift in economic activity with a higher proportion of economic activity concentrated on the services sector. Recently, there has been a severe contraction in the construction industry (Creamer, et al., 2009), with employment in the sector falling from 86,500 (-35.69%) between Q2 2008 and Q2 2009. The proportion of farmers who had off-farm employment within the construction sector fell from 29.2% (6,600 of 22,600) to 19.75% (3,100 of 15,700) within the same timeframe (Meredith, 2011). Furthermore, traditional manufacturing industries typically located in rural locations (examples include garment production and furniture making) have become vulnerable to competition from low-cost economies in Eastern-Europe and Asia (Meredith, 2010). Spatially, it is the preserved and contested countryside (Marsden, et al., 1993) which have witnessed the greatest degree of economic expansion in contrast to the clientelist and paternalistic countryside[2].

> *'Rural areas close to regional towns or cities have experienced rapid economic growth and those more distanced from larger centres of production struggle to find new economic activities to replace agriculture and other rurally based activities'* (MRCI, 2008a, p. 20).

Many rural areas, as part of the process of rural restructuring, have experienced de-industrialisation. One notable example being the rationalisation of Bórd na Mona in the Midlands. The restructuring process has also been affected by state involvement in the rural economy and society; with a withdrawal from essential public service provision - garda stations and post offices - to increased regulation, most notably, food traceability within the food processing sector. Rural restructuring in Ireland is also impacted upon by globalisation and the global nature of food markets.

In order to examine the transformation of the rural economic base, which had been heavily reliant on agriculture to one that has now diversified into the provision of an increasing range of services and to a lesser extent, the emergence of light manufacturing, it is important to chronicle the series of rural policy shifts at a local, national and trans-national level that have been responsible for this considerable economic change. The restructuring of the rural economy has resulted in immense benefits for particular areas with population growth being recorded in areas within commuting distance of urban centres and medium sized towns such as Nenagh and Ennis, in the case of the Mid-West region, but Hubbard et al. (2008) indicate marginal areas have not benefited from the economic transition and therefore, have remained in a state of decline, both economically and demographically. This poses a very serious question, to what extent have changes in rural policy contributed to the creation of a multi-tiered rural space, whereby certain areas have thrived whilst others have been allowed to remain stagnant?

In tandem with the restructuring of the rural economy, there has been a dramatic demographic shift within rural areas, attributable to the in-migration of foreign nationals. The number of migrants arriving into Ireland soared after the accession of

[2] Marsden et al.'s (1993) typology of rural areas (preserved, contested, clientelist and paternalistic countryside) is explained in 2.4.1 *Classifying Rural Areas.*

eight East European states into the EU in 2004, but the number of migrants settling in Ireland began to drop markedly as a consequence of the current economic recession. However, the spatial effects of rural restructuring on migration patterns within rural Ireland remain a gap to be filled within academic literature. This literature review will examine key theoretical perspectives relating to rural restructuring and migratory studies. Furthermore, the literature review will attempt to rationalise the interconnectivity between the two concepts through outlining concrete examples from other developed countries and determining their applicability within an Irish context.

The first section of the literature review explores the role globalisation has played in fashioning new spatial patterns within the rural arena. This has manifested through the utilisation of new terminology, including the global countryside and the urbanisation of the rural, to describe the globalising processes currently occurring in the countryside (Darling, 2005; McCarthy, 2007; Woods, 2007; Woods, 2011). The second section outlines the progressive decline in agriculture since the 1950s throughout the developed world and its socio-economic impact on rural areas. The transformation of the economic base is closely linked to the processes of globalisation. In order to counteract against the mitigating effects of persistent agricultural decline, the rural arena has broadened its economic base, thereby witnessing a restructuring process as outlined in section three. Rural restructuring has ultimately led to the creation of new employment opportunities within rural areas and this has enabled in-migration. The fourth section provides a spatial overview of immigration into Ireland since 2000, with a strong emphasis placed on the East European migrants who arrived into the country since 2004. The fifth section focuses on the economic multiplier effects associated with rural in-migration. The final section explores migrants' social integration and cohesion into the destination community, especially through forging of links with the local indigenous population and assesses the challenges faced by migrants with respect to racism and discrimination.

2.2 The Globalisation of the Rural Economy

Over the past decade, a considerable body of literature has been written regarding the processes and outcomes of globalisation. It has tried to conceptualise a theoretical framework for an omnipresent and slightly ambiguous subject matter. Kelly (1999, p.

379) has conveyed globalisation as '*a sense of rapid time–space compression, connectivity, communication and circulation in diverse processes of cultural, economic, political and social change*', whilst it has been perceived by Held et al. (2004, p. 68) as a '*process (or a set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organisation of social relations and transactions….generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power*'. Therefore, globalisation has to be considered a transformative force, both socially and economically, within contemporary society. This concept transcends both urban and rural arenas, with the latter being often neglected within academic literature. In order to examine the globalisation of the rural arena in more detail, it is necessary, firstly, to outline more substantively the key conduits of globalisation and secondly, the economic theory of neo-liberalism, which underpins this concept.

Since the 1980s, all of the major economic powers have embraced principles of neo-liberalism to varying degrees, thereby allowing a substantial transformation of the structures and regulations which govern the global economy. Neo-liberalism advocates the free trade of commodities, including goods, services and capital between states, at a global scale. In order to maximise the economic potential of neo-liberalism, governments throughout the globe have initiated numerous measures, which include the privatisation of public enterprises, deregulation of the economy, liberalisation of trade and industry, monetary controls to curb inflation, low taxation regimes, expansion of international markets, the establishment of public-private partnerships and a reduction of public expenditure on social programmes (Knox, et al., 2008; Steger, 2009). However, the adoption of neo-liberal measures / policies by countries in the developed world, including Ireland, has ultimately led to the current economic downturn due to an absence of regulatory oversight within the fiscal, spatial planning and governance systems (Kitchin, et al., 2012); and an over-reliance on a low-taxation regime to stimulate economic growth.

After the Second World War, all of the western economic powers adhered to Keynesian economics, whereby the state played an active role in regulating the marketplace. This was clearly seen through the establishment of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development[3], responsible for the provision of loans towards the reconstruction of post-war Europe, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), whose remit specifically related to overseeing the international monetary system. The General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs[4] was established in 1947 and this allowed for the creation and enforcement of multilateral trade agreements. It was the foundation of all these organisations, which allowed the post-war global economy to experience sustained economic growth. Furthermore, the expansion of the welfare state in Europe, at the cost of higher taxation of individuals and corporations, secured a higher standard of living for the general population. This period of statutory control and regulation of the monetary system lasted until the early 1970s with the emergence of the oil crisis, resulting in greater energy price volatility (Reginier, 2007). The period, between approximately 1945 and 1973, became known as the golden age of controlled capitalism or the pursuit of egalitarian liberalism (Vonyo, 2008).

In direct response to the shortcomings of controlled capitalism, and specifically spiralling inflation, growing unemployment and the perceived disproportionate influence of trade unions, neoliberal policies came to the fore from the 1980s onwards (Todaro, 2003). This new economic regime centred on free trade and this resulted in the greater internationalisation of trade and services, the strengthening of transnational corporations and increased powers for global economic organisations, primarily the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organisation. The innovative advances in telecommunications and transportation infrastructure have enabled greater interconnectivity between locations, thereby acting as a crucial conduit for the globalisation / internationalisation of commerce. It is argued, globalisation has strong spatial and territorial dimensions which are not fully accounted for in neo-liberal theory:

> *'All of this global communication, global travel, global organisation, global production, global consumption, global money, global finance, global military, global ecology, global health, global law and global consciousness indicates that contemporary social relations cannot be described without excessive reference to transworld[5] spaces'* (Scholte, 2008, p. 1491).

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[3] This organisation was subsequently renamed the World Bank.
[4] This organisation became known as the World Trade Organisation in 1995.
[5] Transworld refers to social links between people located at points anywhere on the planet.

The emergence of transworld or transplanetary spaces has led to a transformation of social space which has enabled social change to occur at a global scale. The spread of large scale supraterritorality[6], as denoted by the global prefix in the aforementioned quotation, highlights the connectivity which exists in various aspects of contemporary society. In regard to migratory studies, the concept of globalisation should not be overlooked as it involves the transplanatary movement of people. Even though state boundaries may restrict the free movement of people, these do not disguise the fact that millions of people travel around the globe – a single entity – on an annual basis, in order to engage in business, recreation, pilgrimage, academia or to seek refuge, asylum, employment.

Scholte (2008) strongly opposes the viewpoint that globalisation and neo-liberalism are intertwined and interconnected, as laissez-faire economic practices and processes have been features within the global economy for centuries, even though the term 'globalisation' itself has not been. A divisive debate has emerged within academic literature, pertaining to the commencement of globalisation, with some historians claiming the phenomenon has existed for hundreds of years, or even millennia (Steger, 2009). However, the period after 1500 has taken special credence, insofar as it pinpoints the initiation of 'a genuinely global epoch of global history' (Bentley, 1996, p. 769), with the initial catalyst being Vasco da Gama's successful navigation around the Cape of Good Hope of Southern Africa in 1498. This age of discovery enabled greater connectivity between various points in the globe, thereby promoting the emergence of new trade routes, but it was not until the 1820s that globalisation truly came to the fore (O'Rourke & Williamson, 2002). The collapse of international transportation costs due to the invention of steamships and rail engines and a convergence in global commodity prices enabled a dramatic expansion in the scale of economic relations between states, to the extent that the period 1850 to 1914 became known as the golden age of internationalism (Hurrell, 2007). This period witnessed the expansion of private firms – banks, insurance companies and public utilities – into new countries, particularly colonial interests in Latin America and Asia, thereby further enabling an expansion in

[6] Scholte (2008, p. 1480) defines supraterritorial relations as 'social connections that substantially transcend territorial geography. They are relatively delinked from territory, that is, spatial domains that are mapped on the land surface of the earth, plus any adjoining waters and air spheres'.

global trade. The mass migration of people from Europe to North America and colonies controlled by European states was a testament of the 'intense activism of transnational civil society' (Hurrell, 2007, p. 195) to secure a better standard of living. Overall, globalisation cannot be considered a truly recent phenomenon, as the emergence of transplanetary spaces coincided with the commencement of the industrial revolution.

Globalisation cannot be considered a ubiquitous force which has treated all spatial areas equally (Cumbers, 2000). Core regions, most notably the global cities of London, New York, Hong Kong, Tokyo and Paris, have strong advantages with regard to the traditional factors of production and in acquiring information, which are key components of a knowledge driven economy. The greatest concentrations of managerial and professional jobs are located within global cities, but there is also a growing demand for low-paid employment, with these positions being predominantly filled by migrants (May, et al., 2007). This is leading to both income and occupational polarisation, with substantial growth at the top and bottom echelons of the labour market and a contraction of the middle classes (Sassen, 2001). In contrast, peripheral regions do not have the human, capital or physical resources of core regions at their disposal, and are highly reliant on plant branches of transnational corporations, which require a competitive cost base (Buckley & Ghauri, 2004).

On a global scale, peripheral locations are more likely to be rural than urban; the majority are in former colonies of European powers. Within Europe, peripheral regions tend to be concentrated in Southern Europe, particularly Portugal, Spain, Greece and Southern Italy, Eastern Europe, most notably Poland, Romania and Bulgaria and in parts of the Atlantic and Celtic fringes (Pinto-Correia & Breman, 2008; Danson, 2009). In contrast, Europe's core has been defined as the 'Pentagon', an industrial heartland within economically-strong areas bounded by the cities of London, Hamburg, Munich, Milan and Paris (ESPON, 2006a). This spatial pattern of interregional imbalances concurs with the core-periphery model, whereby '*the evolution of advanced capitalism and the emergence of an informational economy*' have led to a reconfiguration and intensification of the regional disparities (Knox, et al., 2008, p. 208). Core regions are no longer major centres of industrial and manufacturing production but are instead are heavily reliant on the services sector, particularly producer services. The core-periphery model can also be extended to Ireland, with the Greater Dublin Area (GDA) having a dominant share of economic output in comparison to other regions[7]. This economic regional imbalance is also reflected through income and labour market statistics, with the Southern and Eastern region outperforming the Border, Midlands and West region (Morrissey & O'Donoghue, 2012). However, Morgenroth (2008) has shown that these regional disparities within Ireland have been removed through substantial resource transfers (through public expenditure and taxation) from Dublin and South-West to the West and North-West.

The persistence of spatial disparities in economic and social development terms and the emergence of new and increased disparities at global, European and national level testify to the influential role globalisation has played in transforming rural spaces. This is clearly expressed through the introduction of new terminology utilised by academics to describe the concept and processes of rural globalisation, which include, the new countryside, the global countryside, the rural renaissance, the urbanisation of the rural and rural gentrification (Darling, 2005; McCarthy, 2007; Woods, 2007). As a consequence, endogenous economic developments have materialised through the promotion of light manufacturing and telematics within rural areas. These rural enterprises are considered to be *'more pro-active in the pursuit of distant and overseas markets'* (Kalantaridis, 2005, p. 54) and have been very successful in diversifying the rural economic base. For instance, Wilson & Whitehead (2012) have identified businesses[8] situated in remote rural locations in Co. Clare (particularly the Burren region) that have become embedded in globalised economic and decision making pathways, whereby it is not possible for these businesses to source input ingredients / materials locally and there is a reliance to export finished produce overseas. The globalisation of the countryside has also spawned global amenity migration, but it has a geographically uneven distribution, due to only:

> *'selected localities being catapulted into global consciousness as amenity destinations and thus experiencing a transformative impact that is highly localised yet contingent on global actors and networks'* (Woods, 2009).

[7] In 2007, there was a 75.4% differential between the region with the highest GVA per capita (Dublina) and the region with the lowest GVA per capita (Midlands).
[8] These include a small-scale pig operation; fish smokehouse; farm specialising in ice-cream production; perfumery; organic goat enterprise; and jam-producing business.

Even though rural amenity migration is a localised phenomenon, notable examples include the Western United States[9] (Rasker, et al., 2009), the Cumbria Lake District and East Cleveland, Northern England (Kalantaridis, 2010), Provence – Alps – Cote d'Azur, France (Baccaini, 2007) and South-Western Ireland, incorporating the towns of Bantry (Gaffey, 2004), Killarney, Dingle and Kenmare (O'Rourke & Kramm, 2009). The emergence of these globalised economic and social activities within rural space has been fundamental in the creation of new terminology, as it alludes to the transformative processes and practices occurring in contemporary rural society.

Though, studies relating to the subject of globalisation have traditionally largely side-lined rural regions in preference for urban centres, rural studies have undergone a revival in recent years and there is now a strong emphasis on topics which had previously been the preserve of urban studies (Jackson, 2005). Woods (2007) has argued that research on rural globalisation has been limited to five distinct approaches, with a strong economic focus, can be discerned from the literature. Firstly, the globalisation of commodity chains has been instrumental in the development of a global agri-food sector, with a rescaling in relationships, whereby transnational corporations play a strong role in dictating global prices at the expense of producers. Albrecht (2007, p. 5) conceptualises this argument by providing an exemplar of the US wheat industry:

> *'If wheat can be produced cheaper in Argentina or Australia or Russia than in Kansas, then Kansas wheat farmers are going to face more serious competition than ever before. Buyers all over the world, including those in Kansas City, St. Louis or Chicago, are going to purchase that wheat where it can be obtained the cheapest'.*

Producers are now less protected from volatile global market forces as a consequence of the removal of trade barriers which allows active competition with producers in other countries. Furthermore, advancements in transportation and telecommunications have alleviated time and distance ratios, thereby providing less protection for local producers. The wheat industry is not immune to commodity price fluctuations, attributable to global competition. Furthermore, other commodities have experienced similar price fluctuations, including textile manufacturing (van Grunsuen & Smackman, 2002;

[9] This area encompasses the states of Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. Approximately half of this region is owned and managed by the federal government and it is not available for development. This region is noted for national parks (e.g. Yellowstone), wilderness areas, wildlife refuges, grazing herds of buffalo, forest plantations, wetlands, mountain ranges, rivers and lakes.

Marcinzak & van der Velde, 2008), dairy processing (Davidson, 2002) and meat rendering (Rees, 2008; Dickson-Hoyle & Reenberg, 2009).

Secondly, the regulatory framework governing the global economy has been transformed through state deregulation, leading to the abandonment of the productivist regimes and the advent of post-productivism. The deregulation of the global marketplace has had a profound impact on rural Australian communities[10], with clear distinctions between the 'winners' and 'losers'. The Australian agricultural sector has undergone major restructuring in order to improve its global competiveness due to the sector facing several serious obstacles with respect to trading blocs; unfair trading strategies; and protectionist policies in the US and EU. In response, the Australian government has implemented numerous deregulatory policies in order to boost efficiencies, which include:

> *'reduction of import tariffs; deregulation of the finance and banking sector; conversion of traditional government departments into state-owned enterprises; privatisation of state-owned enterprises including utilities and telecommunications; privatisation and /or contracting out of what used to be government services; elimination of state monopoly control in primary industries; forced competition in the telecommunications industry and implementation of a structural adjustment scheme to encourage the exit from agriculture of marginal farmers'* (Vanclay, 2003, p. 84).

This has resulted in the rationalisation and curtailment of public services and social welfare programs in rural and remote areas (Alston, 2007). The abolition of quotas and tariffs has had a dramatic impact on commodity prices, particularly for oranges, as orange concentrate can be sourced at a lower cost from Brazil and consequently, this constituent of the Australian agricultural sector has been in steep decline since the late 1990s (Vanclay, 2003). A similar scenario occurred in Ireland with respect to the sugar beet industry (Clarke, 2006). However, some rural dwellers have benefited immensely from the restructuring process as some farmers have diversified into niche markets for high price commodities, whilst others have embraced the tourism industry (Fisher, 2009).

[10] Australia has a liberal agricultural model, of the type that may emerge in Europe post 2014 due to proposed reforms of the Common Agricultural Policy.

Thirdly, rural development initiatives are rooted in globalisation, both in the developed and developing worlds. Globalisation has been beneficial in opening niche markets and accelerating growth for rural enterprises but it also '*created real dangers that the rural poor will be left behind by lack of skills, capital and access to resources'*, especially in the developing world (Woods, 2007, p. 489). The EU sponsored LEADER programme, has been a proactive transnational initiative whereby the adoption of a partnership approach has empowered local people to become actively involved in local-decision making (Edwards & Woods, 2004; Storey, 2004; McAreavey, 2009). The LEADER programme has also encouraged innovation, animation and capacity building within local communities. A primary objective of the LEADER programme is to support endogenous rural development, especially in peripheral regions, whereby '*innovative solutions to rural problems'* can be generated in order to reduce subsistence farming and to provide a platform for increasing diversification within the rural economy (Barke & Newton, 1997, p. 322), so that rural areas can be competitive players within the global economy.

Rural development agencies in Ireland, sponsored by both the LEADER programme and the Irish government, have a strong record in designing and implementing rural tourism initiatives, whereby the commoditisation of distinctive rural places, particularly those rich in heritage, has created niche markets and hence, propelling these areas into the national and / or international consciousness through the *'service of contemporary place promotion'* (Storey, 2004, p. 199). In order to improve, create or change a sense of place within rural communities, the following processes have been of crucial importance:

- *The development of a critical mass of visitor attractions and facilities;*
- *The hosting of events and festivals;*
- *The development of rural tourism strategies and policies associated with new or renewed regional tourism organisations and related development of regional marketing and promotion campaigns; and*
- *The development of leisure and cultural services and projects to support the regional marketing and tourism effort* (Hall, 2005, p. 83).

These endogenous endeavours have also had a positive influence in enhancing the physical infrastructure and aesthetics of rural communities, thereby providing an impetus for people to remain in residence within rural areas and providing a strong rationale in the counter-urbanising process. Furthermore, rural development programmes promote tourism initiatives with a globalised dimension, through collaboration with local firms to capture global flows of tourists; promotion of specific natural and social assets which have a particular relevance to local markets; and the endorsement of alternative food networks that have a special resonance with a particular location[11] (Young, 2010). This has materialised in Ireland through the emergence of a growing artisan sector, with strong customer demand for locally produced and hand-crafted products. According to Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, these small and medium sized companies have been very successful in promoting 'Irish food culture' abroad (Department of Agriculture Fisheries and Food, 2010).

Fourthly, 'depeasantisation' has been associated with globalisation, as it has enabled the transformation of production systems, through technical advancement (Millard, 2005) and commercialisation (Pezzini, 2001). On a macro-scale, rural areas have to a certain degree witnessed assimilation into western cultures and social structures. Finally, globalisation has been discerned as a transformative agent in reshaping a wide range of processes and trends within rural society, including policy reforms, farm restructuring, expansion of the service sector, a change in migratory patterns and the commercialisation of rural heritage. It has to be acknowledged, Woods is slightly sceptical of this approach as the connections between globalisation and the various processes and trends are *'sketchily drawn at best and gloablisation is in effect taken as a 'given' in structuring the contemporary rural experience'* (Woods, 2007, p. 490).

Globalisation literature often epitomises the theoretical framework underpinning the concept through a case study approach of large metropolitan city regions with a substantial financial / corporate core, otherwise known as global cities (Pacione, 2009). References towards the emergence of a global countryside within the literature seem premature as it is difficult to pinpoint notable, renowned rural areas which adheres to all of the ten defining characteristics of the global countryside as outlined in Table 2.1. Therefore, the global countryside can only be viewed as a hypothetical space (Woods, 2007). Nevertheless, these variables have become increasingly manifest, although their prevelance is very varied.

[11] Examples include Feta cheese (Greece), Parmesan cheese (Italy), Cornish Pasty (England), Yorkshire pudding (England), Cashel Blue farmhouse cheese (Ireland) and Champagne region – wine (France).

Table 2.1: Ten Defining Characteristics of the Global Countryside

1	Primary and secondary economic activity in the global countryside is dependent on consumption distanced from production.
2	It is a site of increased corporate concentration and integration at a transnational scale.
3	It is both the supplier and employer of migrant labour.
4	The inflow of tourists through the global countryside, attracted to sites of global rural amenity.
5	It attracts high levels of property investment, for both commercial and residential purposes, usually by clients with no familial ties to the space.
6	Neoliberal globalisation involves the commodification of nature.
7	The landscape of the global countryside is inscribed with the marks of globalisation.
8	It is characterised by increasing social polarisation.
9	It is associated with new sites of political autonomy.
10	It is always a contested space.

Source: Extracts from (Woods, 2007, pp. 492 - 494)

Even though there may be difficulties in distinguishing specific locations which conform to all of the attributes of a global countryside, there are certain rural regions whose economic, social and / or cultural sphere(s) of influence resonate globally. Examples include, regions with a specific natural resource - the oil sands of Alberta, Canada (Atkins & MacFayden, 2008), the agriculturally rich tillage soils of the Great Plains in central USA (Longworth, 2009) and the skiing resorts in the mountainous Alpine region in Europe (Hudson, 1998). The town of Killarney, Co. Kerry is an Irish location that adheres to the majority of the defining characteristics of a global countryside. For instance, Killarney has obtained international resonance for its idyllic scenery (mountains, lakes, national park), thereby enabling the creation of a prominent tourism sector. This rural town has more hotel rooms than any other tourism destination in Ireland, with the exception of Dublin City (Mottiar & Ryan, 2007). Furthermore, Killarney has become a migrant destination, with approximately 33% of its population being categorised as foreign nationals (predominantly from Poland and Lithuania) in the 2011 Census of Population. The majority of these migrants have secured employment within the tourism, construction and mining sectors (Crowley, 2007).

Decisions adopted by policymakers and governments also influence the rural economy at a global scale, most notably, the trading agreements enforced by the WTO and at a transnational scale, the regulation of the agricultural sector through the European

Common Agricultural Policy and the broader socio-economic rural development programme through the aegis of LEADER (Department of Agriculture & Food, 2007). Pingali (2007) has argued that globalisation has been hugely beneficial for the agricultural sector, through firstly, securing access to global markets, thereby allowing producers to specialise in areas where there are comparative and competitive advantages in regards to inputs and outputs. As a consequence, there has been a spatial remoulding of traditional agricultural regions, with prime examples including the conversion of grazing land to arable land in large portions of Illinois and Iowa; and the intensification and commercialisation of agriculture in parts of Andalucía, Spain and Lombardy, Italy which has heralded above average declines in farm holdings[12] in other less favoured farming regions of Spain and Italy due to producers being unable to compete in a globalised marketplace (Woods, 2005).

Secondly, the growth of the non-agricultural sector in rural areas has indirectly changed the demand for agricultural goods both quantitatively and qualitatively. For example, the number employed within the agricultural sector in the US has been declining throughout the 1990s, but the number employed in agricultural services has increased by 27% between 1990 and 1996 (Woods, 2005). The growth of the services sector in rural areas has also had a profound impact on the rural economy, most spatially evident in the hinterland of large urban centres, with the agricultural sector no longer being the most dominant sector (Downey, et al., 2005). The expansion of the services sector within rural areas has provided additional employment opportunities, incorporating public services - health, education and local government; the growth of consumerism thereby stimulating retail and lesisure services; the growth of rural tourism and hospitality services, and the relocation of large firms to the peripherary of major urban centres in order to avail of a lower cost base (Department of Agriculture & Food, 2007; van Leeuwen, et al., 2009).

Thirdly, globalisation has influenced lifestyle choices, particularly diets, through increased global inter-connectioness, which has catered for diversity, convenience and a

[12] An agricultural holding refers to '*a single unit, in both technical and economic terms, operating under a single management, which produces agricultural products. Other supplementary (non-agricultural) products and services may also be provided by the holding*' (European Commission, 2000).

weakening in the consumption of local, traditional cusine. This is evident in the increasing demand for meat products throughout the globe, particularly in developing countries due to rapidly rising populations, higher incomes and urbanisation. The liberalisation of the marketplace, advancements in science and telecommunications, and global commodity transactions have been instrumental in allowing for an expansion of the livestock industry, thereby satisfying rising global consumer demand (Rae, 2008; Dickson-Hoyle & Reenberg, 2009). One should not dismiss the role of the global media in reshaping the diets of consumers throughout the globe. For instance, popular American sitcoms and major blockbuster films are broadcast on a global scale and they provide a medium of wide-scale advertising of global products, examples include MacDonalds and Pepsi (Pingali & Khwaja, 2004). Furthermore, major sporting fixtures are often sponsored by food or beverage conglomerates (Lagae, 2003) and the Internet has also been deployed as a marketing tool for reconfiguring healthy lifestyle choices, especially for younger age cohorts (Ayers & Jacobs Kronenfeld, 2007; Lindsay, et al., 2008).

The emergence of endogenous counter responses to globalisation have also contributed to the processes of rural restructuring. These include the slow food movement (Allen & Hinrichs, 2007; Schneider, 2008), environmental conservation initatives (Leonard, 2007; Barry & Doran, 2009), local exchange trading systems (Pacione, 1997) and the third sector / social economy (Woods, 2003; Fyfe, 2005). Localisation or 'new localism' has become a central component of the EU's rural development policy (CAP), whereby community based initiatives seek to improve the local rural economy whilst preserving the heritage, culture and traditions associated with specific areas (Moseley, 1999). Endogenous movements play a crucial role in promoting the local distinctiveness of indigenous goods / services produced within a particular region. Furthermore, a tangible engagement is also fostered between the consumer and the producer / service provider through provenance, authenticity and trustworthyness, attributes which are absent from the global mass market (Sefang, 2007).

Overall, globalisation has played a significant role in transforming the socio-economic fabric of rural space and the pace thereof continues to quicken. Even though the global countryside can only be considered a hypothetical concept, there are numerous regions, located throughout the globe which adhere to several characteristics of this definition. These include rural areas which are experiencing significant in-migration and a rapid expansion of the non-agricultural sector. However, the agricultural sector remains one of the most prominent industries within rural areas and it has been strongly influenced by globalisation, through the regulation of global markets by transworld organisations, intense mechanisation and technicalisation and through the emergence of transnational agri-businesses. One can assume that globalisation will continue to play a pivotal role in reshaping and restructuring rural space into the future, due to the strength and degree of inter-connectivity which exists between different regions.

2.3 Agricultural Change

2.3.1 Introduction

In common with its counterparts in other developed countries, the Irish agricultural sector has witnessed prolonged periods of substantive change as a result of the adoption of firstly, productivist and subsequently, post-productivist farming practices (Lafferty, et al., 1999; Crowley, et al., 2008). Productivist principles of production, akin to Fordism, promoted the industrialisation of agriculture, thereby '*emphasising intensified production, greater mechanisation, specialisation and concentration, and the reliance on the state protection of prices*' (Creamer, et al., 2009, p. 4). The productivist era emerged after the Second World War due to major food shortages throughout Europe and remained the dominant agricultural discourse until the late 1970s. Thereafter, a radically different approach, post-productivism emerged to replace productivism as it was no longer financially viable for the state to provide price supports and subsidies for farmers (Woods, 2005).

Post-productivism, similar to Post-Fordism within the manufacturing sector, demanded an overhaul of previously accepted practices such as intensification, mechanisation and specialisation. In their place, environmental and social goals were to take precedence (Halfacree, 1999). In order to achieve these goals, successive governments and European Union policies, most notably the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) have advocated extensification, farm diversification, countryside stewardship and an enhancement of the value of agricultural products (Woods, 2005). The adherence to both productivist and post-productivist principles by all stakeholders within the Irish agricultural system has allowed for a prolonged period of restructuring in this previously dominant sector of the rural economy (McHugh, 2001).

Since the 1960s, there has been a substantial and continual decline in the number of persons engaged in farming. The EU's *Commission Memorandum on the Reform of Agriculture* or alternatively known as the *Mansholt Plan* highlighted the necessity for rationalisation within the agricultural sector, as two thirds of farms consisted of less than ten hectares within the European Community in 1968. Consequently, the majority of farmers had an inadequate income, even with the price supports and subsidies provided through the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) (Mansholt, 1970). The *Mansholt Plan* encountered fervent opposition from farming representative organisations, thereby hindering its immediate implementation but the majority of the key recommendations have been adopted in subsequent decades within the CAP (Staed, 2007). Since Ireland's entry into the EEC in 1972, there has been a continuous rationalisation of the Irish agricultural sector.

According to the CSO (2008), there were 170,600 agricultural holdings in the state in 1991 and this figure has decreased to 128,200 by 2007. This equates to a decline of 2,775 holdings annually. In regard to a European perspective, the decline in agriculture has been more acute as there were 6,770,670 holdings in 2000 compared to 5,843,056 holdings in 2005[13]. Therefore, a 14% decline has occurred on mainland Europe whilst Ireland recorded a relatively lower decline of 6% in the same timeframe (CSO, 2008). The lower rate of decline in Ireland may possibly stem from a cultural and historical attachment to being both landowners and land custodians (McDonagh, et al., 2010). These figures do not convey fully, the fundamental changes occurring in Irish farm households. According to the latest figures from the *2010 Census of Agriculture* (CSO, 2012c), there has been a slight increase in the number of farm holdings (139,860) in Ireland since the *2007 Farm Structure Survey* (CSO, 2008). There has also been a 5.5% increase in the number of people employed in agricultural production between 2000 (257,948) and 2010 (272,016) (CSO, 2012d). This increase in the agricultural workforce

[13] Figures are for the EU15 member states which include Ireland, Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Sweden, Austria and Belgium.

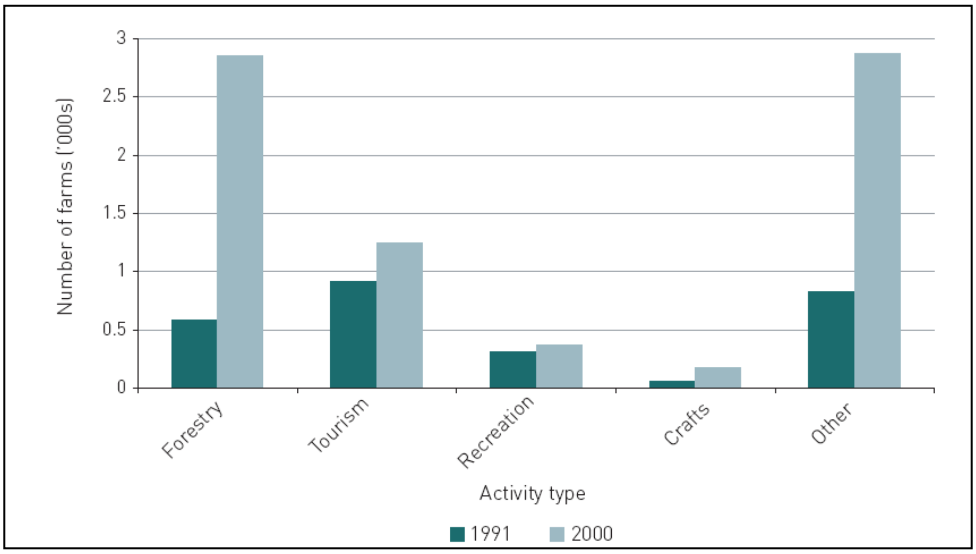
stems from the economic downturn, as employment opportunities having dwindled in other economic sectors, especially in construction related activities, and there has been a re-focus on agricultural production as a means of generating both income and employment. However, in order for a substantial number of farm holdings to remain viable, the incorporation of on-farm diversification activities and / or off-farm employment have become more prevalent within the Irish agricultural sector.

2.3.2 Farm Diversification

The emergence of the so-called Celtic Tiger in the early 1990s led to a dramatic rise in part-time farming, whereby, in 2006, approximately 60% of farmers were supplementing their incomes with non-farm employment and nearly 90% of farms acquired a proportion of their income from alternative sources (O'Donoghue, 2008). Researchers have found it difficult to agree a precise definition for diversification (Centre for Rural Research, 2003), but McInerney et al.'s (1989, p. 8) definition of the concept has remained influential as it refers to a '***diversion***[14] *to other income earning uses of any of the resources previously committed to conventional farming activities'*. However, this definition does not succinctly account for the spatial and temporal variations within conventional agriculture, nor does it account for the means or timeframe of resource diversion (Centre for Rural Research, 2003). McNally (2001, p. 247) has simply defined diversification as the *'development of a non-food processing enterprise on the holding'*. Diversification within the agricultural sector has become a necessity since the late 1980s, in the wake of falling incomes due to over-production, the subsequent fall in commodity prices on the world market and most importantly, the series of adjustments to the Common Agricultural Policy, which resulted in a reduction to price supports. McInerney et al. (1989), as cited by McNally (2001) and Centre for Rural Research (2003), highlight the extent of diversification in Britain with 40% of agricultural holdings generating an income from a non-farming activity.

[14] Emphasis as original

Figure 2.1: The Number of Farms Involved in Gainful Non Agricultural Activity Classified by Type of Activity, 1991 and 2000



Source: Crowley et al. (2008) *Irish Farming at the Millennium – A Census Atlas,* p.179

Figure 2.1 highlights the relative growth of diversification on Irish farms between 1991 and 2000. A small proportion of farmers (less than 3,000) are now planting their land in forestry. This is typically occurring in areas where the land offers no other productive usage and EU forestry grants have acted as a stimulus in promoting forestation. According to Crowley et al. (2008), the second largest category 'other' contains more than 100 different types of activity[15] and this demonstrates the ingenuity on the part of farmers in developing alternative sources of income. Tourism is a prominent economic activity within high amenity and scenic rural areas, particularly in South Kerry, West Cork and Connemara, Co. Galway. Farm households have diversified into providing self-catering and bed and breakfast accommodation within these locations. Its growth has been stunted as a result of the Celtic Tiger due to it being perceived more fashionable to stay in a rural hotel rather than a farm guesthouse. Furthermore, there has been a narrowing of prices, with a 25% reduction in the price[16] (adjusted for inflation) for an average hotel room between 2000 and 2008 (Bacon, 2009). The number of hotels increased by approximately 20% over a ten year period between 1995 and 2005, thereby allowing for accommodation prices to fall considerably (Mahony, 2007). A recent

[15] Examples include deer farming; sport horse breeding; amenity horticulture; production of goats milk; production of farm cheeses.
[16] The average room rate in 2000 was €87.19 and increased to €88.25 in 2008. The constant price for 2008, adjusted for inflation according to the Consumer Price Index, highlight a reduction to €65.47.

study has identified a lack of apathy amongst farmers (2%) to establish a diversified farm business. Furthermore, less than 2% of farmers are operating a diversified business, with the majority of these enterprises having close linkages to tourism sector. The low adoption of diversification activities is also reflected through the National Rural Development Programme 2007 – 2013 allocation of €16 million for such initiatives, with only €3 million awarded to 113 projects by the end of 2011 (Meredith et al., 2012). The lack of apathy to engage in farm diversification may be linked to the economic downturn, with farmers being unable to secure additional finance for these projects; and bureaucratic obstacles associated with applying for funds through the Rural Development Programme (Heanue & Macken Walsh, 2010).

Table 2.2: Family Farm Income and The Percentage of Farms where the Farmer and / or the Spouse had Off-Farm Employment

Year	Family Farm Income (€)	Percentage
2001	15,840	45
2002	14,917	48
2003	14,765	50
2004	15,557	52
2005	22,459	55
2006	16,680	60
2007	19,687	58
2008	16,993	56
2009	11,968	53
2010	18,789	51
2011	24,461	50

Source: Connolly et al. (2010); (Hennessy, et al., 2012)

The rise in off-farm employment between 2001 and 2006 was necessitated from falling incomes within the agricultural sector, but this trend has abated since the commencement of the economic downturn in 2008 (Table 2.2). It has to be acknowledged that farm incomes recorded their highest monetary amount in 2011 (€24,461), thereby reducing the necessity for off-farm employment. In the mid-1980s, approximately 60% of the farm household income was sourced from direct farming activities and this remained stable for another decade. A period of substantial changes ensued from the mid-1990s until 2007 which has resulted in only 38% of farm household income being accrued from farming activities, with 53% being derived from off-farm wages / salaries and the balance being obtained through other means, most particularly pensions and investments (O'Donoghue, 2008). Traditionally, horticulture (particularly the mushroom sector) had a relatively low capital cost base due to the utilisation of family labour in the growing and picking of vegetables (Department of Agriculture and Food, 2004). The rapid expansion of the Irish economy since 1995 allowed for the absorption of family labour into the wider economy which provided better remuneration and working conditions. Consequently, farmers within the horticulture sector became dependent on employing foreign-born agricultural workers. The majority of these workers originated from Eastern Europe and had to secure work permits (pre EU12 accession to the EU in 2004) prior to commencing employment in Ireland. For instance, the number of work permit holders issued to agricultural workers (predominantly from the Baltic States) increased from 70 in 1998 to 7,242 in 2003 (O'Connell & McGinnity, 2008).

Agricultural workers' remuneration is considerably lower than that of those employed in manufacturing or the services sector. In 2001, agricultural workers were earning on average €333.77 for a 40.9 hour week, which equates to an annual wage of €17,356.04 (CSO, 2002a). In comparison, the average industrial wage was €25,547.60 in 2001 (CSO, 2002b). There is a differentiation in regards to the salary scales for the various categories of agricultural worker (Table 2.3). Those engaged in dealing with livestock earn considerably more in contrast to general farm workers. It has to be acknowledged that agricultural workers' earnings were protected by an Employment Regulation Order (€9.10 per hour for an experienced adult worker in January 2011), but all Employment Regulation Orders were deemed unconstitutional by the High Court on 7 July 2011 (Labour Court, 2010; Turner & O'Sullivan, 2013). Consequently, all agricultural workers hired after 7 July 2011 are only protected by the National Minimum Wage (currently €8.65), thereby resulting in a deterioration of employment terms and conditions. Furthermore, the number employed as agricultural workers has declined dramatically since the 1990s, fuelled by high economic growth. This has resulted in a rise in the number of contractors being hired by farmers to assist in silage and hay making, the spreading of fertiliser and slurry, and fencing. Hiring in is not only being utilised to *'avoid capital investments, but also to reduce general farm labourer requirements'* (Crowley, et al., 2008, p. 33).

Table 2.3: Earnings of Permanent Agricultural Workers for the Week Ended 29 September 2001

Category	**Earnings (€)**	**Paid Hours**
Average	**333.95**	**40.9**
Type of Work		
Livestock Work	392.48	41.7
Horticultural Work	288.65	38.8
Mixed and General Farm work	365.35	44

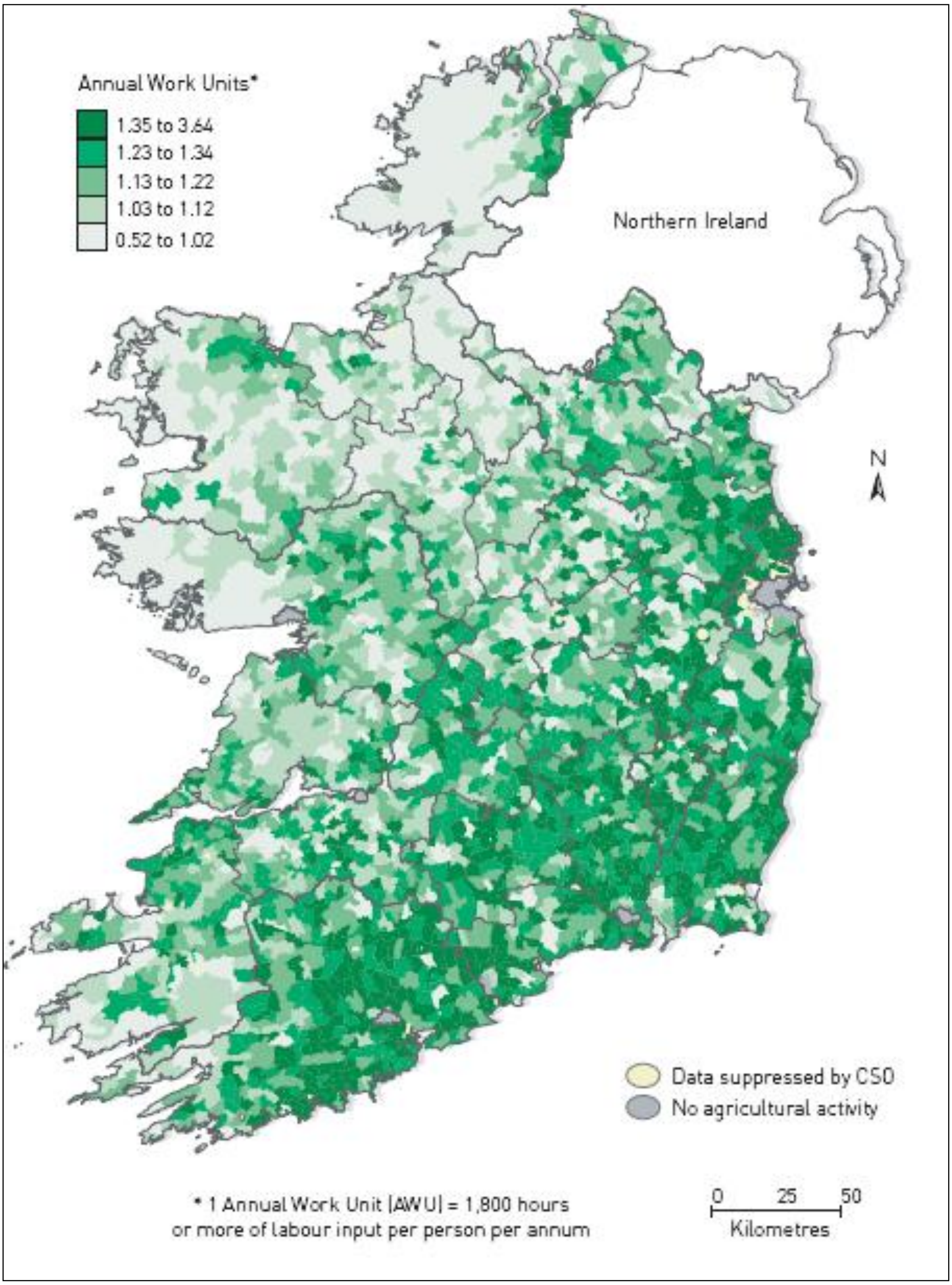
Source: CSO (2002a) *Earnings of Agricultural Workers 2001,* p. 2

2.3.3 Spatial Distribution of Agricultural Change

Walsh et al.'s (2007, p. 148) map the *Percentage Change in Employment in Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing 1991 – 2002* highlighted that decline has been most pronounced in the West and North – West, possibly due to the pre-existing dominance of small holdings and poorer land quality. Conversely, there are a handful of electoral divisions, mostly located adjacent to the coastline, which experienced a dramatic rise in their employment within this sector. This rise in employment might be attributable to a rise within the fisheries sector and possibly, the growing prevalence of fish-farms on the western seaboard. Even though there was a widespread percentage decline within the overall agricultural sector throughout the entire state, the level of employment varies substantially from region to region (Maps 2.1 & 2.2). Northern Leinster, Connaught and the border counties have experienced a particularly pronounced decline relative to the rest of the country (Glesson, et al., 2008).

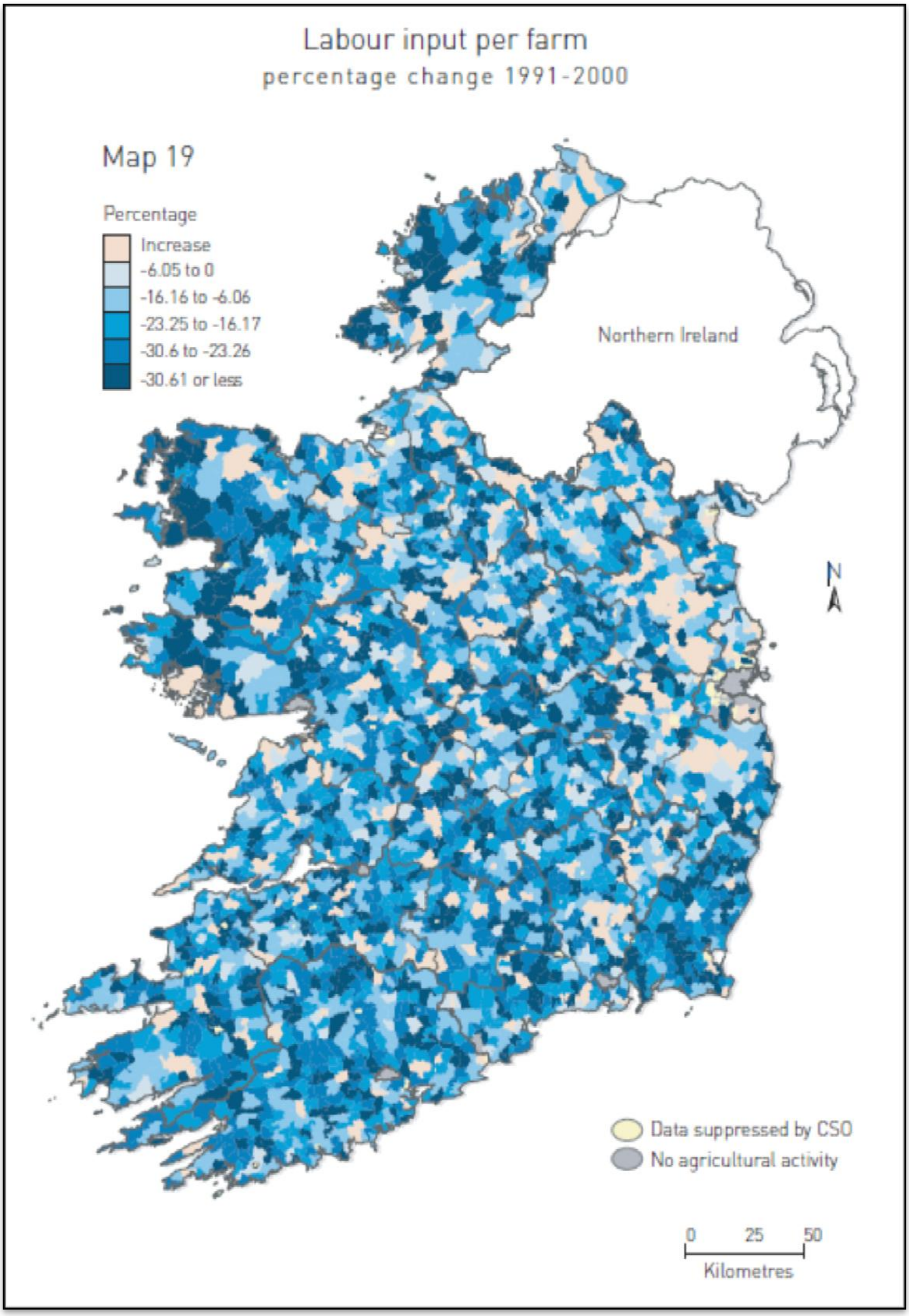
However, the greatest concentration of agricultural employment, as classified by labour input per farm (Map 2.1) is found in Southern Leinster and in Munster, particularly in the dairy heartland of the Golden Vale, and in the periphery of North Dublin. The high concentration of farmers in the South – West correlates with the migration of UK nationals to rural parts of Counties Cork and Kerry, which began in the 1960s and continued unabated until the late 1980s. This category of migration, in search of the rural idyll and the pursuit of a lifestyle associated with small scale farming, artisan

Map 2.1: Labour Input per farm 2000



Source: (Crowley, et al., 2008) *Irish Farming at the Millennium – A Census Atlas,* p. 56

Map 2.2: Labour Input per Farm - Percentage Change 1991 - 2000



Source: (Crowley, et al., 2008) *Irish Farming at the Millennium – A Census Atlas,* p. 57

production and anti-materialism is still prevalent within this region (Crowley, et al., 2008). Overall, the highest concentration of agricultural employment is to be found in the Southern and South Eastern regions, where land is most suitable for grazing and tillage. The dominance of rough grazing in the BMW (Border, Midlands and West) and South West regions promotes the rearing of beef and sheep, and in general, farmers dependent on rough grazing have an unsustainable source of income (Lafferty, et al., 1999).

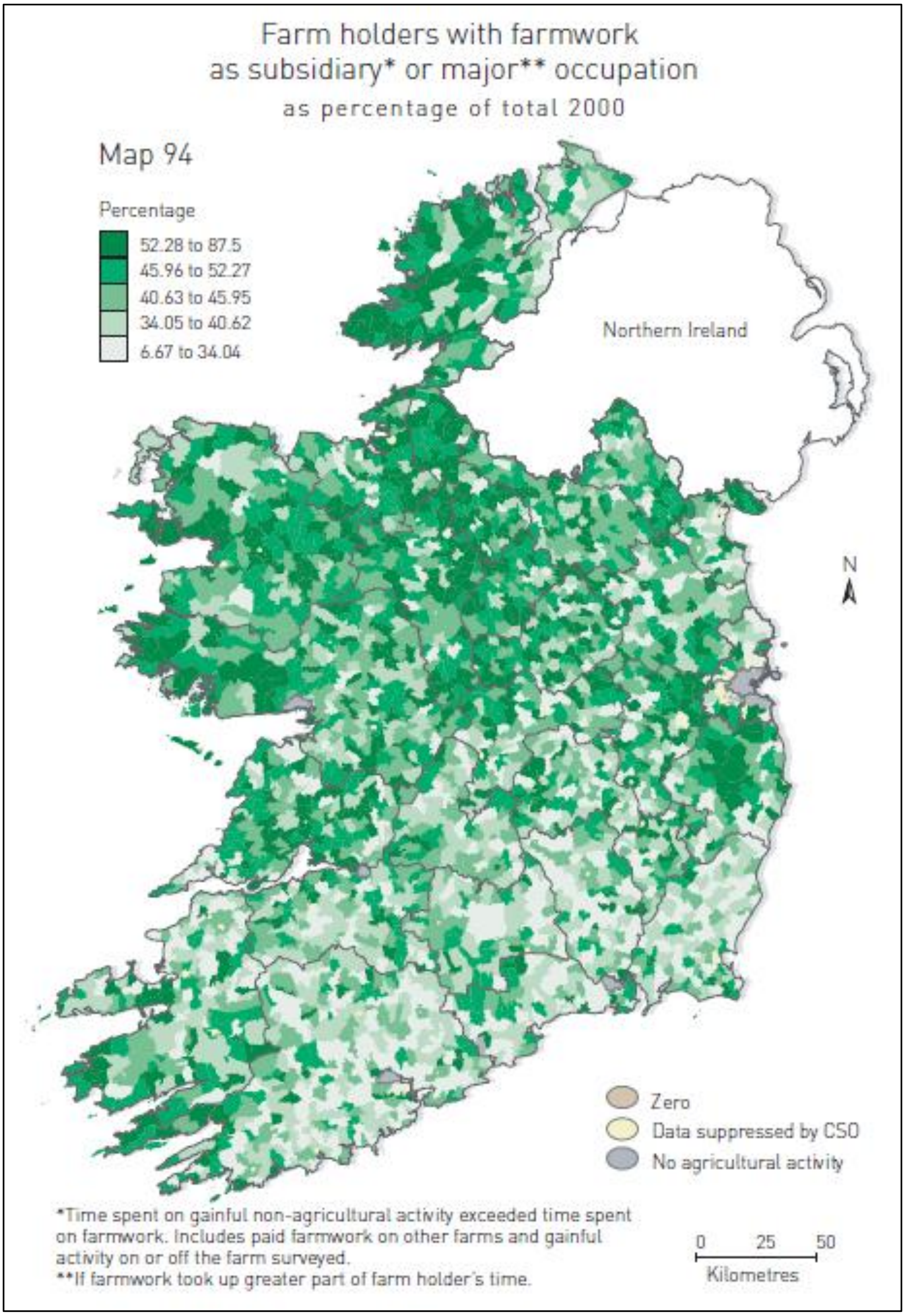
As specified, a diversification of activities on the farm has allowed for the generation of additional income (Centre for Rural Research, 2003). It is necessary to stress, a high number of holdings have been unable or unwilling to diversify and furthermore, the financial returns are inadequate to provide for a viable standard of living. Throughout the recent economic boom, farmers have been fortunate to have readily secured employment as labourers on construction sites, or as operatives in manufacturing industries. There are negative implications as these are relatively unskilled occupations which provide no security for part-time farmers during a recession (Phelan & Frawley, 2000). Employment opportunities for the spouse, typically female, tend to be concentrated within the public sector – administration, education or healthcare – retail sector and domestic services industry (O'Brien & Hennessy, 2008).

From Map 2.3, it is evident that there is a significantly higher concentration of pluriactive[17] farms in Munster and South Leinster in comparison to the rest of the country. Pluriactivity is possibly stronger in Munster and Southern Leinster as a direct result of the number of large urban settlements, for instance Limerick, Cork, Kilkenny, Waterford and Carlow. During the economic boom, farmers were enticed into commuting to these urban areas due to the availability of adequately remunerated eemployment. The numbers employed in agriculture, particularly on a full-time basis have declined over previous decades and it is anticipated that this decline will continue into the future due to:

- *'Substantial structural change in terms of farm size, even in a period of relative stagnation in the sector as far as output is concerned, and with less actual land sales.*

[17] Pluriactivity refers to 'the involvement in off-farm employment by the farm operator and / or the spouse' (O'Rourke & Kramm, 2009, p. 61).

Map 2.3: Pluriactivity in Republic of Ireland, 2000



Source: Crowley et al. (2008) *Irish Farming at the Millennium – A Census Atlas,* p. 200

- *Substantial increase in the participation of farmers and their families in the wider economy through part time or full time jobs.*
- *More substantial structural change in less intensive areas of the North and West and a modest closing of the differences in scale between these areas and the South and East'* (Pitts, 2005, pp. 61 - 62).

While the growth in the number of part-time farmers further underscores the declining significance of agriculture in the rural economy, recent empirical evidence (Walsh, et al., 2007; Crowley, et al., 2008) suggests that pluriactivity and farm diversification are enabling rural areas to arrest demographic decline and redress structural weaknesses (OECD, 2006). Thus the rural economy is becoming increasingly linked to that of urban areas and rural-urban commuting has increased as a result.

2.4 Rural Restructuring

2.4.1 Classifying Rural Areas

The effect of economic adjustment within rural areas has varied spatially throughout the country (Walsh, et al., 2007). A number of typologies, both economic (NSS, 2000; Walsh & Kavanagh, 2005; ESPON, 2006b) and socio-political (Marsden, et al., 1993; Murdoch, et al., 2003) have been constructed by academics to outline the varying spatial disparities between different rural regions. The transformation of rural space, in response to globalisation, has produced not only a landscape economically delineated by core and peripheral regions, but variance in social structures within rural areas is also evident, due to either the presence or absence of amenity assets and proximity to urban centres The Irish National Spatial Strategy (2000) provides a platform for remedying the variance in economic performance between the principal urban centres, especially the Greater Dublin Area, and rural areas. In contrast, the other typologies provide an insightful commentary on the spatial disparities that exist in Ireland and Europe, whilst Marsden et al. (1993) provides a strongly focused theoretical perspective.

Marsden et al (1993) have identified four different outcomes within a typology that may arise in the countryside as a result of the uneven spatial patterns caused by the process of rural restructuring.

- Firstly, the *preserved countryside* is evident in attractive scenic areas and greenbelts around urban areas. These areas are characterised by antidevelopment and conservationist attitudes. The attitudes are expressed through the political system by the middle class who want to preserve the rural idyll. Confrontation occurs in the preserved countryside due to the demands made by developers who want to construct new developments for tourism and / or residential property.

- Secondly, the *contested countryside* is the rural area found outside the main commuter catchments and contains relatively few amenity assets. Farmers and developers are the most politically dominant groups and seek to implement policies associated with agricultural diversification and small enterprise schemes. New residents into the area are strongly opposed to these developments and wish to maintain a preserved countryside.
- Thirdly, the *paternalistic countryside* is characterised by large private estates and farms and the development process is still directed by landowners and / or farmers. These areas of the countryside are less likely to be affected by development problems, as the landowners still see themselves as custodians of the land and therefore undertake a traditional paternalistic role.
- Finally, the *clientelist countryside* refers to remote rural areas with poor land quality. Agriculture has remained the main sector of the economy but it only survives due to subsidies from the state. Any developments found in the *clientelist countryside* are usually sponsored by the state. Local politics is predominantly concerned with unemployment and the welfare of the community living in this rural area. (Murdoch, et al., 2003; Marini & Mooney, 2006; Murdoch, 2006).

It is evident from Marsden's spatial classification that the paternalistic and the clientelist countryside are the areas least likely to experience population growth due to their strong association with the agricultural sector. The clientelist countryside in Ireland can be most associated with marginal and peripheral regions, where subsistence farming is one of mainstays of the local economy, particularly, in the North-West of Ireland and in the Midlands. The paternalist countryside is most akin to areas dominated by large farming enterprises and this is highly evident within the Golden Vale region of South Tipperary, East Limerick and North Cork. Population growth is more likely to be found in the preserved or contested countryside. Murdoch (2006) has shown that the process of counterurbanisation has affected spatial patterns due to middle class residents moving from urban locations to areas in the countryside which are highly accessible and environmentally attractive. Counterurbanisation has consequently increased the prosperity of these rural areas adjacent to major cities. Marsden (1993) (1998), Ilbery (1998) and Murdoch (2006) have all pinpointed the shift of manufacturing and services, especially high tech firms, from urban to rural areas which are highly accessible. Examples of such areas in Ireland include Kildare, Wicklow and parts of Co. Meath adjacent to Dublin. The lower house price differential between the aforementioned locations and inner-city Dublin may have had an effect in spurring people to move within commuting distance of Dublin city rather than a desire to experience the rural idyll. Counterurbanisation is also evident in the Mid-West Region, in the south-west of North Tipperary between Newport and Ballina, and in parts of Co. Clare, particularly around Lough Derg and Killaloe.

It has to be acknowledged that the various 'countrysides' derived within this typology can co-exist together within a dynamic and heterogeneous region (Carroll, et al., 2011). For instance, South Co. Dublin exhibits elements of a preserved, paternalistic, contested and clientelist countryside. This arises due to its geographical location (proximity to Dublin City); high amenity status (Dublin Mountains); and the co-existence of marginal and fertile agricultural land. The differentiated countryside typology devised by Marsden et al. (1993) and Murdoch et al. (2003) has been criticised for being a socio-political typology of an aristocratic-dominated English countryside, whose applicability does not resonate with the history of land tenure in Ireland. However, the themes contained within this typology (particularly rural restructuring, modes of production and property rights) are transferable to other rural locations across the globe (Carroll, et al., 2011). Furthermore, Hoggart (1997, p. 510) believes it is unwise for this typology to make the assertion that the *'middle class has captured the countryside for its own and that those of lower incomes are being squeezed out by in-migrant demand for rural homes'*. The increase in middle-class ownership of property is a phenomenon occurring in both urban and rural locations. Hoggart (1997) concedes that middle class dominancy of property ownership is prevalent in South-Eastern England, but this is a localised spatial variation.

The process of rural restructuring conceptualises the transformation of the socio-economic fabric of rural areas throughout developed countries and this process is also evident in rural Ireland. Rural restructuring processes have been heavily influenced by globalisation, as evident through the changing role of agriculture at a global scale, within rural economy (Randall, 2009). This has led to a diversification in the economic base with resource based development, tourism development and an enhancement of the physical and cultural landscape within local communities becoming prominent activities (NSS, 2000). The primary focus of the 1999 *White Paper on Rural Development*, published by the Irish government was to strengthen *'the economic and social well-being of rural communities by providing the conditions for a meaningful and fulfilling life for all people living in the countryside'* (Department of Agriculture Food and Rural Development, 1999, p. vi) and this sentiment was incorporated into the National Spatial Strategy (NSS). This spatial plan has identified the location and extent of various rural area types within Ireland; comprising (a) rural areas under strong urban influence (b) stronger rural areas (c) structurally weaker rural areas and (d) areas with clustered settlement patterns (Government of Ireland, 2005). The key descriptors for each rural area type and the associated policy responses for each classification as defined by the NSS (2000) are outlined in Table 2.4. This spatial strategy advocated the pursuit of balanced development throughout Ireland as a means of effectively negotiating the challenges posed by rural restructuring.

Table 2.4: Rural Area Types and Policy Responses

Rural Area Type and Description	Rural Area Policy Responses
(A) *Areas that are Strong* Mainly in the South and East where agriculture will remain strong, but where pressure for development is high and some rural settlements are under stress.	• Support agriculture by maintaining the integrity of viable farming areas. • Strengthen rural villages and small towns by making them attractive to residential and employment related development. • Reduce urban sprawl through a reviewed emphasis on appropriate in-fill development.
(B) *Areas that are Changing* Including many parts of the Midlands, the Border, the South and West where population and agricultural employment have started to decline and where replacement employment is required.	• Support communities where the viability of agriculture is under stress through promoting diversification in enterprise, local services and tourism.
(C) *Areas that are Weak* Including more western parts of the Midlands, certain parts of the Border and many inland areas in the West, where population decline has been significant.	• Build up local communities through specially targeted and integrated measures. • Develop new rural tourism resources such as inland waterways.
(D) *Areas that are Remote* Including parts of the west coast and the islands.	• Promote marine and natural resource based development. • Overcome distance barriers with the support of technology.
(E) *Areas that are Culturally Distinct* Including parts of the west coast and the Gaeltacht which have a distinctive cultural heritage.	• Enhance accessibility. • Strengthen existing settlements. • Conserve cultural identity.

Source: *National Spatial Strategy – NSS,* (2000) p. 5

However, the NSS has failed in the task of fostering balanced development throughout Ireland. Scott (2006) has argued that the NSS focused too strongly on an urban discourse, whereby the economic dominance of Dublin had to be counterbalanced spatially through the development of 8 gateways and 9 hubs. This urban-centric discourse within spatial planning can be considered a threat as there is a *'lack of vision and clarity regarding the future role for rural areas and subsequent new uses for rural space in this post-productivist era'* (Scott, 2006, p. 826). Furthermore, the Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government (2010) also conceded that the NSS did not adequately provide rural dwellers with local employment opportunities. The aspiration to create multiple centres of economic development within Ireland was conceived through political pragmatism rather than economic necessity. This was observed in the government's announcement in 2003 that the Decentralisation Programme of the Civil Service would encompass the movement of 10,000 civil servants from Dublin to 53 separate locations within 25 counties, rather than being concentrated in the designated gateways and hubs as outlined in the NSS (Scott, 2006). However, this programme was not implemented fully due to the current economic downturn and reluctance on the part of the civil service to move from Dublin to various locations throughout Ireland. In light of the economic downturn, the NSS has failed due to numerous planning mistakes, particularly the emergence of 'ghost estates' in rural areas (Kitchin, et al., 2012), unfinished retail complexes in peri-urban areas; and numerous vacant retail units in town and city centres as a consequence of constructing retail / business parks on the periphery of urban settlements (Drudy & Collins, 2011). The government abolished the NSS in 2013 and has embarked on formulating a new spatial strategy based on the needs of communities rather than developers (Holland, 2013).

Walsh et al. (2005) have presented a typology of rural areas in the Republic of Ireland in both 1996 and 2002[18]. The typology was constructed by measuring 30 census variables in 2,716 electoral divisions (EDs). It has to be acknowledged that EDs vary significantly in terms of population size. For instance, some EDs have a population base less than 100 individuals whilst the Blanchardstown – Blakestown ED has a population in excess of 32,000 inhabitants (Glesson, et al., 2008). Therefore, this may lead to some distortion within a typology, as specific neighbourhoods within an ED may be exhibiting different socio-economic characteristics to others.[19] Despite this limitation, typologies utilising thematic choropleth maps are an effective means of providing evidence-informed analysis of processes and trends occurring across space (Gleeson, et

[18] The components differ slightly between the two typologies as a consequence of different questions being asked in the Census Returns for 1996 and 2002.

[19] This anomaly has been rectified in the 2011 Census of Population through the introduction of Small Area (SA) boundaries. The dimensions of SA boundaries have to adhere to the following criteria: a minimum of 65 households, a mean of 92 and a maximum of just over 900 households. Furthermore, SA boundaries have to respect townland, ED and county boundaries; and wherever possible follow natural features on the landscape (Gleeson et al., 2009).

al., 2008). The principal components of the rural typologies overlapped to some extent between each other as outlined in Table 2.5.

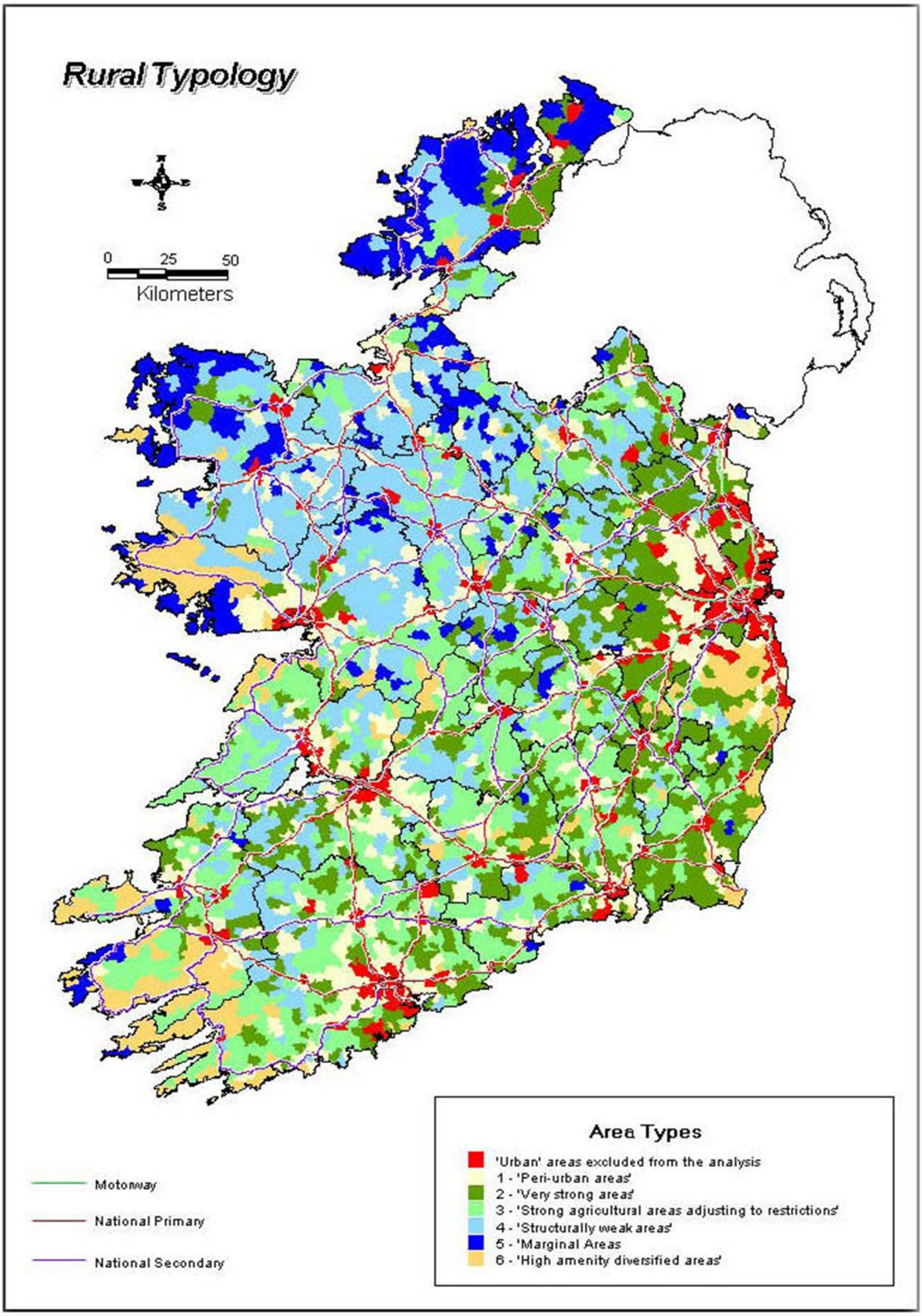
Table 2.5: Principal Components of Walsh et al.'s Rural Typologies

1996 Typology	2002 Typology
Labour Force Participation	Demographic Viability
Transition from Agriculture	Strength of Agricultural Sector
Employment Diversification	Socio-Economic Profile
Strength of Agricultural Sector	Labour Force Participation
Professional Services and Self-Employed	Population and Unemployment Dynamics
Employment Change in Agriculture	Rural Diversification
Age Profile	Agricultural Employment Change
Demographic Viability	

Source - Geographical Perspectives on Outputs from Census 2002: NUI Maynooth, 27th January 2002

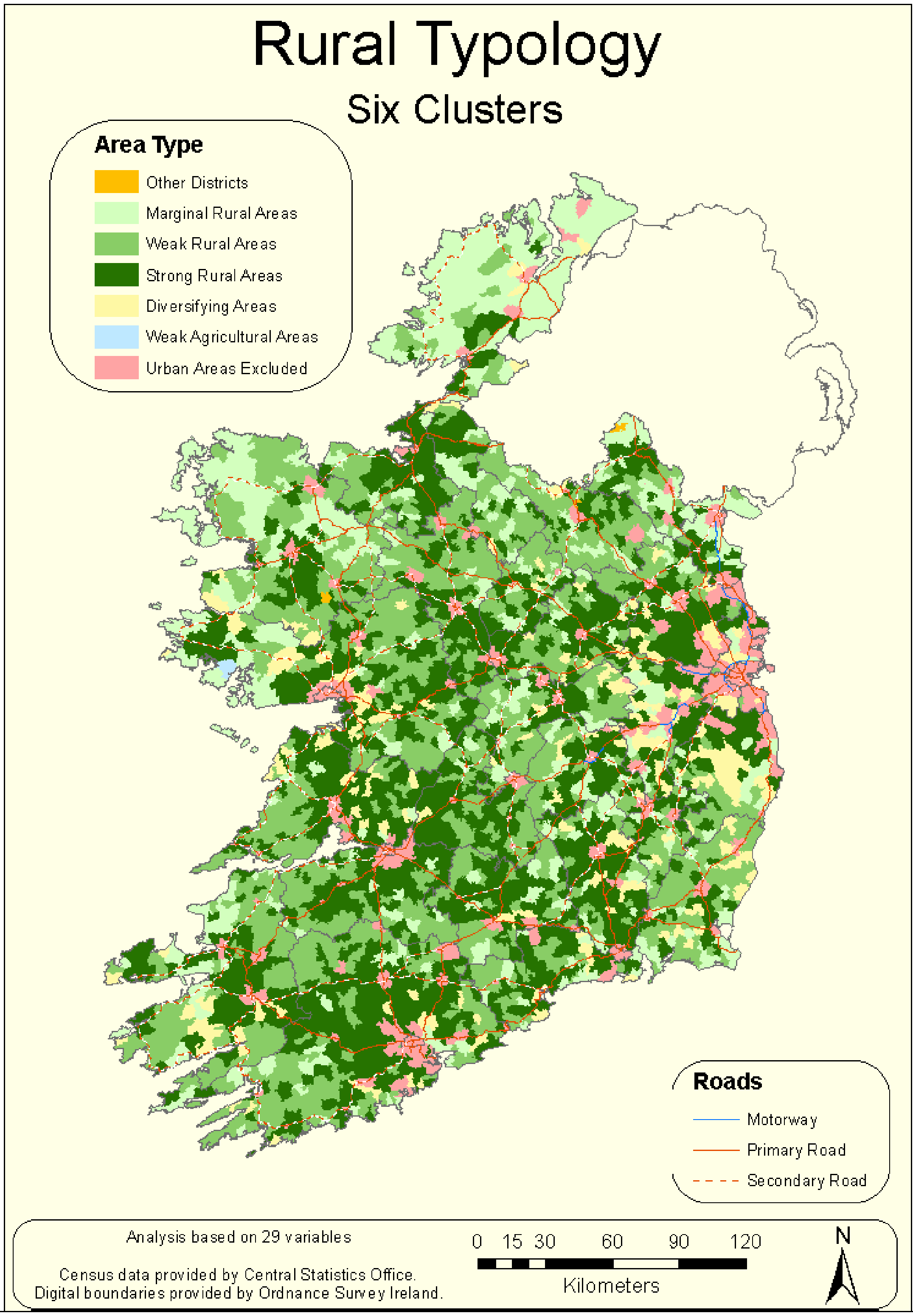
The principal components produced a typology for 1996 (Map 2.4) containing: (1) peri-urban areas; (2) very strong rural areas; (3) strong agriculture areas under stress; (4) structurally weak areas; (5) very marginal areas; (6) high amenity diversification areas; and (7) urban districts (Commins, et al., 2005). The peri-urban areas located around the major cities, Dublin, Cork, and Limerick have expanded rapidly in population between 1996 and 2002. It is imperative to point out the existence of extensive commuter belts within peri-urban areas, creating a spatial imbalance, whereby the urbanisation of small settlements on the fringes of urban centres is becoming a predominant feature of a previously holistically rural landscape (National and Economic Social Council, 1997; Walsh & Kavanagh, 2005). The structurally weak and marginal areas are concentrated within the West of Ireland, where the majority of farm incomes deriving from non-market payments and where farming is predominantly pursued on a part-time basis. In contrast, the majority of agricultural output is generated in the South and East, the agricultural heartland of Ireland (Types 2 and 3). According to Cawley et al. (1999, pp. 151 - 152), *'all rural areas are being absorbed into an urbanised economy'*. However, the rural typology suggests (Map 2.5) this may be an over-simplification, as proximity to large urban centres emerges as a determinant of the degree of economic absorption of the rural into the urban.

Map 2.4: Walsh et al.'s Rural Typology 1996



Source: Geographical Perspectives on Outputs from Census 2002: NUI Maynooth, 27th January 2002.

Map 2.5: Walsh et al.'s Rural Typology 2002



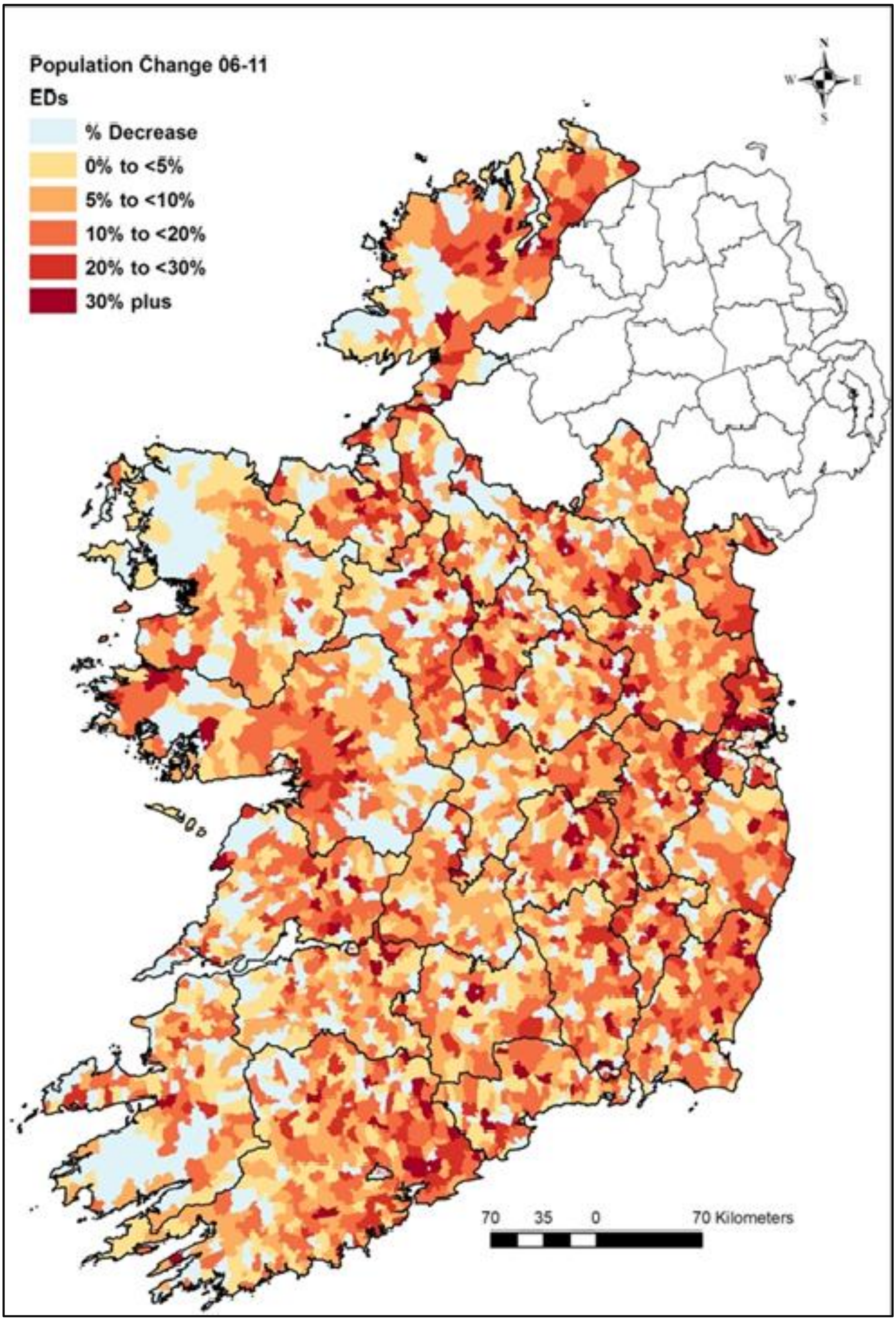
Source: Geographical Perspectives on Outputs from Census 2002: NUI Maynooth, 27 January 2002.

North Kildare is a rural area which can be considered a peri-urban area due to its close proximity to Dublin. The towns of Maynooth, Celbridge and Kilcock which are located within this region grew at a rate of 5.02%, 4.06% and 7.2 % respectively between 1991 and 1996. Prior to this there was phenomenal growth in North Kildare as the aforementioned towns grew by 248%, 210% and 104% respectively between 1961 and 1981 (Waddington, 2000). In contrast, areas such as Inishowen (Co. Donegal) and peninsular Kerry, which are at greater distances from large urban centres retain rural characteristics, and have experienced fewer economic spin-offs (positive or negative) from the growth of Ireland's major urban centres. McHugh (2001, p. 181) highlights the propensity of vibrant rural areas to maintain a sustainable demographic and economic base through migratory movements, whilst this proves to be more challenging for weaker regions:

> *'The nature and extent of migration are important indicators of socio-economic and demographic sustainability. Out migration is often associated with areas of economic decline and social decay. In-migration, on the other hand, tends to be associated with a 'healthy' socio-economic environment, although there may be factors, aside from economic, which may be encouraging so called 'people-led' migration (i.e. based on personal tastes / preferences)'.*

Marsden (1993; 1998) and Ilbery (1998) theorised population growth would also occur in scenic, high amenity areas. In Ireland there is evidence of this as shown through the 1996 (Map 2.4) and 2002 (Map 2.5) typologies. Counties Kerry, Wicklow and parts of Galway - especially Connemara, have developed and transformed both their economic and demographic profiles in recent years. These rural areas have attracted many urban dwellers, especially in Wicklow and Galway, who have been drawn to the high quality environment, free from pollution. Both the 1996 and 2002 typologies have shown that traditional rural areas have been undergoing some stagnation, presumably due to the decline in agricultural based employment. It can be observed that population growth is most concentrated within the commuting distance of the main urban centres of Dublin, Cork, Galway and to a lesser extent Limerick (Map 2.6). Furthermore, there is population decline in high amenity and scenic areas, particularly in the vicinity of Killarney, Co. Kerry, The Burren, Co. Clare and West Mayo. When one takes the rural area type maps for both 1996 and 2002 and superimposes them onto the population

Map 2.6: Population Change between 2006 and 2011



Source: AIRO, NUI Maynooth, 17 September 2013.

change map, there is a very strong correlation with peri-urban areas being associated with population growth. Conversely, population decline is associated with the marginal, structurally weak, and strongly rural areas, which are heavily concentrated in the South Midlands, West Munster and Connaught (Map 2.6). Globalisation, increased accessibility and new migration patterns, especially the in-migration of East European foreign nationals, have been the main instigators of the population change.

At a European scale, one of the most notable urban-rural typologies has been compiled by ESPON (the European Spatial Planning Observation Network) in which it calculates the various degrees of influence of urban centres, based on their population density and functional ranking; and the degree of the human footprint within the surrounding region (ESPON, 2006a, p. 49). The typology area types vary from highly urbanised to very rural areas. The region with the highest urban influence and the highest human footprint stretches from the Benelux countries, across central and Southern Germany, through Southern Poland and it also includes significant portions of the Czech Republic and Slovakia. There are other smaller concentrations found in Southern UK and around principal cities in the Mediterranean. The most predominantly rural areas are found in the Nordic countries, Western Ireland, Romania, Bulgaria and South-Eastern Greece.

The economic base of rural areas within Europe is also undergoing a period of transition, most acutely in Western Europe, where there has been a considerable contraction in the number employed within the agricultural sector (ESPON, 2006b, p. 32). A high rate of employment growth within rural regions has been outlined by the OECD (2005), as ten of its twenty-seven member states[20] had a predominantly rural area achieving the distinction of being the region with the highest level of employment growth between 1996 and 2001. Similar observations have been evident in North America, insofar as the Canadian urban-rural typology can be subdivided into three distinct categories; rural remote, intermediate and metro-adjacent spaces (Douglas, 1997). The peripherality of Northern and Central Canada has led to the demise of the family farm and to significant outward migration which has posed significant dilemmas for the demographic sustainability of certain rural areas, whilst the metro-adjacent

[20] This statistic refers to the twenty – seven member states who were members of the OECD prior to May 1996.

spaces are trying to militate against urban sprawl and demographic concentration (Ministry of Public Infrastructure Renwal, 2006; Douglas, 2010).

2.4.2 The Multiplier Effect of Rural Restructuring

A key feature of rural restructuring is the multiplier effect between the primary sector – agriculture, forestry and mining – and the tertiary sector – financial, trade and services (Johnson, 2001). For instance, the multiplier effect associated with agriculture ranges from traditional activities (blacksmith, miller and shopkeeper) to more industrialised activities (creamery, mart and food processing). As agriculture contracts, forward and backward linkages between the producer and the ancillary service providers are either weakened or ruptured, thereby the economic structure and to a lesser extent, the social fabric of rural areas undergo a dramatic transformation. This process varies in intensity and spatially. In numeric terms, the downstream employment created by agriculture is much more sizable than the number employed in farming itself (Dempsey, 2009).

The multiplier effect of rural restructuring can also be applied to the movement of foreign nationals into a rural area, as an increase in population will provide additional demand for key social services, primarily health and education; and additional consumer spending in service and trade industries (Vias, 1999). The socio-economic benefits for rural communities cannot be underestimated as it provides the impetus for the retention and generation of local employment, thereby, providing a medium of combating demographic decline (Scottish Executive, 2004).

2.4.3 Linkages between Rural Restructuring and Migration

In recent decades, rural Ireland has experienced a period of fundamental restructuring of its economic base. Rural space is not just being utilised for agricultural purposes. Recreation, tourism, environmental conservation, construction, certain types of new industries, especially engineering, electricity generation, waste disposal, have all become dominant features on the landscape (Boyle, 2009). These new sources of employment have ultimately created a greater degree of diversification within rural areas. However, rural space is not homogenous: uneven development and economic differentiation between regions are identifiable outcomes of rural restructuring (Creamer, et al., 2009). Alongside the transformation of the rural economic base in

Ireland, there has been a significant inflow of economic migrants from Eastern Europe. Commins et al. (2005) have attributed the widespread rise in rural employment since the mid-1990s to unprecedented growth within the construction industry, commercial and retail services, and, to a lesser extent, manufacturing. Migrant workers have secured employment within all of these sectors of the economy, leading to a widespread spatial distribution of foreign nationals in small towns throughout Ireland. Therefore, rural areas with a diversified economic base or those adjacent to an urban settlement have a higher concentration of migrants in comparison to traditional agrarian settlements. It is the preserved and / or contested countrysides as opposed to the paternalistic and / or clientelist countrysides which have observed the major growth, both demographically and economically.

The economic impact of rural restructuring and migratory inflows on rural towns[21] in Ireland has received rather limited attention within academic literature. However, at a macro-scale, rural areas are diversifying their economic base from *'locations for the production of (agricultural) products to locations for the production of services including tourism and recreation'* (ESPON, 2006a, p. 50) and this will contribute to outward migration, especially from peripheral parts of Eastern Europe, where the level of agricultural employment remains relatively high, to more economically diverse regions, including both urban and rural areas (European Commission, 2007). The recipient rural areas are benefiting economically as employment vacancies within low-skilled sectors, such as agriculture, food processing and hospitality, are being filled by migrants. The local workforce perceives employment within such sectors as *'dirty, dangerous and difficult'* (de Lima & Wright, 2009, p. 393). The increased cultural diversity of the hospitality sector is evident within the peripheral regions of the UK, specifically Northern Ireland, the Lake District and Scotland, and this highlights the growing importance of migrants within the rural economy. However, the opportunities for career advancement within the hospitality sector are limited due to the majority of migrant workers having not fulfilled the requisite formal training, or secured the relevant qualifications (Baum, et al., 2007).

[21] Rural towns in Ireland can be defined as having a population cluster of 1,500 or more inhabitants (CSO, 2007). This does not include the 5 cities (Dublin, Cork, Galway, Limerick and Waterford).

2.5 Immigration into Ireland

2.5.1 Introduction

Between the 1840s and 1980s, Ireland experienced mass emigration with particular peaks in the late 19th century and again in the 1930s and 1950s, but with the dramatic improvement in the economy during the so-called Celtic Tiger (Kitchin & Bartley, 2007), there has been a remarkable turnabout due to a significant flow of immigrants arriving into the country (Paris, 2005; Krieger & Maitre, 2006). The increased in-migration coincided with the accession of eight East European countries[22] into the European Union in 2004. Ireland was one of three existing member states, which did not impose any restrictions on the free movement of citizens from the new member states into their respective jurisdictions due to a labour shortage in Ireland at this time. The other two member states were the UK and Sweden. This relative ease of access into Ireland corresponds to the significant growth in immigration between 2004 and 2007.

Table 2.6 highlights this degree of change prior to, and following, the extension of EU membership to East European states. However, there has been a noticeable decline in the level of immigration, from the peak recorded in 2007 (151,100) to 2012 (52,700)[23]. This corresponds with the Irish economy entering a severe recession, thereby reducing the number of economic migrants seeking and availing of employment in Ireland. Furthermore, there has also been a considerable rise in the number of emigrants leaving Ireland, with the figure rising from 29,400 in 2005 to 87,100 in 2012. During the economic boom, Ireland consistently recorded positive net migration, but with increasing levels of emigration and decreasing levels of immigration since the commencement of the economic downturn, this has resulted in negative net migration, with the peak year being 2012 (-34,400)[24].

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[22] Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Slovenia and Macedonia, together with Malta and Cyprus acceded to the European Union on 1 May 2004.

[23] The immigrant figures collected by the CSO also contain returning Irish emigrants.

[24] In recent years, young Irish people have tended to emigrate in order to secure employment in English speaking countries throughout the globe, predominantly to the UK; Australia; New Zealand; Canada; and USA. According to Cairns' (Forthcoming) study amongst university students in Ireland, 62% of respondents have aspirations of moving abroad to seek employment once their studies have been completed. The high emigration figures also stems from unemployed migrants returning home or moving onto other immigrant destinations in order to gain a better standard of living (Barrett & Kellly, 2012).

Table 2.6: Immigration into Ireland (200 – 2012)

Year Ending April	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net Migration
2000	52,600	36,600	26,000
2001	59,000	26,200	32,800
2002	66,900	25,600	41,300
2003	60,000	29.300	30,700
2004	58,500	26,500	32,000
2005	84,600	29.400	55,100
2006	107,800	36,000	71,800
2007	151,100	46,300	104,800
2008	113,500	49,200	64,300
2009	73,700	72,000	1,600
2010	41,800	69,200	-27,500
2011	53,300	80,600	-27,400
2012[1]	52,700	87,100	-34,400

[1] Preliminary

Source: *CSO Population and Migration Estimates for Year Ending April 2012* (2012f)

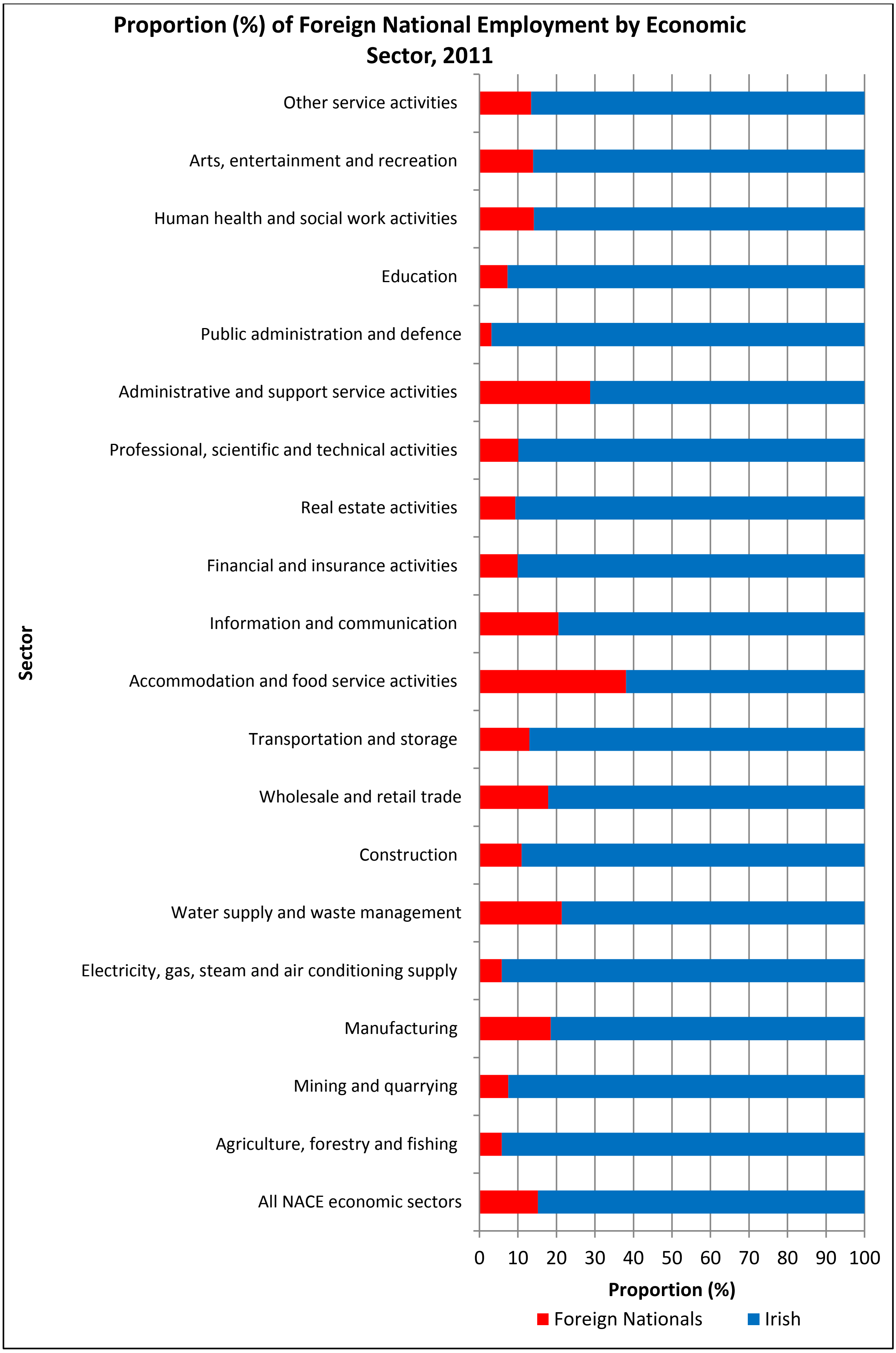
There has been a noticeable decline in the level of immigration, from the peak recorded in 2007 (151,100), which correspond with the Irish economy entering a severe recession. The *Quarterly Accounts* issued by the CSO highlight the severity of the economic contraction with both the Gross National Product and Gross Domestic Product declining by 8.79% and 6.35% respectively between 2007 and 2012 (CSO, 2013a). At the end of the final quarter of 2012, there were 1,848,900 people in employment, which represents a decline of 203,100 or 10.98% from the final quarter in 2008 (CSO, 2009; CSO, 2013b). The latest seasonally adjusted unemployment rate is 14.2%, with almost 294,600 people in receipt of unemployment benefit. According to 2011 Census of Population, migrants have been affected disproportionably in comparison to the native Irish labour force, as the unemployment rate for migrants is 22% in comparison to 18.5% amongst Irish people. There has also been a significant increase in the number of unemployed foreign nationals, which has risen from 33,587 to 77,460 between 2006 and 2011 (CSO, 2012e). However, non-Irish nationals still constitute 15.1% of the labour force. The latest data from the CSO (2012a, p. 20) indicates the prevalence of foreign nationals within the economy as:

> *'These workers were employed in all of the main industries in Ireland but in particular were involved in the Wholesale and Retail trade (46,353 persons),*

> *Accommodation and Food Services (38,855), Manufacturing Industries (33,445) and Human Health and Social Work (27,487)'.*

Grabowska (2005) and Kropiwiec (2006) have argued that the services sector has been the most dominant sector of the Irish economy for recruiting immigrants from Poland, followed by agriculture, forestry, fisheries and hospitality which are predominantly located in rural areas. This is further supported by *Rural Ireland 2025: Foresight Perspectives* (2005) as it argues there is a scarcity of Irish people seeking careers in forestry; therefore these vacancies are possibly being filled by immigrants. However, on analysing data published by the CSO (2012a), it is clear only a small proportion, 5, 271 or 1.96% of all immigrants are employed within the agriculture, forestry and fishing sector, which currently employs 90,613. On examining the figures more closely, it is evident that the accommodation and food services sector, a large employer in rural Ireland, is a key employer of foreign nationals with 38,855 employed within this sector in 2011, or approximately 38.07% out of a total workforce of 102,059 (Figure 2.2). There is also a high concentration of foreign nationals within other economic sectors, particularly in manufacturing (18.48%); water supply and waste management (21.39%); information and communication (20.54%); wholesale & retail trade (17.87%) and administration and support service activities (28.73%); but there is a minimal presence of foreign national workers within public administration and defence (3.09%); and electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply (5.77%).

Figure 2.2: Proportion (%) of Foreign Nationality Employment by Economic Sector, 2011



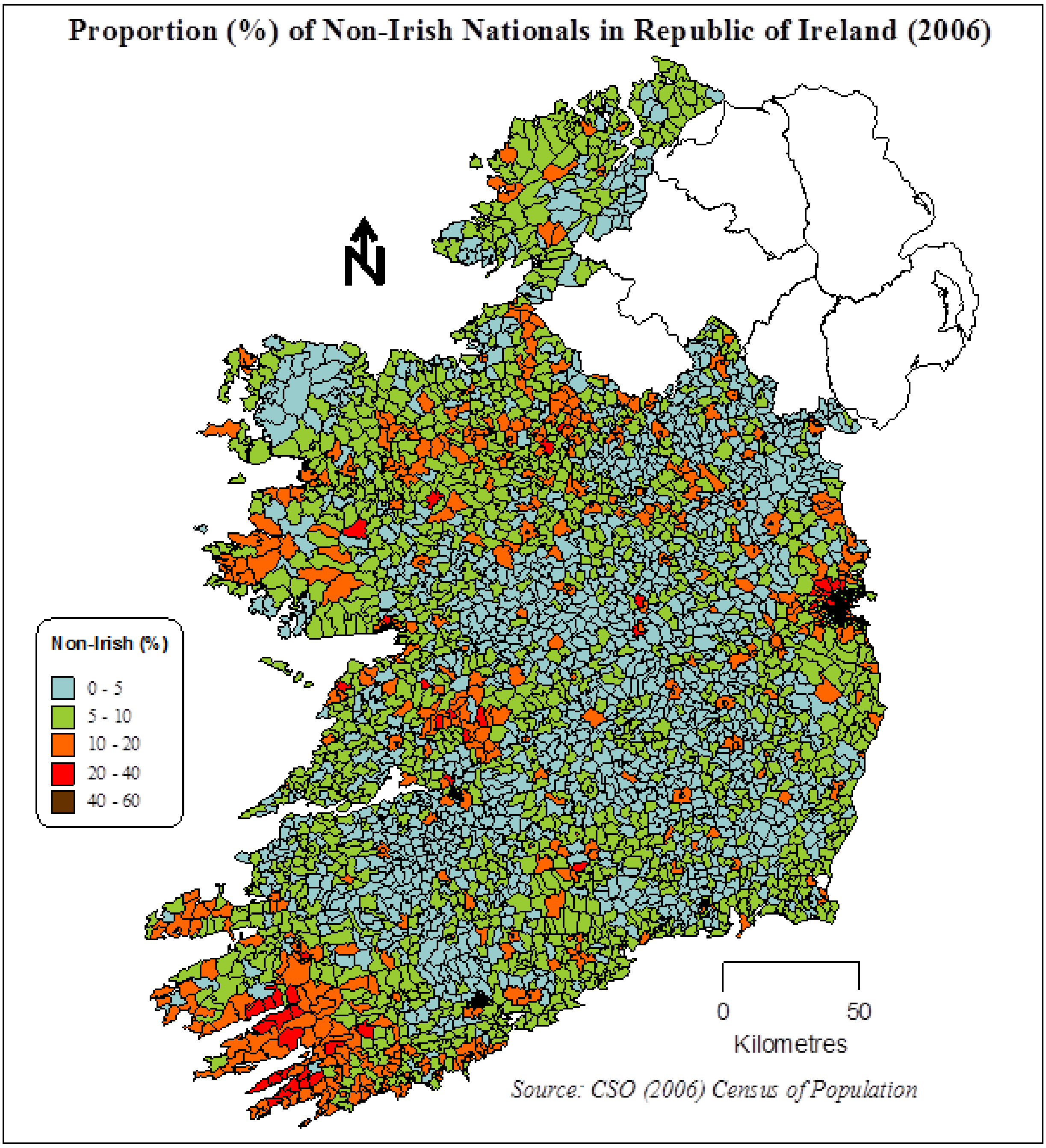
2.5.2 Spatial Distribution of Migrants in Ireland

The spatial distribution of immigrants in Ireland (Map 2.7) portrays an interesting pattern. A high concentration within inner city Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Galway adheres to the characteristics of classic immigration settlement patterns as witnessed by other developed countries (MacEinri & White, 2008). Traditionally, migration has been associated with the movement of people from peripheral regions, primarily rural, to core urban regions. Spatially, this migration has occurred at varying degrees of scale, from intra-national to transnational. However, the level of immigration outside of the main urban centres in Ireland is considerable, especially in the South-West and North-West. There is also a relatively high concentration in Counties Clare and Galway. The South – East and Midlands have not had the same degree of inward immigration relative to the rest of the country (CSO, 2008b). The low concentration of migrants in these locations is possibly due to a lack of employment opportunities, particularly in low-paid and low-skilled sectors.

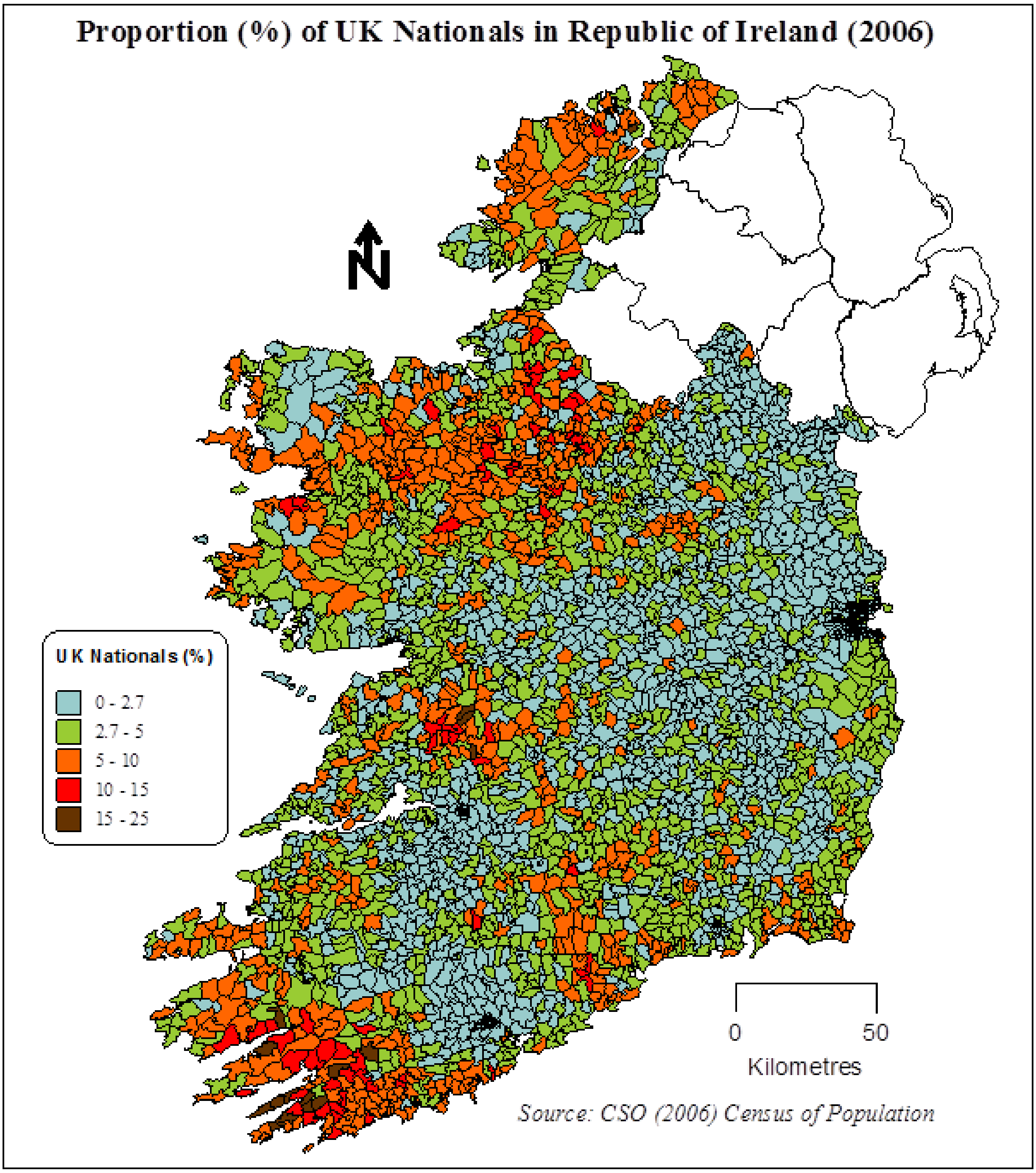
An interesting observation is the concentration of UK nationals living in Ireland and the relatively high proportion in the South – West, when compared against the Irish population (Map 2.8). This migration to rural parts of Counties Cork and Kerry pre-dates the current wave of immigration from Central and Eastern Europe, as it is associated with migration in search of the rural idyll and the pursuit of a lifestyle associated with small scale farming, artisan production and anti-materialisation during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s (Gaffey, 2004). Counter-urban / counter-cultural immigration patterns within Ireland have been studied in-depth (see: Kockel (1991), Hegarty (1994), and Bauer (1997)), thereby mitigating the need to explore this spatial phenomenon in detail within this thesis. However, foreign nationals have settled throughout the entire country and certain nationalities comprise a significant proportion of the population in numerous settlements (Maps 2.8 – 2.12[25]), ranging in size from rural towns of 1-5,000 inhabitants to urban areas exceeding 50,000 in population.

[25] Maps 2.8 – 2.12 show the proportion of specific nationality cohorts as a percentage of the overall population. The maps are compiled at ED level due to the unavailability of SA (small areas) shape files for the 2006 Census of Population. The *Census 2006: Non-Irish Nationals Living in Ireland* (CSO, 2008b) spatially represents the specific nationality cohorts in absolute numbers (persons per 10 square kilometres). These maps indicate a high concentration of migrants (absolute numbers) within the cities of Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Galway.

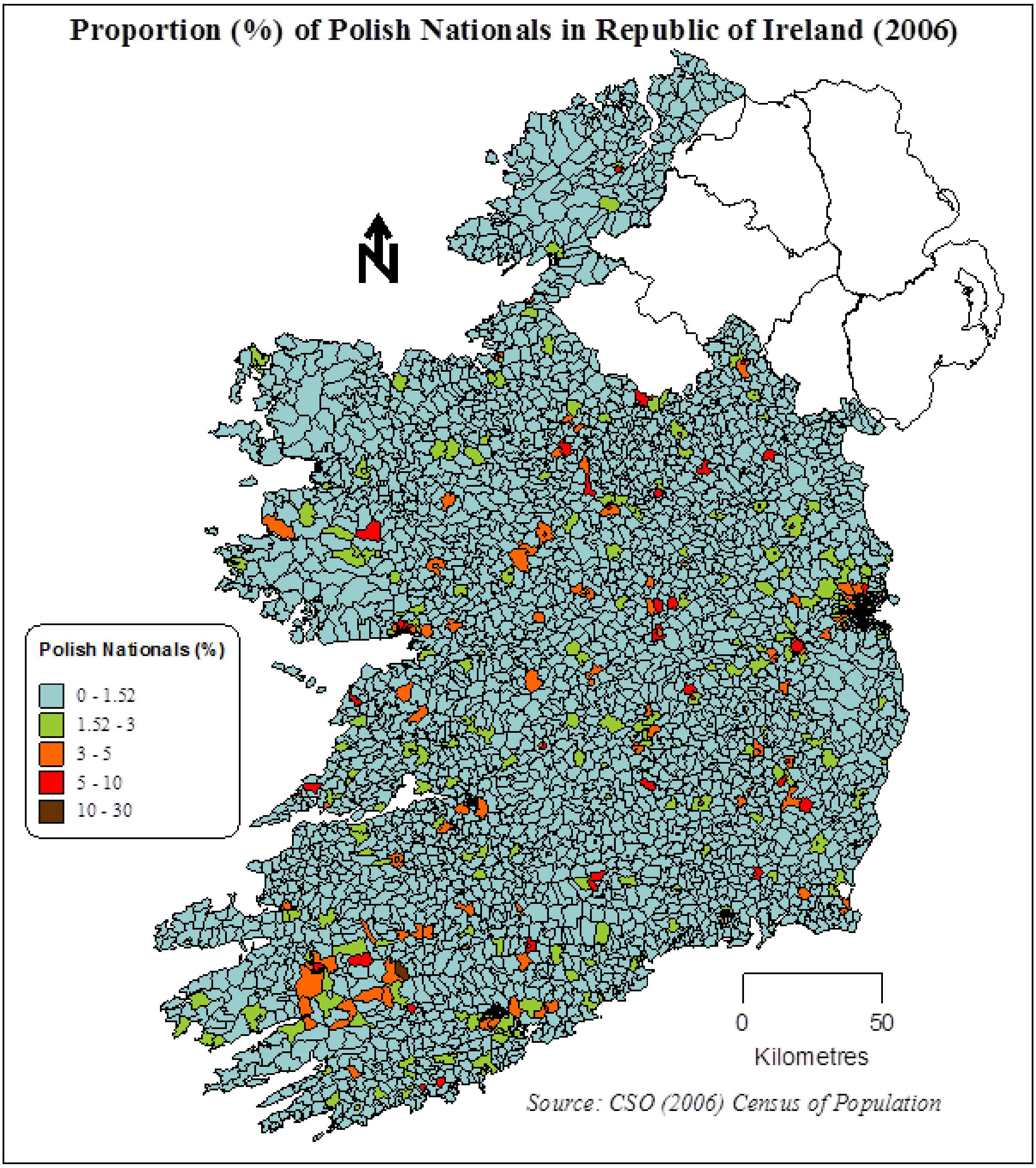
Map 2.7: Percentage of Non-Irish Nationals in General Population by DED, 2006



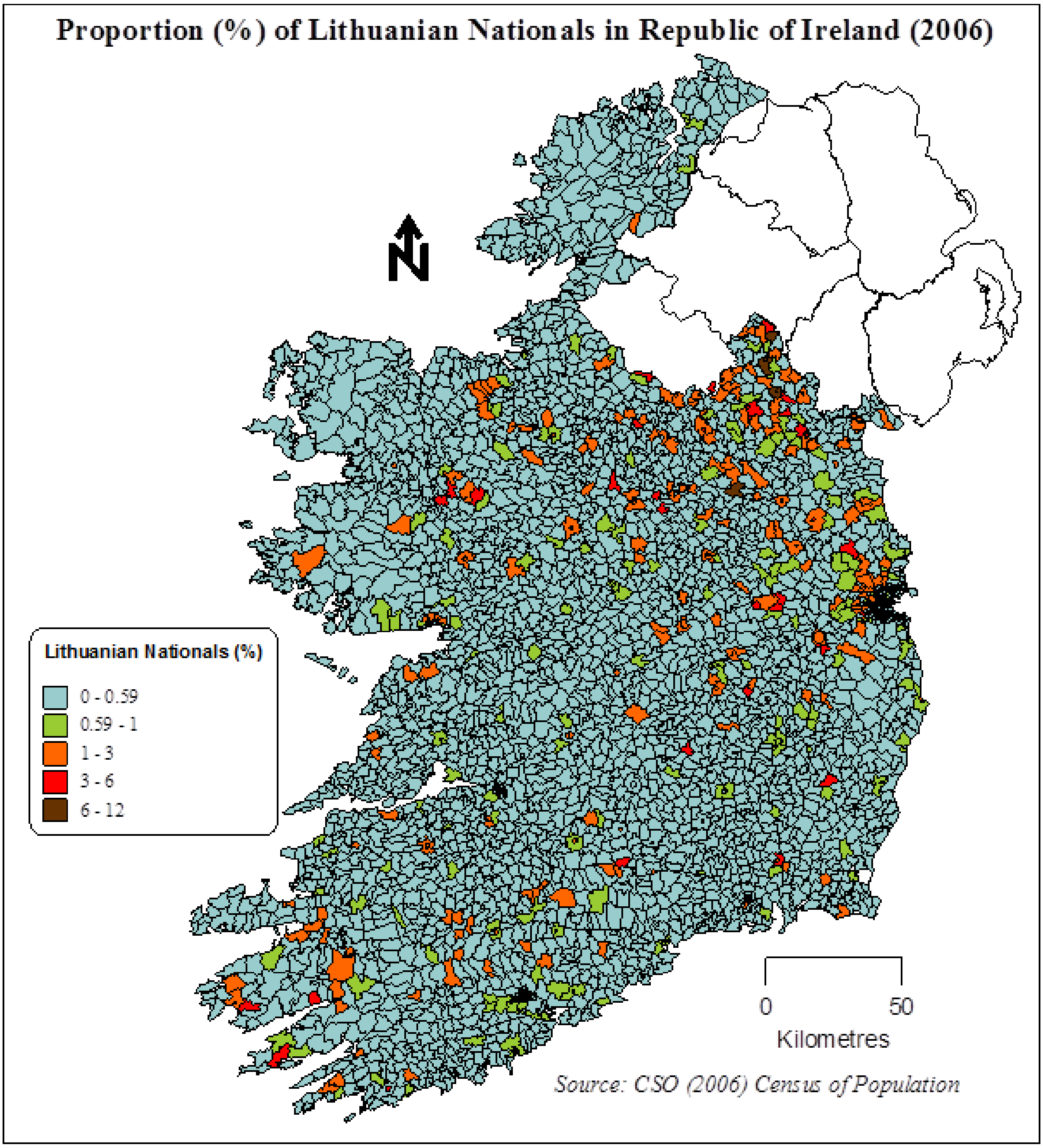
Map 2.8: Percentage of UK Nationals in General Population by DED, 2006



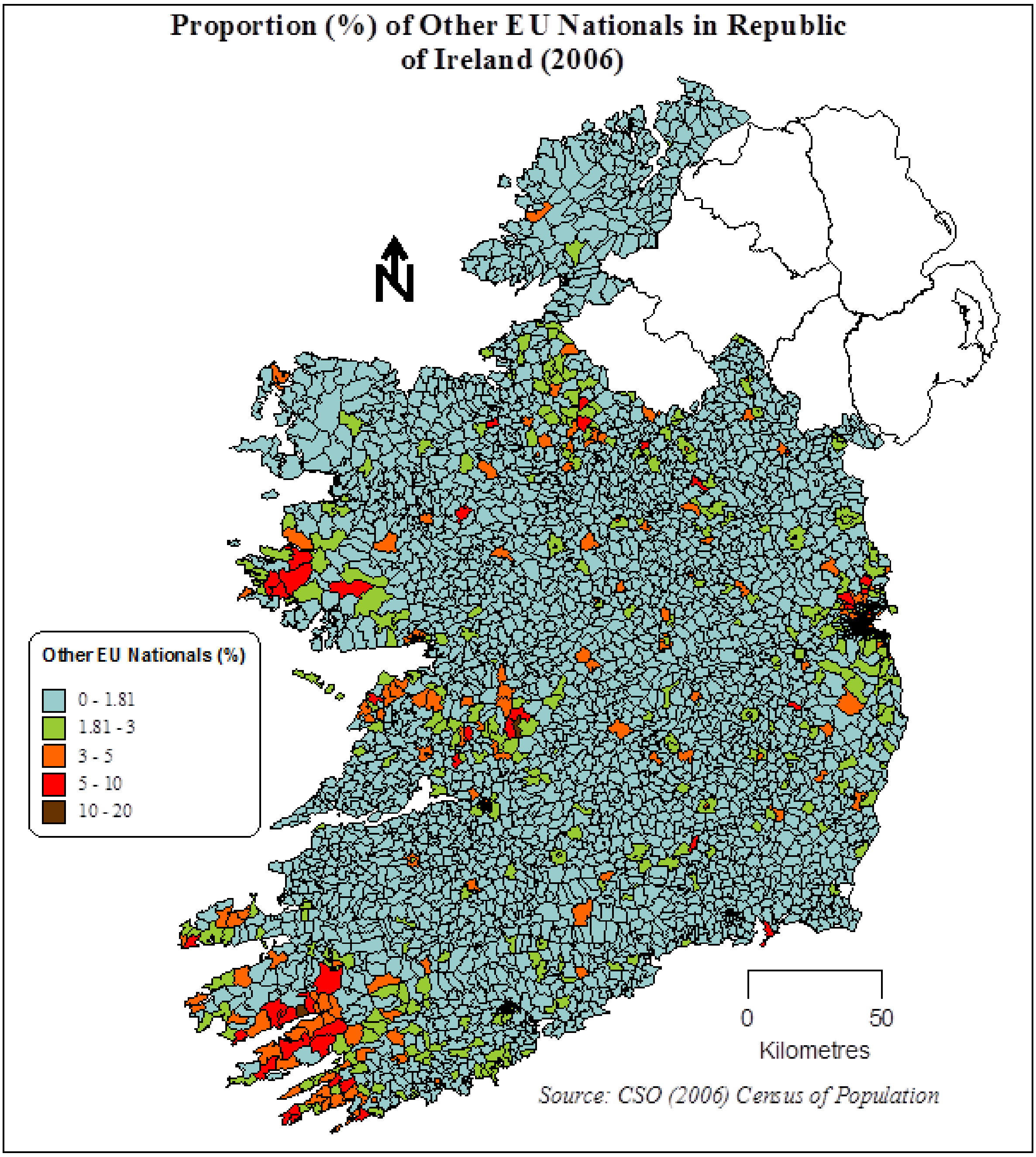
Map 2.9: Percentage of Polish Nationals in General Population by DED, 2006.



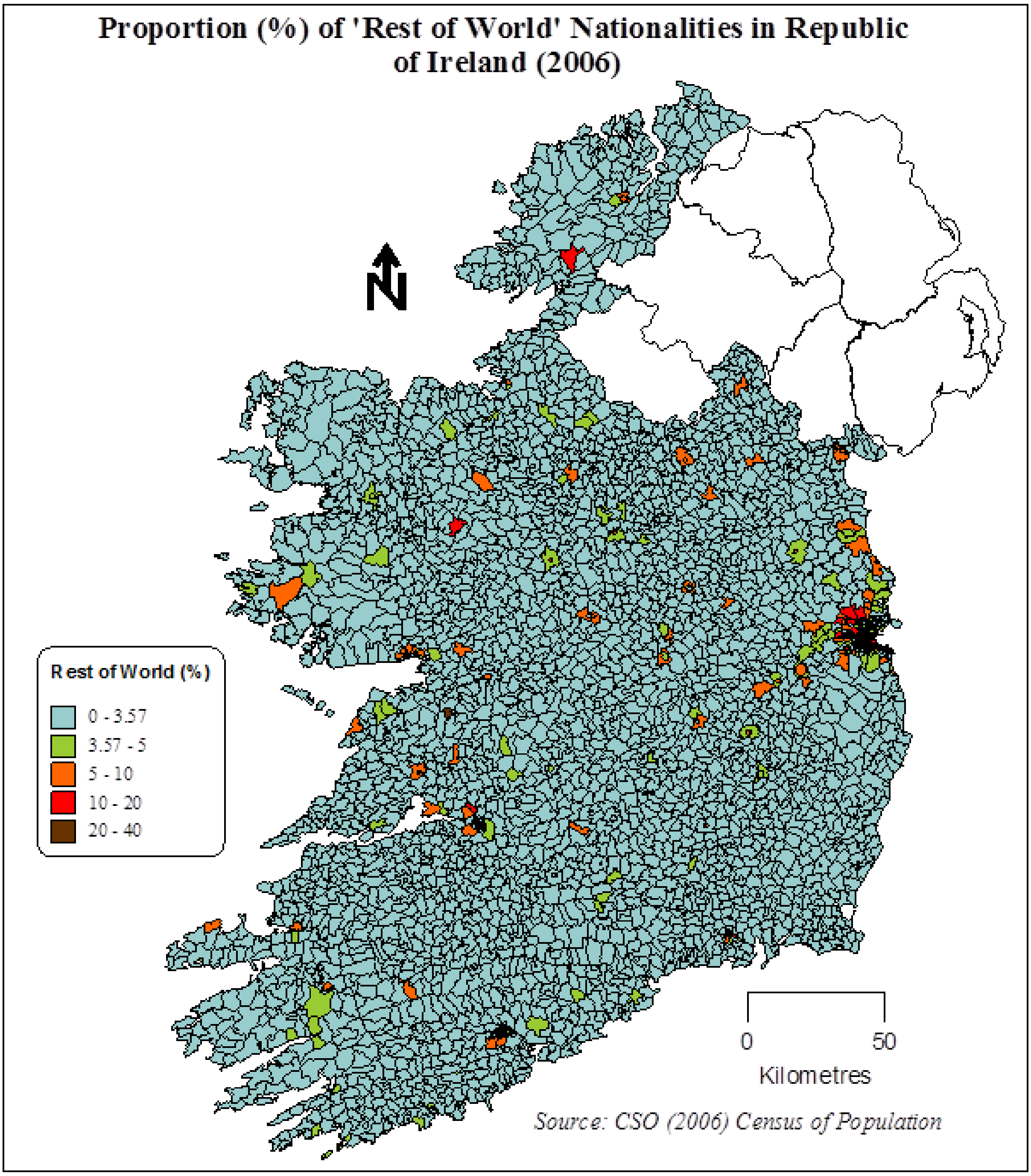
Map 2.10: Percentage of Lithuanian Nationals in General Population by DED, 2006.



Map 2.11: Percentage of Other EU Nationals in General Population by DED, 2006



Map 2.12: Percentage of 'Rest of World' Nationals in General Population by DED, 2006



Rural towns within the 1,000 – 5,000 population category have witnessed a greater proportion, of the immigration of Polish, Lithuanian and UK nationals, relative to their respective share of the total population, in comparison to the urban settlements with a population greater than 50,000 people (Appendix 1.1). The rural town of Gort is rather unique, with more than a third of its population categorised as non-Irish, with the vast majority originating from Brazil. The majority of these migrants initially obtained employment in a meat factory situated in the town (Healy, 2006). In absolute terms, the majority of immigrants are located within the urban centres of Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Galway, but if calculated as a proportion of the total population, there are specific rural towns with significantly higher concentrations of immigrants. For instance, Fingal located in the Greater Dublin suburbs has the largest concentration of foreign nationals, 15.89% of the total population, although this is considerably less than the higher ratios, observed in the smaller settlement categories as outlined in Appendix 1.2.

Census 2006 highlighted a subtle demographic revolution occurring in Ireland with approximately 10% of the population categorised as foreign nationals[26]. At a micro-level, Co. Monaghan is a prime example of the dramatic demographic changes occurring in rural Ireland, with approximately 3% of its population Lithuanian and 1.1% Latvian – the only county which had a Latvian population over 1%. By 2011, the Lithuanian population within Co. Monaghan had increased from 3% to 3.8% of the total population. There is a significant foreign national population within North-Eastern Ireland, particularly in Ballybay (19.18%) and Monaghan Town (21.24%) and Cavan (16.24%) (Appendix 1.2). Furthermore, it is evident the majority of these immigrants originated from Eastern Europe, most notably Poland[27], Lithuania[28] and countries outside of the European Union[29]. Even with this regions close proximity to the Northern Ireland, there is a relatively insignificant segment of the population originating from the United Kingdom (Appendix 1.5).

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[26] According to the 2011 Census of Population, approximately 12% of the population were foreign nationals.

[27] Notable concentrations of Polish nationals in Monaghan Town, Co. Monaghan (6.39%), Ballyjamesduff, Co. Cavan (8.66%) and Kingscourt, Co. Cavan (7.77%) (Appendix 1.3).

[28] Notable concentrations of Lithuanian nationals in Ballybay, Co. Monaghan (10%), Monaghan Town, Co. Monaghan (8.53%), Clones, Co. Monaghan (7.11%) and Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan (6.63%) (Appendix 1.4).

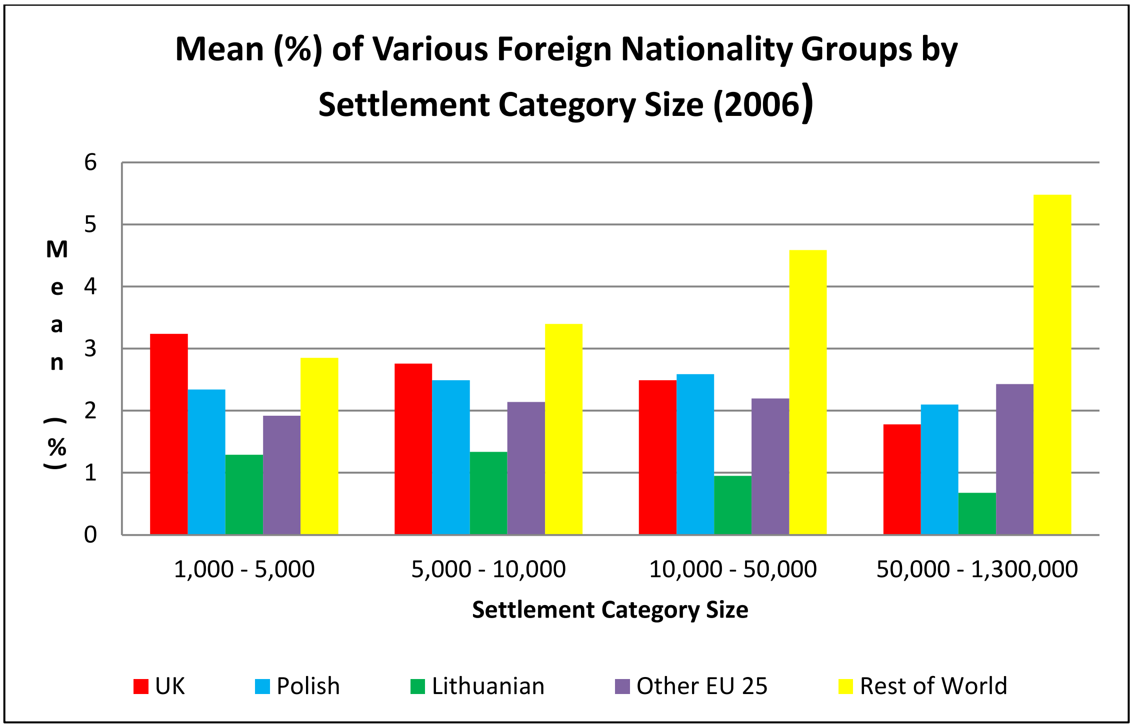
[29] Notable concentrations of foreign nationals outside of the European Union are located in Ballyjamesduff, Co. Cavan (10.19%), and Cavan, Co. Cavan (5.84%) (Appendix 1.7).

Since Poland's accession into the European Union in 2004, there has been a substantial inflow of Polish migrants into Ireland (Map 2.9). According to the 2006 Census, there were 63,900 Polish people in Ireland but this is considered a substantial underestimation. Turner et al. (2009) have cited the presence of at least 134,000 Polish people being actively employed in Ireland towards the end of 2006 and this figure does not account for those in full-time education, retirement or those seeking unemployment assistance. Map 2.9 indicates the degree of the immigration, with numerous Irish settlements of differing size rank having a large Polish community. According to the 2006 Census, Millstreet in Co. Cork is an exceptional rural town with 14.17% of its population being of Polish nationality. This is presumably due to the presence of several industrial / manufacturing plants, including Munster Joinery, located within commuting distance of this town. The accommodation and food services sector has a high dependency on migrant labour, with 38.07% of the workforce being foreign nationals. This sector is usually associated with the tourism and hospitality industry. There is a particular concentration within the major urban centres, but also in several scenic towns scattered along the western seaboard. Killarney in Co. Kerry, one of the major tourism destinations in Ireland, has a large proportion of foreign nationals from throughout the globe (Appendix 1).

It is apparent from Figures 2.3 to 2.5 that citizens from East European member states of the European Union along with UK nationals demonstrated a strong preference to reside outside of the larger urban centres, thereby leading to a significant number settling in small and medium sized towns, and rural areas. The mean percentage for UK, Polish and Lithuanian nationals is considerably higher in settlements with less than 50,000 inhabitants, whereas there is a stronger tendency for foreign nationals from elsewhere (outside of Europe) to settle in the largest urban centres[30]. Regression analysis also indicates a degree of clustering of Polish migrants in smaller settlements, as the R value for Polish (%) and settlement size is $R=-.15$ (sig. $<.01$)

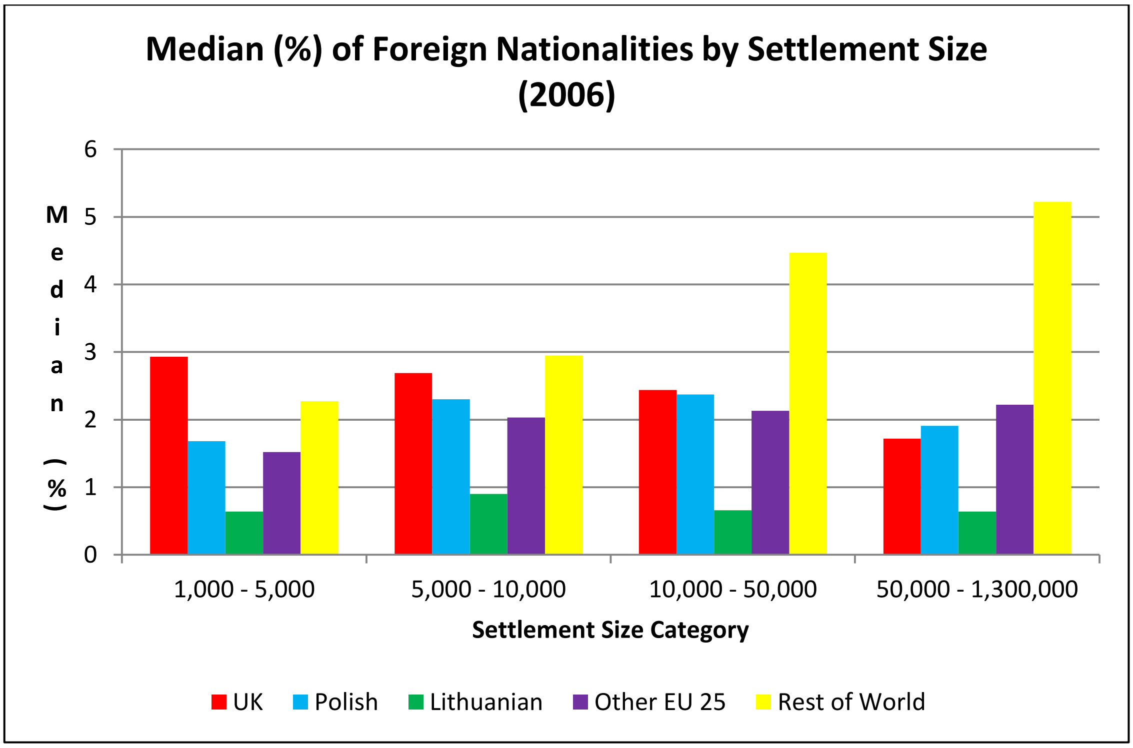
[30] These include nationals from Asian states such as China, India, Pakistan and The Philippines, who have come to Ireland to study and to work in the health sector.

Figure 2.3: The Mean (%) of Specific Foreign National Groupings by Settlement Category Size (2006)



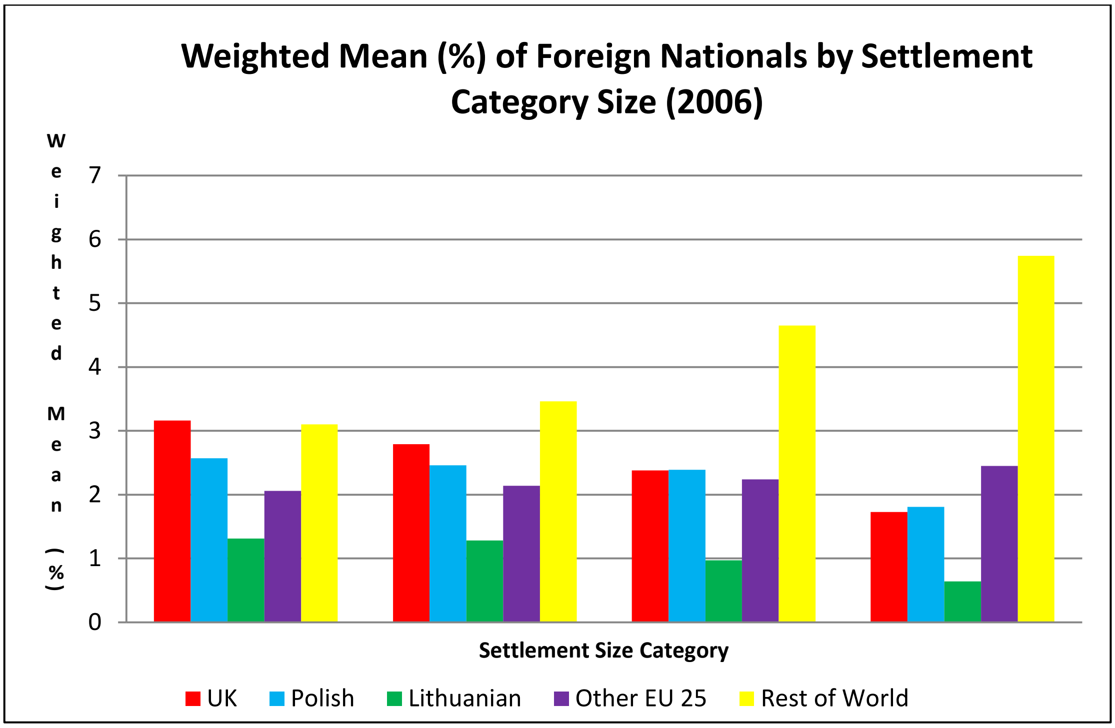
Source: Figures calculated from *Census 2006* (2007)

Figure 2.4: The Median (%) of Specific National Groupings by Settlement Category Size (2006)



Source: Figures calculated from *Census 2006* (2007)

Figure 2.5: The Median (%) of Specific National Groupings by Settlement Category Size (2006)



Source: Figures calculated from *Census 2006* (2007)

2.6 Rural In-migration and Counterurbanisation

The figures presented in the previous graphs provide evidence of an association between immigration and population growth in rural areas. Meanwhile, the demographic profile of the rural is also affected by counterurbanisation. This phenomenon, first identified in the USA in the mid-1970s has been described as a chaotic concept. Initially, Berry (1978) considered counterurbanisation as a process of settlement system change, as a consequence of population deconcentration. The word 'deconcentration' has received different interpretations by academics, with some perceiving deconcentration as a downward migratory movement whilst for others it encapsulates the *'evolving relationship between settlement size and either migration levels or population change'* (Mitchell, 2004, p. 21). In essence, counterurbanisation describes a demographic turnaround affecting both rural and urban regions, whereby the long established pattern of rural to urban migration became replaced by urban to rural migration (Champion, 1998; Halfacree, 2008). This process heralded a revival or a renaissance for rural populations through the emergence of a negative correlation between population growth and settlement size, most especially evident in the developed global North. It was predominant throughout the 1970s, but there was a reversal in the 1980s – attributed in the literature to a global economic downturn, but the process became evident again in the 1990s. Gkartzios and Scott (2010, p. 3) have argued counterurbanisation demonstrates an undeniable antithesis to the traditional concept of urbanisation – *'centrifugal rather than centripetal, operated by quality of life instead of pecuniary forces and consumer rather than producer-led'*.

Kontuly (1998) has outlined a number of different approaches developed by academics to identify the counterurbanisation phenomenon. Firstly, urbanisation or spatial concentration occurs when major urban centres and metropolitan regions experience population growth above the national average whilst counterurbanisation or deconcentration arises when these major centres experience lower population growth in relation to the national average. Secondly, counterurbanisation could be quantified by the production of a negative relationship between *'the net migration rates of urban regions and regional population density'* and vice versa for urbanisation tendencies (ibid: p.62). Furthermore, Kontuly (1998) outlined the anti-thesis of counterurbanisation, whereby the core – periphery approach assumes a temporal trend of net in-migration into a core region, thereby equating to spatial concentration, whilst a net out-migration from peripheral regions characterises deconcentration.

In the absence of an unambiguous approach for defining counterurbanisation, Mitchell (2004) has advocated the adoption of three distinct sub-forms of counterurbanisation (ex-urbanisation, displaced-urbanisation and anti–urbanisation). There is a strong likelihood of multiple sub-forms of counterurbanisation operating in unison within a settlement system at a particular timeframe. Ex-urbanisation describes the movement of wealthy individuals to the periphery of the urban hinterland, insofar as the pursuit of the rural idyll can be achieved but the ties to the city remain intact through the daily commute to work (Champion, et al., 2009; Kirby & LeSage, 2009). The term displaced-urbanisation refers to urbanites that are compelled to migrate due to necessity, whereby there is a strong compulsion to secure new employment, lower costs of living and / or cheaper housing (Meijering, et al., 2007; Gkartzios & Scott, 2010)[31]. This type of migration is not exclusively directed towards a particular geographical space, specifically rural, and if a particular opportunity arose within a larger urban settlement, the relocation could easily occur to this location. Mitchell (2004) has identified various terminologies to describe displaced urbanites, including displaced worker, distressed mover and urban dropout.

Finally, anti-urbanisation describes people who strongly embrace pursuing the rural idyll, for whom migrating from congested cities to open countryside is the only means of achieving this ambition. There is a strong desire to escape crime, traffic congestion and pollution and to embrace the cleanliness and openness, tranquillity, the positive aesthetic, cultural and physical aspects of a rural community (Paniagua, 2008)[32]. The push and pull factors as outlined by Schmeid (2005, p. 145) in Table 2.7, predominantly highlight anti-urbanising forces contributing to counterurbanisation. It has to be acknowledged that Schmeid (2005) makes no reference to the differential in residential property prices between urban and rural locations as being a contributory factor for counterurbanisation.

[31] Displaced urbanisation was experienced in much of Ireland's Mid East Region between 2000 and 2007, as property prices in Dublin spiralled.
[32] Such migration is most prevalent in high amenity and scenic rural areas.

Table 2.7: Influential Factors Contributing to Counterurbanisation

1	The expansion of commuting fields round employment centres.
2	The emergence of scale diseconomies and social problems in large cities.
3	The concentration of rural population into local urban centres.
4	The reduction in the stock of potential out-migrants living in rural areas.
5	The availability of government subsidies for rural activities.
6	The growth of employment in particular localised industries such as mining, defence and tourism.
7	The restructuring of manufacturing industry and the associated growth of branch plants.
8	Improvements in transport and communications technology.
9	The improvement of education, health and other infrastructure in rural areas.
10	The growth of employment in the public sector and personal services.
11	The success of explicitly spatial government policies.
12	The growth of state welfare payments, private pensions and other benefits.
13	The acceleration of retirement migration.
14	The change in residential preferences of working-age people and entrepreneurs.
15	Changes in age structure and household size composition.
16	The effect of economic recession on rural-urban and return migration.
17	The first round in a new cyclic pattern of capital investment in property and business.

Source: Champion, 1989, as quoted in (Schmeid, 2005, p. 145)

However, Mitchell (2004) distinguishes three separate variants contributing to anti-urbanisation – amenity driven retirement migration, back to the land movement and the pursuit of a high quality of life. In Ireland, amenity driven retirement migration is minimal, but the 'back to the land movement' and the attainment of an enhanced quality of life are particularly strong in the South-West and West, particularly Connemara, Co. Galway (Kockel, 1991; Bauer, 1997). Overall, the principal factor underlying this relocation is an overarching desire to experience life in a non-metropolitan setting, but the growth in non-metropolitan population can be influenced simultaneously by ex-urbanisation, displaced-urbanisation and anti-urbanisation. Counterurbanisation cannot be described as a homogenous process, as there are numerous rural areas, of varying location and type, which continue to experience out-migration with relatively little in-migration. Such regions are regularly categorised as remote, peripheral or sparsely populated and examples include the Apennines in Italy, the Massif Central in France and areas in Northern Scandinavia (Schmeid, 2005). These regions face innumerable challenges as there is an inadequate provision by policymakers for the retention of basic services, including healthcare, policing and education, due to population structure, and systemic demographic decline. In some instances, inhospitable topography, inadequate physical infrastructure and / or peripherality to urban centres play a contributing role to the outward flow of inhabitants from peripheral and remote regions.

Spain has experienced counterurbanisation with significant out-migration from the large urban centres of Madrid, Bilbao and Barcelona to intermediate and even small settlements with less than 1,500 inhabitants (Sexto, 2009). According to Paniagua (2002), this process has been enabled by the proliferation of rural tourism within certain regions of Spain and it is closely linked to the rural restructuring of the economy. The selected study areas of Girona, Guadalajara and Ciudad Real, utilised by Paniagua, outline the lack of typological homogeneity of rural regions with respects to demographic and economic structures. The province of Guadalajara experienced significantly more counterurbanisation in comparison to the other study areas due to its relative proximity to Madrid (ex-urbanisation) and to the policies pursued by local institutions, particularly in their adoption of European Social Fund, LEADER and PRODER programmes.

The diversification of the Spanish rural economy has been predominantly associated with migrants rather than the local farming community and this provides a concrete link between the concepts of diversification and counterurbanisation (Gorton, et al., 1998; Cánoves, et al., 2004; Molera & Albaladejo, 2007). A significant number of the urban to rural migrants share a similar socio-economic profile, insofar as the largest group were previously self-employed or skilled professionals. There is a total absence of migrants who were previously employed in the industrial sector (Paniagua, 2002). Rural Spain has experienced considerable in-migration of agricultural workers, from Morocco since the 1960s (Zlotnik, 1999) and more recently, from Romania (Birsan & Cucuruzan, 2007). The socio-economic profile of 'counterurbanisers' as identified in Spain is not unique to this country, with identical examples referred to elsewhere within the academic literature, most notably in New Zealand (Lee & McDermott, 1998; MacKay, et al., 2009), UK (Scott, et al., 2007; Bosworth, 2008), Australia (Costello, 2007) and USA (Smith & Krannich, 2000; Loeffler & Steinicke, 2007). Furthermore, this migration usually occurs after spending a substantial period of time, at least ten years, in employment within an urban centre. Therefore, these migrants from the service classes have secured sufficient professional experience in order to establish their own company or enterprise (Molera & Albaladejo, 2007). To date a similar experience has emerged in Ireland, as recent migrants appear not to have the skill-sets or financial capacity to establish enterprises. According to Birdthistle (2012), the majority of migrant entrepreneurs in the Mid-West region of Ireland tend to be: male; highly educated; married; African / Asian descent; and resident within the country for at least 9 years. Furthermore, migrant entrepreneurs within the Mid-West region have tended to concentrate on the services sector, particularly restaurants (39.3%); retail (32.1%); and personal services[33] (28.6%).

Counterurbanisation is a phenomenon which describes a dispersion of the population from metropolitan to non-metropolitan regions. The counterurbanisation process cannot be described as a universal concept as numerous rural areas still experience demographic decline. A strong focus can be discerned from the literature pertaining to two of the sub-forms of counterurbanisation as eluded to by Mitchell (2004), specifically, ex-urbanisation, wealthy individuals moving to rural areas with a high concentration of amenity assets, within commuting distance of large urban areas; and anti-urbanisation, urbanites seeking to experience an alternative lifestyle incorporating the rural idyll. However, displaced urbanisation does not feature prominently within academic literature and therefore, it is vital to examine the influence displaced-urbanites and displaced-ruralites[34] (alternatively classified as economic migrants) have played in reshaping the economic and social fabric of rural areas.

2.7 Economic Migration

The economic benefits associated with rural in-migration have been relatively overlooked, with few studies undertaken on this topic in comparison to urban in-migration. However, Findlay et al (2000) have outlined the significance of rural in-migration in acting as a catalyst for rural regeneration and employment growth through a study conducted in 1997 on the labour-market impact of migration from a selective sample of six rural postcode areas in Scotland. Economic migrants have played a crucial

[33] Examples of personal services include cleaning and hairdressing.
[34] Displaced-ruralites refers to migrants compelled to move from one rural area to another due to necessity in order to secure new employment and a better standard of living.

role in strengthening the rural labour market in Scotland, especially with the arrival of small enterprises founded by self-employed migrants:

> *'On average, every household headed by a self-employed migrant generated an extra 1.6 additional jobs. Some 8% of these migrant households had taken on five or more staff. Job growth was greatest amongst small firms involving professional services, while self-employed persons in the primary sector, such as forestry consultants, were least likely to employ other staff'* (Findlay, et al., 2000, pp. 343 - 344).

Furthermore, it has to be stressed that active migrant households where the head was not self-employed, also provided additional employment within the rural economy, but a substantial portion of this employment consisted of low-paid service sector employment, primarily child-minding, catering, cleaning and gardening. Overall, the most important finding from Findlay et al.'s (2000) study is the calculation of a direct jobs multiplier of migration of 0.77[35] within selected study areas in Scotland. A 'job multiplier' usually refers to the number of jobs created in response to an initial employment generating activity, inclusive of both direct and indirect employment. Findlay et al.'s (2000, p. 339) study was unable to calculate the number of indirect jobs, specifically *'the total number of extra jobs resulting from migrants adding indirectly to demand for local services'* within the local rural economy. A direct jobs multiplier of 0.77 represents the creation of 77 additional jobs for every 100 migrant households. By applying this jobs' multiplier to the entirety of Scotland for 1997 for the rural in-migration cohort, the overall employment gain could have been very significant, with approximately 7,800 jobs being generated within the rural economy.

In Ireland, economic migration became a necessity during the Celtic Tiger due to labour shortages throughout the entire economy. The Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment and FÁS organised a series of overseas trade fairs, whereby skilled migrants and the Irish diaspora were encouraged to settle and seek employment in the country (Ancien, et al., 2009). The trade fairs were held throughout Europe, North America and South Africa (FÁS, 2000; FÁS, 2004). Furthermore, the creation of bespoke training courses for aspiring foreign national entrepreneurs by numerous

[35] The direct job multiplier effect of migration was calculated on the number of migrant households moving to an area rather than individual migrants. The distance travelled by the in-migrant household was 15KM. This multiplier effect is inclusive of internal and external immigration. It excludes jobs created and pursued by self-employed migrant households.

mainstream employment and enterprise agencies, including FÁS, county and city enterprise boards, and area partnerships; and specific agencies created to support and expand migrant entrepreneurship, including Emerge and Institute of Minority Entrepreneurship, is indicative of the success in enticing foreign nationals to Ireland (Cooney & Flynn, 2008). Cooney et al.'s (2008) nationwide study of 1,108 foreign nationals resident in Ireland has indicated that 12.6% of respondents asserted full or part ownership of a business, with 36.3% of businesses employing 1-5 people; 6% employing 6 or more people whilst the remainder are sole traders. This study did not specifically examine the impact of migrant entrepreneurship in rural areas and therefore, it is essential to quantify the labour market multiplier effect of rural migrants within this study.

In the USA, studies have outlined the predominance of economic migrants within low-paid low-skilled sectors, particularly meat rendering and horticulture (Martin, 1993; Grey, et al., 2009; Donato, et al., 2008; Kandel & Parrado, 2005). The high concentration of unskilled immigrants within specific industries has undoubtedly affected the U.S. labour market due to migrants' willingness to accept lower wages. This has led to the American indigenous workforce shunning employment within low-paid and low-skilled sectors. In Ireland, there been a tendency for highly-skilled and educated migrants, particularly from Eastern Europe, to secure employment in low-skilled sectors. The emergence of workplaces dominated by migrant workers may result in instances of exploitation by unscrupulous employers. In recent years, the Migrant Rights Centre Ireland (MRCI) has published reports on migrant exploitation within the home-care (2012); hospitality (2008b); and horticulture (2006) sectors. However, one has to also acknowledge that different migrant cohorts within the Irish and British labour markets have contrasting experiences, as migrants from East European EU member states typically earn 33 – 40 per cent less in comparison to migrants from other EU member states (Drinkwater, et al., 2006; Barrett & Duffy, 2008)[36]. Furthermore, McGinnity and Lunn (2011) have identified significant discrimination within the recruitment process, as employers are twice more likely to select interviewee candidates with Irish names than non-Irish names, even if both cohorts submit equivalent

[36] The length of duration within the labour market is equal for both migrant cohorts.

Curriculum Vitaes. There is a tendency for employers to stereotype migrants as possessing inferior social and language skills and therefore, disadvantage migrants within the labour market by providing employment in jobs which are not commensurate with their educational attainments, skills or experience.

A number of theories identified by Martin (1993) outline the differing economic impacts of immigrants on the local labour force, specifically:

- One for one displacement theory assumes unskilled workers and immigrants actively compete for the same jobs, with immigrants being preferred by employers due to their strong work ethic, and the acceptance of low wages. If immigration is stopped entirely, it is perceived that all the employment vacancies would be filled by those in receipt of unemployment benefits. Cortes (2008) and Peri et al. (2007) have discredited this theory as numerous studies pinpoint non-existent or minimal displacement tendencies and thereby, displacement does not occur at one for one ratio.
- Segmented labour market theories emphasise antipathy on the part of the local workforce to employment in menial sectors, associated with low skills, low remuneration and arduous working conditions. In response, the void has been filled by unskilled immigrants with a low education attainment and arguably, without their presence it could lead to the curtailment of certain industries within developed economies and to reduction in employment (Hall & Farkas, 2008; Legrain, 2009; Elliott, et al., 2010).
- Triage theories incorporate an amalgamation of both one for one displacement and segmented labour market theories. The defining characteristic attributable to these theories is the flexibility of the labour market to adapt to the presence or absence of unskilled migrants, with better employment prospects for the native workforce in the absence of a significant cohort of unskilled immigrants (Johannsson & Weiler, 2004).

However, Martin's (1993) theories do not consider the labour-force impact of migrant workers within an economy with full employment, a situation that arose in Ireland during the economic boom. For instance, employers within the hospitality, retail and manufacturing sectors became heavily reliant on migrant labour as job vacancies could not be filled from the indigenous labour-force. According to Donaghey and Teague (2006, p. 656), labour mobility from the 2004 EU accession member states to the EU-15 member states has had a positive effect in *'upgrading the general level of human capital stock and by relieving skill shortages'*. Furthermore, none of these theories acknowledge the tendency for non-English speaking migrants, particularly from Eastern Europe, to secure employment in Ireland and / or UK which is reflective of their educational attainment (Barrett, et al., 2006; Barrett, 2009; Barrell, et al., 2010). This phenomenon has not been observed to the same degree in other immigrant recipient countries. Approximately 62% of Eastern European immigrants who arrived into the UK in 2004 / 2005 secured employment in the elementary / process, plant and machinery occupations sector. This represents an over-reliance of migrant labour due to this sector only accounting for 19% of the overall workforce (Riley & Weale, 2006; Barrell, et al., 2010). A similar situation has arisen in the U.S. regarding the 6.3 million undocumented Mexican workers who are estimated to comprise 25% of the agricultural workforce, 17% of office and house cleaning positions, 14% of construction and 12% of food processing jobs (Segal, 2010). The only difference is the overwhelming majority of Eastern European migrants have full entitlements to seek employment throughout Europe, subject to their state being a member of the European Union, whereas the majority of Mexican workers are classified as illegal migrants.

Rural areas cannot be neglected from the literature and debates on low-skilled economic migration as there a number of economic sectors which offer low remuneration in exchange for low educational / skills attainment. For instance, the promotion of the food processing sector, including meat rendering, has been promoted by policymakers as a means of pursuing rural economic development. In Ireland, the food and drink sector comprises the largest component of indigenous manufacturing accounting for 80% of total GDP and 22% Gross Value Added (Heanue, 2008). This is significant as the vast majority of this sector is located in rural areas. Leistritz (2000, p. 115) argues the expansion of the value added agricultural processing sector instigates positive benefits for rural economic development:

> *'Cooperatively owned, value-added processing plants may allow producers to integrate forward and capture potential profits from processing and marketing their products.'*

Furthermore, it is important to stress that not all rural regions have been able to capitalise on such facilities, primarily due to the distance between certain rural areas and major consumer centres.

However, the existence of food processing plants in rural areas has attracted a considerable number of migrants due to the host community being unable to fill all the vacancies from the local labour supply, or reluctance from the local workforce to accept low wages for predominantly unskilled employment. Consequently, it has been immigrants who have filled the vacancies; whereby the demographic and racial / ethnic composition of the local community undergoes a substantial transformation (Champlin & Hake, 2006). A considerable number of rural agricultural processing plants and ancillary industries in the U.S. had to actively organise recruitment drives and utilise the migrants' social contacts in order to fill vacancies, as a consequence of high turnover rates. Consequently, it has led to a dramatic growth of the Hispanic and Latino communities within specific communities throughout the United States (Johnson-Webb, 2002; Maldonado, 2009). A comparable recruitment process has been observed in Ireland, especially in Gort, Co. Galway where a considerable number of Brazilians secured employment in local meat processing plants between 1999 and 2007; and as casual labourers in local farms (McGrath, 2009; Sheringham, 2009).

2.8 Migrants and Social Cohesion at Community Level

A significant body of literature has been devoted to the personal experiences and problems encountered by economic migrants in Ireland, but relatively little attention has been devoted towards how government agencies and community groups in rural areas have responded to the significant in-migration of East Europeans. One principal tenet of a cohesive and integrated society, characterised by an embracement of diversity, equality and interculturalism[37], is universal access to public and social services (Lowry, 2006). However, migrants often do not possess the necessary social capital in order to engage with these services. According to the European Commission (2012a, p. 213),

[37] Interculturalism refers to the promotion of *'interaction, understanding and integration among and between different cultures an d ethnic groups on the assumption that ethnic diversity can enrich society, without glossing over issues such as racism'* (Farrell & Watt, 2001, p. 26).

migrants tend to have *'weaker connections and ties to the local non-migrant community and can find it more difficult to obtain information about institutions, systems (education, health care etc.) and opportunities'*. Furthermore, the lack of proficiency in the vernacular language of the destination country also acts as an impediment to social integration.

In some instances, forced assimilation[38] or ethnocide[39] may manifest in the absence of pluralism, thereby giving rise to ethnic conflict. However, racial tensions may also arise if there is a lack of cohesion or interaction between migrants and the host community, as witnessed through recent 'race riots' in several West European countries. The most notable examples include the race riots that consumed Paris and much of France for three consecutive weeks in October / November 2005, instigated by the electrocution of two teenagers of Malian and Tunisian descent with the French police implicated in the incident (Schneider, 2008); and the 2001 race riots in Northern England involving Asian youths, primarily Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslims, fighting against the police and white supremacists (Robinson, 2007). In both instances, the riots occurred in economically deprived areas where youth unemployment was predominant and the situations were further compounded by residential segregation, along ethnic lines. The British government commissioned numerous reports on the race riots in Northern England, including *Community Cohesion*, a report that explicitly highlighted a lack of integration, interaction, sharing of space and values amongst the various communities:

> *'Whilst the physical segregation of housing estates and inner city areas came as no surprise, the team was particularly struck by the depth of polarisation of our towns and cities. The extent, to which these physical dimensions were compounded by so many other aspects of our daily lives, was very evident. Separate educational arrangements, community and voluntary bodies, employment, places of worship, language, social and cultural networks, means that many communities operate on the basis of a series of parallel lives. These lives often do not seem to touch at any point, let alone overlap and promote any meaningful interchanges'* (Independent Review Team, 2001, p. 9).

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[38] Assimilation refers to the '*process whereby individuals or groups of differing ethnic heritage are absorbed into the dominant culture of a society. The process of assimilation involves taking on the traits of the dominant culture to such a degree that the assimilating group become socially distinguishable from other members of society'*. (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010) Forced assimilation occurs when minority groups are compelled to undergo this by the dominant culture.

[39] Ethnocide refers to '*the concept of ethnocentrism exerted by one group and the feelings of superiority that can lead to the destruction of the culture of others'* (Lukunka, 2007).

The existence of ‘parallel lives’ does not enable a sense of belonging to become implanted within the community. A sense of belonging is not just simply a construct of being born into a particular community, but it is embodied through each individual, through his / her socialisation into and identification with a community’s ‘distinctive and consciously preserved culture’ (Cohen, 1982). The strength of belonging within a particular community can be measured through the degree of interactivity that exists between various ethnic and racial groups with respect to the various forms of social organisation and association which are present within the community.

However, it has to be acknowledged that ‘race riots’ have often occurred in locations where there is a high concentration of second-generation immigrants. Migrant off-spring are more likely to become disgruntled, dissatisfied and hostile towards the host society due to having a worse labour market performance in comparison to the indigenous population, after controlling for education, workplace experience and geographical location (Algan, et al., 2010). Ireland differs from the UK, France and Germany as it is a new economic migrant destination, thereby having an insignificant number of second generation immigrants. Nonetheless, Irish statutory non-statutory agencies have to ensure barriers preventing migrant integration into Irish society are ameliorated, thereby alleviating the risk of subsequent generations leading ‘parallel lives’.

According to Lowry (2006), migrants face several barriers with respect to cultural inclusion. These include: racism and discrimination; stereotyping and labelling; cultural exclusion; loss of cultural identity; reluctance on the part of the indigenous community to accept diversity within cultures; and religious discrimination. Furthermore, negative attitudes and / or perceptions of economic migrants by the indigenous population acts as a significant barrier with respect to fostering an inclusive society. For instance, Shelley (2007) cited an opinion poll conducted in Ireland, in which one in five people knew of a person made redundant or had their wages reduced as a consequence of competition with migrant workers. The rate was significantly higher (37%) amongst low-skilled workers. MacGréil (2011) has measured and analysed the attitudes and perceptions of contemporary Irish society with respect to the economic, social and cultural impacts of recent economic migration into Ireland. Table 2.8 highlights a relatively positive attitude (the scores are an average on a continuum of 0 to 10) towards in-migration, but Irish born respondents have a more pessimistic attitude towards immigration than non-Irish born respondents. The data collected for this study pre-dates the current economic downturn and therefore, does not account for a hardening of attitudes towards immigrants. According to the *Monitoring Report on Integration 2012* (McGinnity, et al., 2013), there has been a significant deterioration of attitudes amongst Irish citizens with respect to whether migrants coming to Ireland make it a better place to live in. The mean score has declined from 5.6 (2006) to 4.9 (2010)[40]. It is often difficult to challenge such attitudes as *'popular 'racist' discourse in Ireland is usually veiled or disguised, and often involves contradiction, inconsistency and ambivalence'* (Melanaphy, 2011, p. 228). According to Melanaphy (2011), a 'ladder of racism' denoting a hierarchy of racist victimhood can be constructed for contemporary Irish society. The white settled Irish cohort is least prone to racism and is followed by East European immigrants. Conversely, black African immigrants are most likely to encounter racial abuse. The growing prevalence of negative attitudes towards immigrants within Irish society is a worrying trend. The community and voluntary sector are playing a proactive role in tackling racism through the establishment of on-line racism reporting system (Kennedy, 2013) and the provision of diversity awareness and integration courses to various stakeholders (Limerick Integration Working Group, 2013).

Table 2.8: Impact of Immigration on Irish Society

Opinion	Total Sample (0-10)	Irish-Born (0 – 10)	Non-Irish (0 – 10)
It is good for the economy that people come here from other countries.	6.67	6.46	8.02
Enriched the culture of Ireland to have people coming here from other countries.	6.44	6.18	7.79
People coming here make Ireland a better place to live in.	6.46	6.29	7.93
Number	973	832	133

Source: MacGréil (2011), *Pluralism & Diversity in Ireland.* p.173

[40] The scores are an average on a continuum of 0 (worse place to live) to 10 (better place to live).

In Ireland, the Local and Community Development Programme (LCDP)[41] projects and other community based agencies (focal points of contact between the host and migrant communities) have encountered difficulties engaging with immigrants, thereby resulting in the production and persistence of 'parallel lives', along ethnic lines, within the community. The difficulties include a lack of expertise on the part of the LCDP projects to initiate action, a perception that the migrant community is transient, inadequate resources and finally, migrant integration projects do not adhere to the specified remit of LCDP as prescribed by the Department of the Environment, Community and Local Government – the government department responsible for funding and overseeing LCDP as such projects are considered the mainstay of specialist non-governmental organisations (Community Development Programme, 2008). However, gaps in service provision emerge (MacÉinrí, 2007). Furthermore, migrants have shown a degree of apathy towards community-driven attempts to promote integration, as a number of barriers have emerged which hinder meaningful interaction. These include an information gap – a lack of knowledge pertaining to the activities of the community organisations; physical gap – access issues, especially in rural areas where there is inadequate public transportation; emotional gap – especially resonant with foreign nationals from former communist countries in Eastern Europe as there is a degree of mistrust and suspicion in providing information to agencies or local groups; structural gap – migrants with previous inadequate experiences of frontline services would be more likely not to seek support / information in the future; language gap – a lack of proficiency in the vernacular (English) language; and finally, a cultural gap – a lack of understanding on the part of the migrants to the services available within the community, as they are not provided in their homeland (Egan, 2009; Integrating Ireland, 2009).

In regard to housing tenure in Ireland, migrants have a tendency to reside in low-income areas, thereby also giving rise to possible ghettoisation. If this remains unchecked, similar racial tensions to France and Northern England may erupt in the future. Silke et al. (2008, p. 125) have acknowledged various factors for the causation of such segregation from the indigenous population including:

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[41] The LCDP programme was established in January 2010. This programme replaced the Local Development Social Inclusion Programme and Community Development Programme.

> *'income differences, difficulties in accessing housing information, discrimination in the housing market and difficulties participating and integrating in local communities'*

Immigrants are highly reliant on informal networks, most notably through collaboration with fellow nationals, in securing basic information with regard to housing provision (NCCRI, 2008). Informal networks were effective in sourcing advertisements for rented accommodation and locating local government offices in respect to social housing queries, but these informal sources proved inadequate in outlining the role of the Private Residential Tenancies Board, the operation of social housing waiting lists and the procedures of securing a mortgage.

The social impacts of immigration, both positive and negative, have also become observable within the Irish education system. Education institutions, both at primary and secondary level, are faced with new challenges caused by the recent demographic changes, in particular the dramatic rise in immigration. A mass arrival of non-English speaking pupils creates additional demand on resources, including language support services, translation and interpretative services, and schools capacity (Coakley & MacÉinrí, 2009). According to Smyth et al. (2009) the Irish education has to become better equipped in the provision of language supports, as there needs to be greater flexibility in resource allocation; enhanced training and support for specialist and mainstream teachers; and improved access to suitable teaching resource. Furthermore, there is a necessity for school management and teachers to be not solely reliant on the withdrawal of migrant students from mainstream classes in order to avail of additional tuition in English. Such actions can be perceived as segregationist and may make migrant students feel isolated. Similarly, Taguma et al. (2009) in an *OECD Review of Migrant Education (Ireland)*, has recommended the provision of adequate training and professional development courses, specifically focusing on intercultural education, as educators need to address the cultural and linguistic challenges posed by the presence of migrant children within the classroom. A structured dialogue on the social inclusion of young people with a migrant background initiated by the Council of the European Union across all member states has advocated an even stronger stance as citizenship and intercultural education should be provided as curricular subjects in schools and that teachers receive adequate social inclusion and intercultural education training (European Commission, 2012b)[42].

The National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) has published *Intercultural Education Guidelines* (2004; 2006), in which it provides pedagogies and curricular subject teaching methodologies for primary and post-primary teachers; and advice and protocols for school management in intercultural education, thereby equipping all members of the school community *'to participate in an increasingly diverse Ireland'*. In essence, students are being prepared to live in an increasingly globalised society and to embrace the cultural differences between different ethnic and racial groups (Ní Laoire, et al., 2008). These sentiments are further endorsed by several of the teaching unions, including the INTO, whereby schools play an important role in mediating societal change with the arrival of 'newcomer children' and fostering inclusiveness and diversity within the community (INTO, 2005). The arrival of 'newcomer children' into rural areas alleviates rural demographic decline, thereby providing a catalyst for the retention of schools.

It has to be acknowledged that some schools do not appear to be exhibiting the characteristics of a socially cohesive and integrative society. For instance, discriminatory admission criteria (pre-enrolling children from birth and giving preference to children whose parents previously attended the school) leads to an unbalanced distribution of migrant students across the Irish education system (McGinnity, et al., 2013). Therefore, migrant students are being enrolled in *'less prestigious schools that tend to cater for a disadvantaged student intake…. where the demand for places by Irish parents may be low'* (Darmody, et al., 2012, p. 18). The patronage of schools, predominantly Roman Catholic, does not reflect the religious diversity of contemporary Ireland. The *Report of the Forum on Patronage and Pluralism in the Primary Sector* has recommended the transfer of patronage from

[42] The author of this dissertation participated in the Irish component of this EU structured dialogue – 'We're Here, Hear Us Now' (28 June 2012). This was organised by the National Youth Council of Ireland (NYCI) and the Department of Children and Youth Affairs. Subsequently, three youth delegates (including the author this dissertation) presented and discussed the viewpoints of the Irish structured dialogue at the EU Youth Conference (Nicosia, Cyprus) on 'Youth Participation and Social Inclusion: with an Emphasis on Young People with a Migrant Background'. The Joint Recommendations were formulated and agreed at this conference (11 – 13 September 2012).

denominational schools (contingent on a cluster existing within a specific geographical area) to multi-denominational (Educate Together) schools subject to parental approval (Coolahan, et al., 2012). The enactment of this policy will reinforce segregationist tendencies within the Irish education system as the homogenously Irish white Catholic students will predominantly attend the Catholic denominational schools whilst other religious faith adherents will attend multidenominational schools. Furthermore, there is nearly a complete absence of teachers from a migrant background within the Irish education system. It is most evident at primary level as teachers have to be fluent in Gaelige, thereby acting as an entry barrier into the profession. Consequently, this impedes the fostering of a truly intercultural teaching environment, as indigenous Irish students do not encounter educators from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds (Devine, 2005).

The integration of immigrants into the host community within rural areas has not been widely addressed in academic publications and has been side-lined from policy making discourse by service providers, statutory and non-statutory agencies. Popular opinion perceives an 'imagined white homogeneity of the countryside' in contrast to the *'imagined multi-othered heterogeneity of the city'* (Neal, 2002, p. 447). This is simply a fallacy due to the widespread spatial distribution of migrants throughout Ireland (Map 2.7) and other developed countries. A key challenge for the rural host community is to recognise and understand migrants' potential in being productive agents within the economic and social fabric of the community (Parra & Pfeffer, 2006). Furthermore, it is vital for barriers encountered by migrants with respect to racism / discrimination, access to public services, and a lack of proficiency in the English language are rectified effectively, thereby ensuring migrant integration into Irish society.

2.9 Conclusion

The rural economy in Ireland has witnessed a remarkable restructuring in its economic base since the early 1990s, attributable to the declining significance of the agricultural sector and the growth of alternative economic activities which include rural tourism, light manufacturing, ICT enterprises and construction. The principal factor for this transformation centres on globalisation, which has been characterised as:

> *'the growth, or more precisely the accelerated growth, of economic activity across national and regional political boundaries. It finds expression in the increased movement of tangible and intangible goods and services, including ownership rights, via trade and investment, and often people, via migration'* (Oman, 1996, p. 5)

This concept, often associated with urban geography, has played a crucial role in reshaping rural areas as evidenced by the introduction of new terminology to describe the phenomenon, which includes the global countryside, the new countryside, the rural renaissance and the urbanisation of the rural. However, all the characteristics of the globalised countryside as outlined by Woods (2007, pp. 492 - 494) prove to be limited, dispersed, or even hypothetical, as one cannot pinpoint any rural location embodying all of these attributes of globalisation. In spite of this, globalisation will continue to play a crucial role in transforming the rural economic base, through increased interconnectivity, including the movement of people and capital, between different regions throughout the globe.

In tandem with globalisation, there has been a remarkable period of change within the global agricultural sector. Ireland has witnessed a period of substantive structural change corresponding to both the productivist and post-productivist transitions. This has entailed a contraction in the number of people engaged in farming, whereby the number of agricultural holdings has decreased by 44,400 between 1991 and 2007 (CSO, 2008). Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of farmers have been supplementing their incomes through part-time non-farm employment, pluriactivity or on-farm diversification which utilises the farm's capital assets to pursue alternative / complimentary business activities (Crowley, et al., 2008).

The restructuring of the rural economy has been a geographically uneven process, as the magnitude of the adjustments within the agricultural sector varies from region to region. In turn, a multi-tiered rural space has become evident in Ireland, whereby certain regions have thrived in comparison to others. The more progressive and affluent regions, particularly those which provide employment opportunities, have benefited demographically due to inward migration. Rural restructuring theory provides a framework for identifying the economic and social changes occurring within contemporary society. There are multiple typologies, both socio-political and economic, within the academic literature that indicate the various spatial patterns that may arise within the countryside due to rural restructuring. Marsden et al (1993) and Murdoch et al (2003) theoretically differentiated the countryside into four categories, with the preserved and the contested countryside experiencing both demographic and economic growth in contrast to than the paternalistic and clientelist countryside. In an Irish context, several typologies have been constructed, most notably by McHugh (2001), Walsh et al (2005) and the NSS (2000), whereby the spatial evidence of rural restructuring is expressed through the varying degrees of unbalanced development throughout the countryside.

Between the 1840s and 1980s, Ireland experienced mass emigration with particular peaks in the late 19th Century, 1930s and 1950s, but there was a complete reversal in the 1990s with the advent of the Celtic Tiger (Kitchin & Bartley, 2007) The severe recession in Ireland has dramatically reduced the number of immigrants but there still remains a sizeable number throughout the country, in both urban and rural areas. On examining the distribution of various foreign nationals throughout Ireland, there is a notable tendency amongst East European migrants, particularly Polish and Lithuanian, and UK migrants, to reside in rural areas rather than within urban centres (Figures 2.3 – 2.5).

In recent years, rural Ireland has witnessed a dramatic transformation in its population structure, due to the inflow of a large number of immigrants. A significant cohort of these immigrants originated from Eastern Europe, coinciding with the accession of eight former Communist countries into the European Union in 2004. According to the 2006 Census, Co. Monaghan's population consisted of approximately 3% Lithuanian and 1.1% Latvian migrants. East European migrants tend to settle in areas where there is a dominant industry which is classified as providing low skilled employment. One notable example is the tourism and hospitality sector, with 38% of the workforce being foreign nationals (CSO, 2012a). This sector is concentrated within the main urban centres and within scenic or high amenity rural areas. A high dependence on economic migrants within this sector emerged during the economic boom due to a reluctance on the part of the indigenous population to engage in low-paid and low-skilled employment; and to accept unsocial working conditions. Furthermore, there were significant labour shortages in Irish economy during this period. Consequently, economic migrants were hired to fill the labour vacuum.

Studies on rural immigration tend to focus on the concept of counterurbanisation. Counterurbanisation is most associated with the United States, where Berry (1978) initially identified this concept in the early 1970s, but counterurbanisation has also become a socio-economic feature within other developed countries, including Spain and the UK. The regional restructuring of the economy has also played a role within the counterurbanisation process insofar as:

> *'The recent population shifts reflect a spatial representation of shifts in the organisation of production and in the functions that the affected areas perform within the new organisation'* (Frey, 1987, p. 241).

This has led to changes in the global economy, whereby there has been a global expansion of production activities and a macro-scale division of labour. Ultimately, this has enabled a manufacturing to services transition within the economies of developed countries, a reconfiguration of corporate organisations and a degree of polarisation within certain urban and regional centres. It is difficult to distinguish from the literature whether regional restructuring emerged from post-industrialisation[43] or deindustrialisation[44].

The economic benefits and impacts of rural immigration remain a rather overlooked topic within contemporary academic literature, although immigration plays a crucial role in stimulating demographic and employment growth. Rural immigration has been shown to provide a positive role in strengthening the labour market within Scotland, whereby rural migrants have initiated a jobs multiplier effect of 0.77 with regard to new employment (Findlay, et al., 2000). This employment growth is crucial for the social and economic sustainability of rural areas, as it allows for the retention and expansion of services within the community. In this study, it is important to identify whether a similar employment multiplier effect has occurred within contemporary rural Ireland. Furthermore, the literature devotes considerable attention to the over reliance on migrant labour within certain sectors of the rural economy, particularly, horticulture, tourism and hospitality, and elementary plant and machinery occupations. In some

[43] The post-industrialisation explanation for regional restructuring assumes the transformation of the economy is evolutionary and it has progressed over time due to technological innovation and the expansion of the transportation and telecommunications network.

[44] Deindustrialisation has enabled restructuring of the global economy as a consequence of the oil crisis in the 1970s, which enabled the Fordist to the post-Fordist transition, but deindustrialisation still acknowledges the importance of technological innovations (Martin & Rowthorn, 1986; Doussard, et al., 2009).

instances, this over reliance of migrant labour has led to a degree of exploitation. Overall, it has been argued, migrants have provided a positive contribution to rural areas.

In conclusion, it will be imperative within this study to conduct an in-depth examination into the inter-connectivity between rural restructuring and rural immigration. The impact of rural restructuring at a local level has to be outlined in detail, thereby gauging the extent to which new economic sectors have emerged within the rural economy and delineating their role as a catalyst for the recent in-migration into rural areas in Ireland. The migratory inflows of various nationalities may have even further stimulated this restructuring process and it will have to be given due consideration within this study. Recently, the demise of the Celtic Tiger has also had a profound impact on immigration, with significantly fewer people deciding to migrate to Ireland and one has to acknowledge the socio-economic impacts of this demographic shift on rural communities. There is a necessity to conduct an empirical study, pertaining to the relationship between rural restructuring and migration patterns, especially within an Irish context, as there is a substantial gap to be filled in the academic literature This study will be strongly focused on gaining an innovative insight from migrants, policymakers, statutory and non-statutory community organisations, and native residents on the socio-economic impacts of immigration within rural areas.

2.10 Research Questions

The key research questions for this study which emanate from the existing literature are:

- What are the main new economic sectors to emerge in the rural economy as a consequence of rural restructuring and have these sectors provided the initial catalyst for the recent in-migration into rural Ireland?
- To what extent, and in what ways have economic migrants influenced the socio-economic restructuring of rural areas?
- What is the labour market (job generation) multiplier effect (if any) of net in-migration within the rural areas?

- To what extent have migrants integrated into the local community and how have intercommunity relations been forged between the migrant and indigenous communities?
- In light of the recent economic downturn, what are the future intentions of the migrants residing in rural areas, and what are the likely consequences for the rural economy?

The following chapter (methodological framework) describes how these questions will be addressed. The chapter identifies specific case study locations which are most appropriate to documenting and analysing the features of rural in-migration and the socio-economic impacts thereof, particularly in respect to the so-called multiplier effect. It goes on to elaborate the indicators required to present and assess the local and regional impacts of migrant populations. The indicators in turn, determine the approaches to be adopted for the fieldwork and data collection, and the various techniques for this are also outlined in this chapter.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The 2006 Census highlighted a change in the spatial distribution of migrants within rural Ireland. Since the 1960s, there has been a tendency for migrants from the UK and Germany to settle along the Western seaboard, with particular concentrations in Kerry, West Cork, Galway, Mayo and Donegal. These migrants were in pursuit of the rural idyll, which embodied small scale / organic farming and artisan production in predominantly scenic areas (Crowley, et al., 2008). In recent years, there has been a shift in the spatial distribution, with East European migrants residing throughout the country, but to a lesser extent in the Midlands. This migration episode is different to that experienced along the Western seaboard between the 1960s and 1980s, as the migrants are not primarily seeking the rural idyll, but are in search of new employment opportunities. The emergence of a new type of migration within the Irish context, poses a number of important research questions.

The literature review has enabled the formulation of research questions, whereby the researcher has sought to establish the relationship between rural in-migration and rural restructuring in Ireland. The first research question sought to determine the extent to which the rural economy has been transformed as a consequence of rural restructuring and to ascertain whether these economic changes have acted as a catalyst for the recent in-migration of economic migrants into rural Ireland. The second research question identified the ways in which migrants have influenced socio-economic change within contemporary rural society. The third research question sought to quantify the labour market (job generation) multiplier effects associated with rural in-migration. The penultimate research question ascertained whether integration or diversity raising awareness initiatives were initiated by statutory and non-statutory agencies within rural areas and to assess the extent to which positive community relations have been forged between the indigenous immigrant communities. The final research question sought to identify the future residential intentions of migrants and to determine the likely consequences for the rural economy.

The first section of this chapter examines the rationale for adopting a case study approach as a means of analysing the spatial effects of rural in-migration and determining the socio-economic impacts associated with migrants residing in rural areas. Applying a case study approach requires the utilisation of various complementary research methods and techniques, thereby increasing the validity and reliability of the research findings (triangulation). The methods utilised within this project include household questionnaires, business questionnaires, semi-structured interviews and analysis of secondary data. This chapter treats each method separately, whereby the rationale and purpose of the particular method are outlined in detail, along with the sampling framework and the process of gathering the data (both qualitative and quantitative). The final section of the methodological framework identifies the specific case study locations, specifically Counties Monaghan and Limerick, which provide a contrasting account of the impacts of rural in-migration, whilst enabling a comparative analysis of the impacts of socio-economic restructuring, with particular reference to the multiplier effect.

3.2 Case Study Approach

A robust means of investigating the relationship between rural in-migration and rural restructuring and ultimately, the generation of theoretical constructs and propositions is through the adoption of a case study approach. A case study is regarded as '*an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real life context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident'* (Yin, 1999 p. 18). In essence, the case study approach enables the production of rich empirical data from a *'real world context in which phenomena occur'* (Eisenhardt, et al., 2007 p. 25). The inclusion of at least two case study locations within a research project is deemed essential, insofar as the incorporation of comparative and contrastive components provides a more robust delineation of constructs and relationships (Yin, 1999). This is a key requirement with regard to constructing a robust and triangulated research study.

The adoption of a case-sampling approach poses a number of limitations. Firstly, the selection of specific parameters and / or spatial locations may produce misleading results which are uncharacteristic of the national or regional picture. In essence, research in social geography is unable to adhere to a scientific paradigm, whereby identical methodologies utilised within multiple experiments can be replicated and ultimately produce comparable results. A means of remedying this problem is the full inclusion of all the parameters and spatial areas within the study but this has serious resource implications (Davies, et al., 2005). Robson (2002) believes this problem can be mitigated by using a transparent research design and including appropriate checks to demonstrate the validity and reliability of research findings. Secondly, the researcher has to determine the particular spatial areas (the case study sites) that merit investigation within the project in order for the research questions to be answered effectively (Creswell, 2007). This has been achieved within this study through the selection of case study territories that have experienced both significant economic restructuring and inward migration. Thirdly, case study territory boundaries that are linked to statutory administrative boundaries can change over time. It is important to determine the precise boundaries of case study territories at the commencement of a research study and these boundaries should not be altered / amended[45].

The techniques for the collection of the data include:

Secondary Research

- Identification of migration spatial patterns through analysis of recent census returns. This has facilitated the selection of appropriate case study locations.

- Area profiling of the case study locations (desk based initially) based on indicators relevant to addressing the research questions.

Primary Research

- Individual and group interviews with key stakeholders, including: migrant organisations; civic organisations; community groups; business representative groups; and rural development bodies.

[45] The local authority boundary between Co. Limerick and Limerick City was slightly altered between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population.

- The distribution of questionnaires to randomly selected households and businesses within each case study area, thereby gauging personal experiences and perceptions of migration.

The secondary research contextualized the collection of primary data, which was gathered through conducting questionnaire surveys and semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders located within rural areas which have experienced both significant and insignificant in-migration of foreign nationals. One of the fundamental objectives of the primary research was to identify and analyse any local factors, features and / or perceptions that may be responsible for the demographic trends displayed in a particular rural area. It was also essential to conduct this type of data generation in order to compare and contrast socio-economic and demographic structures found in rural districts within the selected case study locations.

3.3 Selection of Case Study Territories

The selection of two contrasting case study territories, in respect to the spatial distribution of migrants, enabled the researcher to engage in a thorough, controlled analysis of the research questions. In the 2006 Census of Population, approximately 10.28% of respondents were classified as foreign nationals. However, the concentration of migrants was spatially uneven, with the Midlands and portions of the South and South-East (Map 2.7) having a relatively low concentration of foreign nationals in comparison to the national average. In contrast, there was a significant concentration of foreign nationals along the Western seaboard and adjacent to the Northern Ireland border. Furthermore, there was a strong tendency for migrants to reside in large urban areas, specifically, Dublin, Cork, Galway and Limerick (Map 2.7). There were also a large proportion of migrants located within commuting distance of these large urban centres, as migrants, together with many other rural dwellers, were commuting to their place of employment on a daily basis.

Table 3.1 lists, in ascending order, all the local authority administrative areas according to the percentage (%) of migrants residing in each in 2006, whilst Tables 3.2 – 3.4 ranks areas according to the percentage (%) of specific migrant cohorts – Lithuanian, Polish and rest of the world. One trend evident from all of the tables was the concentration of migrants residing in primarily urban local authority areas. The counties along the Western seaboard also have a relatively high proportion of migrants, with the majority of these migrants having originated from the UK and Germany. East European migrants have shown a different spatial distribution to the other nationality groupings, with migrants residing in both urban and rural areas. Table 3.2 highlighted that Lithuanian migrants have settled predominantly in rural areas and these locations have had no previous experience of inward migration. Monaghan, a primarily rural county, has the largest proportion (2.98%) of Lithuanian nationals in the country. Therefore, Co. Monaghan was a prime location for analysing and documenting the economic multiplier effects associated with rural in-migration. The second case study location (the control) had to be a predominantly rural county and be of a similar size to Co. Monaghan. Crucially, this county had to have experienced relatively little inward migration, particularly from Eastern Europe. From examining Tables 3.2 – 3.4, it was evident that Co. Limerick satisfied the aforementioned selection criteria. This study did not incorporate the suburban EDs situated adjacent to Limerick City, as this study was primarily investigating the spatial effects of rural restructuring within rural Ireland.

The Co. Monaghan case study territory is situated in the North East of Republic of Ireland and borders Fermanagh, Tyrone, Armagh (Northern Ireland), Cavan, Meath and Louth. County Limerick is located in the Mid-West of Ireland and this territory borders Tipperary, Cork, Clare, and Kerry. While Monaghan is a much smaller county than Limerick, both case study locations are of a similar profile demographically, with 47.23 persons per square kilometre in Co. Limerick[46] and 43.27 persons per square kilometre in Co. Monaghan. According to the 2006 Census of Population, there were 97,319 people resident in Co. Limerick (excluding the suburbs of Limerick City located within the Co. Limerick local authority area)[47] in comparison to 55,997 in Co. Monaghan. The selected case study locations are both predominantly rural, with a number of large towns located in each county (Limerick – Newcastle West (5,098), Rathkeale (1,494), Kilmallock (1,443) and Castleconnell (1,330); and Monaghan – Monaghan Town (6,710), Clones (1,767) Castleblayney (3,124) and Carrickmacross (4,387)). In addition

[46] This figure includes the EDs and population contained within the suburbs adjacent to Limerick City. This densely populated location would increase the ratio for Co. Limerick relative to Co. Monaghan.
[47] The suburban EDs include: Ballycummin; Ballysimon; Ballyvarra; Limerick North Rural; Limerick South Rural; and Roxborough.

Table 3.1: Proportion (%) of Foreign Nationals in Ascending Order for each Local Authority Administrative Area

Local Authority Administrative Areas	(%)
Kilkenny County	7.01
Limerick County	7.06
Waterford County	7.29
Donegal County	7.32
North Tipperary	7.37
Offaly County	7.45
Laois County	7.69
Wexford County	7.86
South Tipperary	7.95
Galway County	8.15
Louth County	8.16
Sligo County	8.21
Wicklow County	8.67
Meath County	8.95
Cavan County	8.98
Mayo County	8.99
Carlow County	9.00
Cork County	9.07
Roscommon County	9.30
Monaghan County	9.31
Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown	9.34
Westmeath County	9.38
Waterford City	9.91
Clare County	10.02
Kildare County	10.06
Cork City	10.07
South Dublin	10.21
Longford County	10.24
Leitrim County	10.41
Kerry County	10.42
Limerick City	10.46
Fingal	14.51
Dublin City	15.05
Galway City	16.26

Table 3.2: Proportion (%) of Lithuanian Migrants in Ascending Order for each Local Authority Administrative Area

Local Authority Administrative Areas	(%)
Donegal County	0.15
Waterford County	0.18
Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown	0.20
Kilkenny County	0.22
Galway County	0.24
Clare County	0.26
Sligo County	0.31
Cork City	0.33
Limerick County	0.34
Carlow County	0.39
Leitrim County	0.40
Waterford City	0.40
Roscommon County	0.40
Mayo County	0.42
Limerick City	0.46
Cork County	0.47
Wicklow County	0.47
North Tipperary	0.49
Wexford County	0.50
South Tipperary	0.52
Dublin City	0.54
Kerry County	0.54
Kildare County	0.57
Laois County	0.70
Galway City	0.76
Westmeath County	0.77
South Dublin	0.84
Longford County	0.90
Louth County	0.91
Fingal	0.94
Offaly County	0.98
Cavan County	1.23
Meath County	1.35
Monaghan County	2.98

Table 3.3: Proportion (%) of Polish Migrants in Descending Order for each Local Authority Administrative Area

Local Authority Administrative Areas	(%)
Donegal County	0.49
Waterford County	0.59
Louth County	0.61
Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown	0.91
Mayo County	0.98
Wicklow County	1.00
Galway County	1.06
Roscommon County	1.15
South Tipperary	1.16
Kilkenny County	1.16
Meath County	1.18
North Tipperary	1.21
Monaghan County	1.23
Clare County	1.28
Cavan County	1.28
Sligo County	1.28
Limerick County	1.34
Offaly County	1.38
Leitrim County	1.43
Laois County	1.43
Waterford City	1.47
South Dublin	1.48
Westmeath County	1.49
Wexford County	1.55
Fingal	1.55
Kerry County	1.63
Cork County	1.65
Longford County	2.12
Dublin City	2.18
Kildare County	2.19
Cork City	2.28
Carlow County	2.49
Limerick City	2.96
Galway City	3.57

Table 3.4: Proportion (%) of 'Rest of the World' Migrants in Descending Order for each Local Authority Administrative Area

Local Authority Administrative Areas	(%)
Wexford County	1.27
Waterford County	1.29
North Tipperary	1.44
Donegal County	1.58
Monaghan County	1.60
Kilkenny County	1.65
South Tipperary	1.71
Offaly County	1.72
Mayo County	1.77
Sligo County	1.85
Leitrim County	1.92
Limerick County	2.01
Laois County	2.01
Cork County	2.08
Roscommon County	2.10
Carlow County	2.14
Cavan County	2.14
Galway County	2.45
Longford County	2.47
Wicklow County	2.54
Kerry County	2.59
Meath County	2.74
Westmeath County	2.85
Clare County	3.21
Cork City	3.27
Limerick City	3.37
Louth County	3.46
Kildare County	3.52
Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown	3.84
Waterford City	4.06
South Dublin	5.12
Galway City	6.11
Fingal	6.97
Dublin City	7.07

to these principal settlements, there are numerous villages located throughout the case study territories.

3.4 Data Sources and Indicators

Table 3.5 provides an overview of the organisations and individuals which were contacted as part of this study within both case study territories. The organisations included local authorities, integrated local development companies, educational institutions, retail outlets, business / corporate networks and NGOs. The majority of the data collected from these organisations was qualitative, and it was gathered primarily through interviews and the collection of secondary data. The secondary data consisted of annual reports; strategic plans; policy documents; newsletters; County Development Plans; promotional material; and advertisements / flyers (particularly for migrant owned businesses). The data generated through the distribution of household and business questionnaires was primarily quantitative. The primary data collection within this research project was extensive and a considerable length of time was devoted to this task (February to July 2011 in Co. Monaghan and August to November 2011 in Co. Limerick). In order to successfully complete the primary data collection in Co. Monaghan, it was necessary to reside within the field area.

All of the data generated through the utilisation of these various methodologies produced primary and secondary indicators, thereby providing a means to effectively answer each research question. The primary indicators produced the crucial data which underpinned the research findings, whilst the secondary indicators provided supplementary evidence, thereby ensuring the robustness of the research. Table 3.6 provides an overview of both the primary and secondary indicators utilised within this research project. All of the indicators contained within Table 3.6 correspond to variables which are analysed in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

Table 3.5: Data Sources within Selected Case Study Locations

Data Source	Secondary	Interview	Questionnaire
Co. Monaghan			
Enterprise Officer, Co. Monaghan Enterprise Board	X	X	
Integration Development Officer, Monaghan Integrated Development	X	X	
Development Officer, Family Resource Centre		X	
Lithuanian Community of Co. Monaghan	X		
Chambers' of Commerce (Monaghan Town and Castleblayney)	X	X	
Development Officers, Monaghan County Council	X	X	
Development Officer, Clones Area Regeneration Partnership		X	
Community Representatives, Truagh Development Association		X	
Development Officer, Monaghan County Development Board		X	
Representatives from Blayney Blades International (migrant organisation)	X	X	
Community Representatives, Aughnacloy Development Association (located in Co. Tyrone)		X	
Community Representatives from Drumlin CDP, Carrickmacross		X	
Selected Households			X
Co. Limerick			
Development Officer, FÁS		X	
Development Officers, West Limerick Resources		X	
Policy Officer, Doras Luimní	X	X	
Development Officers, Ballyhoura Development	X	X	
Representative from Limerick VEC		X	
Development Officer, Limerick County Council	X	X	
Development Officer, Limerick County Development Board	X		
Representative from Adare Business Association		X	
Representative from Ballylanders Development Association		X	
Selected Households			X
Service Provider Representative(s) from both Case Study Locations			
Schools (Primary and Secondary)	X		
Businesses (including ethnic shops)			X
Social Service Providers	X		

Table 3.6: Primary and Secondary Indicators

Research Question	Primary Indicator	Secondary Indicator(s)	Data Sources
What are the main new economic sectors to emerge in the rural economy as a consequence of rural restructuring and have these sectors provided the initial catalyst for the recent in-migration into rural Ireland?	Change in socio-economic profile between 1990 and 2010 Direct / indirect business multiplier effects	Identification of agricultural diversification activities Prominent industrial activities Existence of ethnic / migrant orientated businesses Existence of tourism amenities Prominence of ICT and knowledge economy sector Proportional change in the number of migrants between 2002 and 2011 Proportion of Irish to migrant workers employed in each employment category Location of employment	Secondary data analysis of 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population Semi-structured interviews with statutory and non-statutory economic development agencies / organisations.
To what extent and in what ways, have economic migrants influenced the socio-economic restructuring of rural areas?	Indirect migration multiplier effects	Percentage of non-Irish customer base Identification of services / products for East European customers Remittances (negative effect on economy)	Household and business questionnaires Semi-structured interviews
What is the labour market (job generation) multiplier effect (if any) of net in-migration within rural	Direct migration multiplier effects	Number of individuals employed by migrant households Number and location of migrant operated businesses	Household and business questionnaires Semi-structured interviews

areas?		Number of self-employed migrants	
To what extent have migrants integrated into the local community and how have intercommunity relations been forged between the host and indigenous communities	Indirect migration multiplier effects	Attitudes of host community towards immigrants Evidence of intercultural / diversity raising awareness activities Evidence of English language supports for native speakers Location of accessing educational; retail; financial; and recreational services Rate of volunteerism	Household and business questionnaires Semi-structured interviews
In light of the recent economic downturn, what are the future intentions of the migrants residing in rural areas, and what are the likely consequences for the rural economy?	Anticipated length of residence in rural Ireland	Identification of additional services / products for migrant consumers Anticipated length of time till next migration movement	Household and business questionnaires

3.5 Secondary Data

The adoption of a case study approach incorporated the selection of two contrasting regions with regard to rural in-migration, specifically Counties Monaghan and Limerick. However, both locations have witnessed restructuring of their respective economic bases since 1990. The literature review has identified the spatial extent of both rural restructuring and rural in-migration within an Irish context and the two chosen case study locations have epitomised the recent demographic and socio-economic changes. The rationale pertaining to the selection of the case study territories is outlined in detail within a subsequent section of this chapter. The compilation of an in-depth ethnic profile of both case study territories was essential, and this was achieved by consulting and analysing pre-existing secondary data sources.

The spatial distribution of migrants within both case study areas was derived from the 2002, 2006 and 2011 Census of Population returns. The maps contained within the area profile (Chapter 4) indicate a higher concentration of East European in-migration in Co. Monaghan in comparison to Co. Limerick. This movement of East European migrants was a recent demographic phenomenon and it was intrinsically linked to the accession of eight former Communist countries into the European Union in 2004. By analysing the nationality data from the census returns since 2002, the change in spatial distribution has become apparent. In addition to the census information, another important source of secondary data was policy documents from several statutory and non-statutory agencies (predominantly local – See Table 3.5). These provided important information relating to socio-economic restructuring, and the multiplier effects associated with in-migration within both case study locations.

3.6 Questionnaire Surveys

In order to determine the extent to which migrants have stimulated the socio-economic restructuring of rural areas, and to quantify the employment generation contributions and potential of in-migrants, two questionnaire surveys were undertaken. One of the questionnaires was administered to householders and the other to business owners / managers. Questionnaires are an effective methodological tool for ascertaining information pertaining to people's perceptions, attitudes, experiences and spatial interactions at a micro level (McLafferty, 2008). Furthermore, the utilisation of questionnaire surveys within this study was appropriate as the required information was not readily available from existing secondary sources. The household and business questionnaires aimed to establish socio-economic effects of migration within rural areas and the questionnaires were one of the primary methodological instruments deployed in this study to quantify both the direct and indirect multiplier effects of migration with regard to employment generation. The following subsections provide an overview of the sampling for each survey, and the structure and content of both questionnaires.

3.6.1 Household Questionnaire Sampling Frame

The survey design adhered to the principal characteristics of the survey conducted by Findlay et al. (2000) in Scotland, whereby all relevant rural types[48] were included within the sample. In both Counties Monaghan[49] and Limerick[50], EDs classified with differing area type characteristics were systematically selected from a rural typology compiled from socio-economic outputs pertaining to the 2002 Census of Population by Walsh et al. (2007). All of the area types, with the exception of 'urban EDs' (not pertinent to this research study) and 'areas of demographic expansion' (none existed in either of the case study locations), were selected for distribution of a questionnaire (Table 3.7). There were a number of EDs displaying a common component / area type and only one ED was initially selected from each area type for the distribution of household questionnaires within each county. This was achieved by constructing two databases, one for each county, of EDs by area type and the percentage of resident foreign nationals in each ED (based on Census of Population 2006). The ED with the highest proportion of foreign nationals resident in each area type was selected for the distribution of household questionnaires. It was aimed to collect at least 50 completed questionnaires from each rural area type. However, in some of the less densely

[48] The area types utilised by Findlay et al. (2000) included remote rural; less remote rural; mixed urban / rural; remote settlement dominated; and prosperous high growth. These rural area types were devised by the Scottish Office in 1996.
[49] The EDs selected in Co. Monaghan include: Anny (strong agricultural area); Carrickmacross Rural (peri-urban); Castleblayney Rural (peri-urban); Monaghan Rural (diversifying area of urban employment); Figullar (marginal agricultural area); Bellatrain (structurally weak rural area); Glaslough (structurally weak rural area); and Corracharra (structurally weak rural area).
[50] The EDs selected in Co. Limerick include: Glenbrohane (strong agricultural area); Riverdale (area of economic diversification); Grean (area of economic diversification); Duntryleague (diversifying area of urban employment); Hospital (diversifying area of urban employment); Galbally (diversifying area of urban employment); Glin (structurally weak rural area); Caher (structurally weak rural area); and Newcastle West Rural (peri-urban).

populated EDs, this proved impossible. Therefore, the remainder of the questionnaires were allocated to the ED of the same rural area type classification which was ranked second with respect to highest proportion of foreign nationals.

Table 3.7: Rural Area Types / Components in Walsh et al.'s (2007) Typology

1	Marginal Agricultural Areas
2	Strong Agricultural Areas
3	Peri-Urban Areas
4	Areas of Economic Diversification
5	Structurally Weak Rural Areas
6	Diversifying Areas of Urban Employment
7	Areas of Demographic Expansion
8	Urban EDs

Source: Walsh et. al. (2007) 'Synthesis: Typologies of Urban and Rural Areas' in Walsh, James A. (Editor) *People and Place: A Census Atlas of the Republic of Ireland*

The questionnaire was distributed to both migrant and non-migrant households (February to April 2011 in Co. Monaghan and August to October 2011 in Co Limerick). Respondents were randomly selected by rural area type and a questionnaire was administered to the household in which the selected respondent resided. Generally, households are selected from the register of electors but this was not feasible for this research study. This is due to an under-representation of foreign nationals within this database. In advance of the data collection, it was important to check ED boundaries on local authority maps, thereby reducing the risk of distributing questionnaires to households which were not within the selected research locations. Households were randomly selected within the selected ED boundaries.

A random sampling selection of migrant households was also deployed, thereby increasing the number of migrant respondents. This entailed contacting local community groups and English language classes within the selected EDs and seeking individuals within these organisations / classes who were newcomers to the area since 1990, to complete a questionnaire on behalf of their respective household. In total, 787 questionnaires were distributed as part of this study, with 421 and 366 questionnaires distributed in Counties Monaghan and Limerick respectively. The overall response rate was 68.99%, with the response rate being slightly higher in Co. Limerick (71.03%) in comparison to Co. Monaghan (67.22%). In total, 159 migrant households[51] and 384 non-migrant households[52] completed the questionnaire surveys. In order to achieve the high response rate, the questionnaires were hand-delivered to each household and the rationale for the study was explained to the potential respondent. In some instances, the respondent required assistance in completing the questionnaire and this was provided. The questionnaires were collected on the following day. However, several repeat visits to some households were required in order to retrieve the questionnaire. Each respondent was required to complete the questionnaire anonymously and all of the information gathered through the questionnaires was treated confidentially. In order for the household questionnaire to be completed by migrants from Eastern Europe it was translated into a number of languages, including Polish, Lithuanian and Russian. After the completion of the data collection, all the quantitative contained within the household questionnaires was coded and inputted into SPSS for statistical analysis. All of the qualitative data was inputted into an Excel database. Subsequently, this data was analysed thematically.

3.6.2 Household Questionnaire Content

The household questionnaire (Appendix 2) was subdivided into three sections and each one had a primary objective:

- Section A gathered information for a demographic overview of the selected households within a particular electoral division and established whether the occupants were migrants / non-migrants (i.e. collection of data on independent variables).
- Section B elicited data to compare and contrast the labour market (job generation) multiplier effects between in-migrants and the indigenous population. Furthermore, this section sought to ascertain whether certain quality of life parameters, including service provision, had an influence in attracting migrants into the case study locations, and to deduce the existence of any differences in perspectives or attitudes between migrant and non-migrant respondents.

[51] This consisted of 98 and 61 migrant households respectively in Counties Monaghan and Limerick.
[52] This consisted of 185 and 199 non-migrant households respectively in Counties Monaghan and Limerick.

- Section C was completed by migrant households as it sought to determine the motives for moving into the particular area and to chronicle previous household movements. This section also sought information on the amount of money sent abroad as remittances by immigrants and to determine the extent to which migrants were integrating into the community by measuring their rates of volunteerism in social, charitable, religious, sporting, political and cultural organisations.

The first section of the questionnaire sought to establish a demographic profile of the household, with the respondent required to provide details concerning all individuals normally resident in the household over the age of 18 years. Information regarding the age profile, gender, relationship to other individuals in the household, location of upbringing, employment status, location and distance to employment (if applicable) and education qualifications was sought from the respondent. The respondent was also required to indicate whether he /she had future intentions to move elsewhere in the foreseeable future. The data collected allowed for analysis of any associations between behaviour and attitudinal variables (dependent) and socio-economic and geographical variables (independent). Furthermore, it was essential to determine if any individuals had migrated into the area, and in such instances to establish the last place of residence and the year of movement. If the individual intended to leave the current area of residence, it was imperative to establish the rationale for the likely migration, to establish the future destination and the possible timeframe. Where possible, response categories for each question in the questionnaire adhered to the same format as in the Census of Population conducted by the CSO in 2006.

The second section of the questionnaire enabled the researcher to compare and contrast migrants' and the indigenous population's personal experiences of the local rural economy. Furthermore, the answers elicited from migrant respondents identified their degree of interaction with the local community. In order to determine if any job generation multiplier effects were associated with in-migration into rural areas, it was essential to calculate (collectively) the number of people who were employed by the respondent and any other member of the household. The respondent was also required to identify the number of employees in each occupational (NACE) category and to state whether the employment was full-time or part-time. By gathering equivalent data from the host community, it enabled analysis by nationality. The choices for selection were identical to the NACE occupational categories as utilised by the Quarterly Household Survey (CSO, 2009).

It was also important to determine the distance travelled by the household to obtain a number of key services[53] and where relevant, to estimate the amount of money spent on a weekly basis on essential commodities. A range of educational, retail, professional, healthcare, community and other public services was selected from the NSS (2000) for inclusion within the questionnaire, thereby providing a means of quantifying the degree of service provision available within the selected case study areas. In order to identify any other outstanding factors that may entice or repel people from residing within the locality, respondents were required to list separately the three most and least attractive features / aspects of life associated with living at the current location. The final question within this section allowed the respondent to provide a brief general commentary on the impact(s) of migration and / or incomers within rural areas. This provided respondents with an opportunity to discuss any other impacts which were not addressed in the questionnaire. Subsequently, the responses attained through this question were categorised according to respondents' attitudes towards immigrants. These categories included negative about migrants; positive about migrants; and ambiguous. Furthermore, the altitudinal responses derived from this open-ended question were also categorised thematically. The themes included: economic; social / integration; language / culture; and other.

The third section of the household questionnaire was completed by migrant respondents only. This section primarily dealt with the migration history of the household, as a collective unit. Information was gathered on the origin, year of move, dominant reason for move, employment status at origin and any previous link to 'destination' at time of move for the last two household movements of the recipient or the last move if only one took place. Similar data was also collected for other members of the household, concerning their last migration movement only. The penultimate question quantified the

[53] Respondents were required to identify the location where the following services are obtained on a regular basis: supermarket; primary school / childcare; small shop / pub; recreational sports pitch / centre; post office; legal / financial / community support; doctor (GP); secondary level school; hospital; and other retail – including clothes and electrical appliances.

amount of money sent abroad as remittances on a monthly basis from the household. It was essential to collect this data as remittances mitigate against any positive multiplier effects associated with in-migration within the local economy. The final question sought to determine the degree of migrants' integration within the local community. This was deduced by determining whether migrants engaged in any voluntary activities / work in the four weeks prior to completing the questionnaire.

3.6.3 Business Questionnaire Sampling Frame

The sampling frame for the survey of businesses was constructed by compiling two databases (one for each case study locations) of businesses. The data was derived from the business listings of the Eircom telephone book. However, there are some limitations in using the business listings of a telephone directory. Firstly, this database is not a comprehensive list of all businesses situated within the selected case study location as some companies are ex-directory. Secondly, the telephone directory is updated annually and in the interim, some companies may have ceased trading. During the fieldwork, approximately 4 business questionnaires could not be distributed as the respective companies had been liquidated. Other potential data sources were undesirable as the Geo Directory database was cost prohibitive whilst valuation books supplied by the local authorities were unreliable as they were compiled a number of years ago.

Every 15th and 23rd business within the Counties Monaghan and Limerick databases (derived from the telephone listings) were selected for the distribution of business questionnaires. The business questionnaires were distributed in May 2011 (Co. Monaghan) and November 2011 (Co. Limerick). In total, 200 questionnaires were delivered to business owners / managers, with 100 questionnaires to be completed in each case study area. The response rate was higher in Co. Monaghan (78%) than in Co. Limerick (58%). The overall response rate was 68%. Each respondent, selected from the business listings of the telephone book was required to complete the questionnaire anonymously, and all of the information gathered through this methodology was treated confidentially. The questionnaires were hand-delivered to each business owner / manager. The questionnaires were either completed immediately or collected the following day by the researcher.

3.6.4 Business Questionnaire Content

The business questionnaire (Appendix 3) was subdivided into two sections and each one has a specific purpose:

- Section A sought the respondent to determine the direct economic multiplier effects of a business / enterprise within the local community. In order to determine the reliance on migrant labour within specific employment categories; it was essential to identify the proportion of migrants to non-migrants within the workforce in each business.
- Section B examines the indirect multiplier effects of migration on business, with specific reference to the number of migrant customers and the provision of special products / services.

The first section of the business questionnaires asked the respondent to provide a brief profile of the business, insofar as to identify the year in which the business was founded; and the NACE classification of the business. In order to determine the reliability of the sampling framework, it was necessary to calculate the proportion of migrants to non-migrants within the workforce in each business. This was achieved by asking the respondent to identify the total size of the workforce and the number of migrants employed by the business. Furthermore, the respondent was required to state the number of employees who were full-time and part-time for both the entire workforce and for migrant employees specifically. For comparative analysis, similar employment data was sought from 5 years previously. The penultimate question within this section required the respondent to identify the three most and least attractive features or aspects of operating a business at the current location. The final question in this section allowed the respondent to provide any additional information relating to the impact(s) of immigration on the local business community.

The second section of the questionnaire asked the respondent to determine the impact of immigration on their business, thereby gauging the indirect multiplier effects of migration with respect to service provision within the local community. The respondent had to determine the approximate proportion of migrant customers / clients to non-migrant customers / clients who purchased products or services from the business on a weekly basis. An important indicator of the multiplier effect associated with immigration was the provision of tailored services or particular products, including East European food and beverages, for migrant consumers. Business owners had to provide details pertaining to these services / products and to state whether there was an intention on the part of the business to extend this range of products / services into the foreseeable future.

3.7 Semi-structured Interviews

The restructuring of the rural economy in Ireland has been a transformative process, whereby the previously dominant productive indigenous sectors, specifically agriculture, food processing and traditional manufacturing industries, have experienced a progressive decline in numbers employed since the early 1990s. Simultaneously, the rural economy has adapted towards new and alternative economic sectors, including tourism, ICT and the construction of enhanced physical and communications infrastructure between urban and rural areas. In the past decade, a large number of foreign nationals have settled in rural areas, with the majority being economic migrants. A key objective of the thesis is to analyse the role played by economic migrants within the process of rural restructuring, with particular reference to the quantification of multiplier effects.

In order to investigate the research questions it was decided to conduct semi-structured interviews. The utilisation of semi-structured interviews is an effective methodology within an applied research project, as this method enables key stakeholders and gatekeepers to articulate their personal experiences of the links between rural restructuring and migration patterns in Ireland. A semi-structured interview can be defined as a verbal interchange *'with some predetermined order, but which nonetheless has flexibility with regard to the position / timing of questions. Some questions, particularly sensitive or complex ones, may have a standard wording for each informant'* (Hay, 2005 p. 294). The information obtained through conducting interviews cannot be considered as a wholly representative viewpoint of the general population as the information highlights the personal life experiences of the interviewee (Valentine, 2005).

The selection and recruitment of participants for the key informant interviews was a crucial component of this methodology. This was done by means of purposeful sampling, choosing individuals within statutory and non-statutory organisations who had direct experience with rural development and immigration issues. In total, 51 potential interviewees were identified (21 and 30 in Counties Limerick and Monaghan respectively) and the response rate was 78.43%. In advance of the semi-structured interviews, it was essential to design a list of themes and / or questions that needed to be asked of each individual interviewee. The question schedule for the interviews is set out in Appendix 4. The interviews were conducted after the questionnaire surveys had been distributed, so that the results from the surveys were used in the formulation of interview questions. The interviews were conducted in June 2011 (Co. Monaghan) and December 2011 (Co. Limerick). All of the interviews were audio-taped and afterwards interview summaries were compiled for qualitative analysis. This entailed the transcription of the interviews and the selection of key themes and / or points of information from the interview summaries. Interviews ranged in length from 25 to 60 minutes. The interviews were conducted in the interviewee's workplace / office. The information collected through the semi-structured interviews remained confidential and the researcher respected the anonymity of each interviewee.

3.8 Research Ethics

Prior to the commencement of this research study, ethical clearance was sought and approved on 8 February 2011 by the Mary Immaculate College Research Ethics Committee (MIREC). Ethical clearance was required as economic migrants were key participants in this research project. The research design of this project could have also potentially selected other vulnerable and / or disadvantaged persons. These include: Irish travellers; illegal immigrants; the disabled; the elderly and illiterate persons. In order to minimise ethical risks associated with this study, the following protocols were undertaken by the author:

- No person under the age of eighteen was eligible to participate within this research project.
- Participants were fully informed about the research project. This was achieved by compiling a participant information sheet which outlined the purpose /

rationale and benefits of the study; requirements of the participant; biographic information pertaining to the personnel conducting the research; and intended uses of the data collected through the fieldwork. Furthermore, all participants had to sign an informed consent form, thereby acknowledging they would adhere to and understood the ethical guidelines associated with this research study.

- A number of participants were not fluent / proficient in the English language. In order for these respondents to become fully informed of the purpose and intended uses of the information collected through this study, all household questionnaires, participant information sheets and informed consent forms were translated into Polish, Lithuanian and Russian.
- Individuals had the right to withdraw from the study at any stage and no explanation was necessary.
- All participants provided data / information voluntarily. This data / information were treated anonymously and the names of individuals do not appear in this thesis or any other publications related to this research project.
- In accordance with Mary Immaculate College protocols, all the primary data collected through the fieldwork (household questionnaires, business questionnaires and semi-structured interview tapes / transcripts) will be retained for 13 months after the completion of this research study. The data will be securely stored in a locked room within the Department of Geography, Mary Immaculate College. All of the data will be destroyed in a secure environment after the retention period has elapsed.

3.9 Reflexivity

Research projects in social geography have to adopt a reflexive approach, whereby the researcher is aware that his / her positionality may influence the nature of interactions with the targeted population cohort. Bryman (2008, p. 698) defines reflexivity as a:

> *'term used in research methodology to refer to a reflectiveness among social researchers about the implications for the knowledge of the social world they generate of their methods, values, biases, decisions and mere presence in the very situations they investigate'.*

Likewise, Pillow (2003) shares these sentiments, but this author also acknowledges the importance of the researcher being critically conscious of his / her self-location, position and personal interests influencing all stages of the research process. During the course of this study, I was aware that being a researcher, white male and a member of the dominant host community may have influenced my interactions with migrant participants. Therefore, at the commencement of my fieldwork, I participated in an intercultural training awareness programme in Castleblayney, Co. Monaghan. This course provided the requisite skillsets and competencies to effectively engage with economic migrants residing in rural Ireland. Furthermore, I became embedded within the local community in both case study locations, thereby forging strong social relationships with both migrants and non-migrants. For instance, I lived with a migrant entrepreneur (a sole trader) in Co. Monaghan; and I attended numerous social and cultural events / activities to which migrants attended in both Counties Monaghan and Limerick. The research design was rigorous, with data being collected from multiple sources. This effectively eliminated biases from occurring within the research findings. It also has to be acknowledged that I have a very strong interest in social justice and economic development, with these interests being fostered through my active participation in the Mary Immaculate College One World Society and Limerick City Fair Trade Committee. Hence, I was very careful in analysing and interpreting the qualitative data, whereby my personal values and beliefs did not overtly influence the research findings of this study.

3.10 Conclusion

The methodological framework has outlined the process by which the research questions were answered within this project. The selection of two contrasting case study locations, specifically Counties Monaghan and Limerick, enabled the researcher to analyse and quantify the linkages between rural restructuring and rural in-migration in Ireland and the economic multiplier effects associated with this socio-economic transformation. The utilisation of a cross-section of methodological tools, incorporating household and business questionnaires; and semi-structured interviews, whilst including secondary data analysis, provided a robust and triangulated approach to answering the research questions. By initiating the household and business questionnaires at the commencement of the fieldwork, the results supplemented the formulation of questions and / or points of discussion for the semi-structured interviews.

The following chapter provides an area profile of both case study locations, insofar as the key variables associated with rural restructuring and rural in-migration are illustrated spatially. This includes profiling the proportion of migrants by nationality within each ED and chronicling the rise of foreign national in-migration into the selected case study locations since 2002. This data has been derived from the 2002, 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population. The forthcoming chapter will also provide an economic profile of the selected case study locations by utilising various rural typologies.

Chapter 4: Area Profile

4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to profile both case study locations by selecting indicators that are pertinent to the study of rural restructuring and migration within Ireland. The data has been derived from the 2002, 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population and relevant rural typologies. This chapter will initially provide an overview of the proportion of workforce by industrial sector. This will demonstrate the varied occupational structure of the workforce within both case study locations. Furthermore, the economic structural diversity of rural areas will be also demonstrated through rural typologies constructed by McHugh (2001) and Walsh et al. (2007). These typologies have been reproduced for both Counties Monaghan and Limerick. The final section of this chapter provides a spatial profile of the distribution of foreign nationals by nationality cohort within both case study locations. The spatial distribution of foreign nationals will vary considerably between both locations as Co. Monaghan has a significantly higher proportion of non-Irish nationals than Co. Limerick.

4.2 Sectorial Profile

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 provide a sectorial profile of the workforce in both Counties Monaghan and Limerick. Despite both case study locations being predominantly rural, the agricultural, forestry and fishing sector is not the most dominant occupational category. This stems from the restructuring of the rural economic base, whereby diversification activities (tourism, manufacturing, construction and retail services) have become more dominant from the 1960s onwards. The economic downturn has resulted in an increase in the proportional size of the agricultural sector between 2006 and 2011 in both Counties Monaghan and Limerick. Conversely, there has been a dramatic decrease in the proportion of construction workers and manufacturing operatives. The proportion of retail workers has remained static within both case study locations, whilst there has been a significant increase in the proportion of professional workers. A minimal proportion of the rural workforce is engaged in either the public administration or transport and telecommunications industrial sectors. However, the distribution of the

Figure 4.1: Proportion of Workforce by Sector in Co. Monaghan

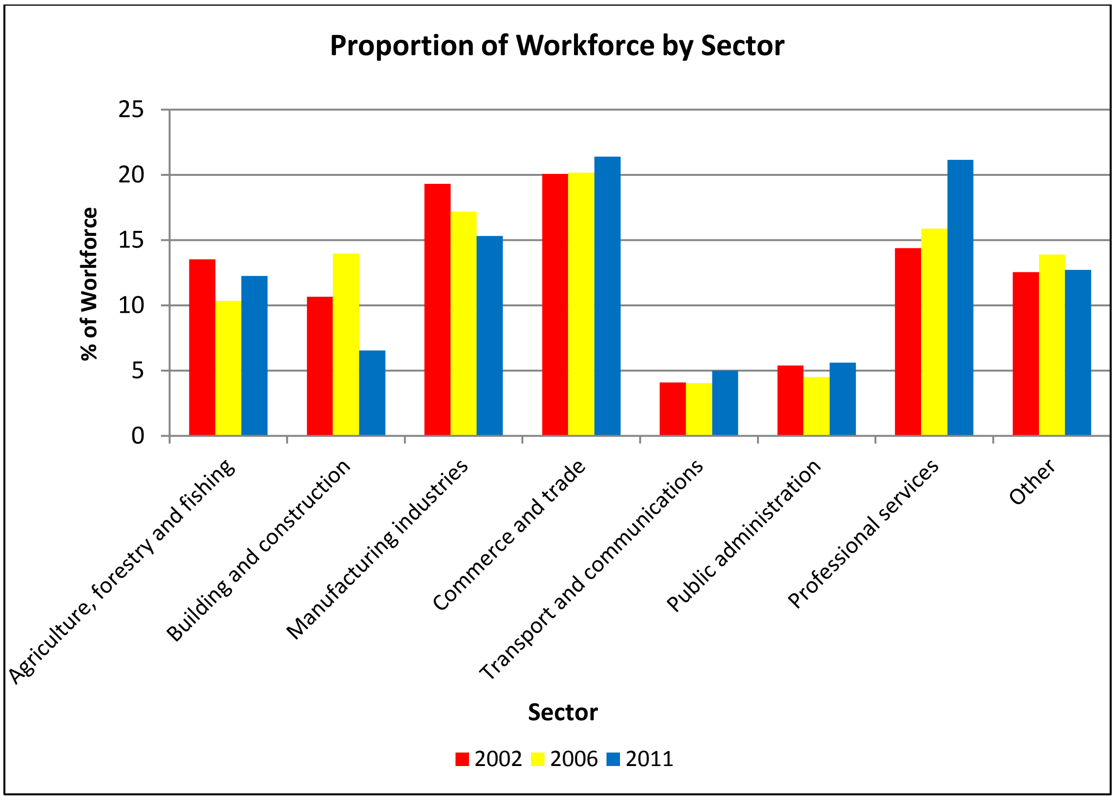
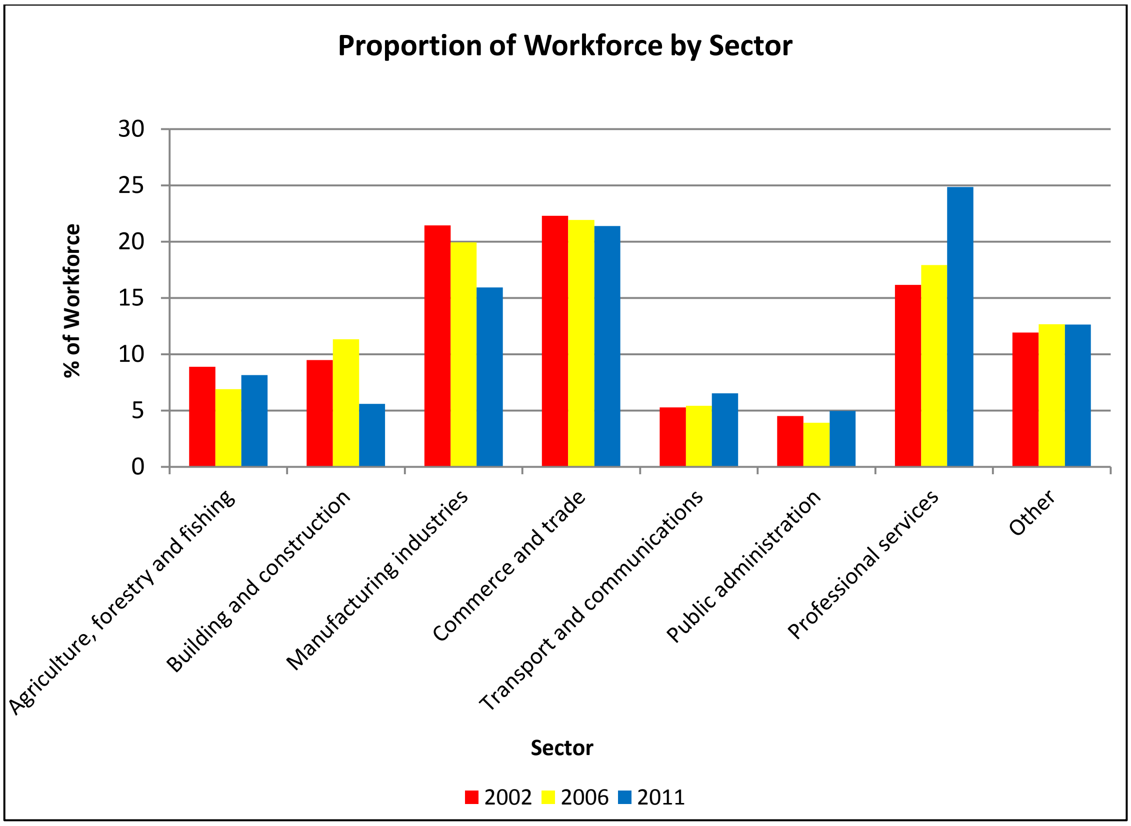


Figure 4.2: Proportion of Workforce by Sector in Co. Limerick



workforce is dispersed across a wide range of industrial sectors. This is indicative of the on-going restructuring of economic base within rural Ireland.

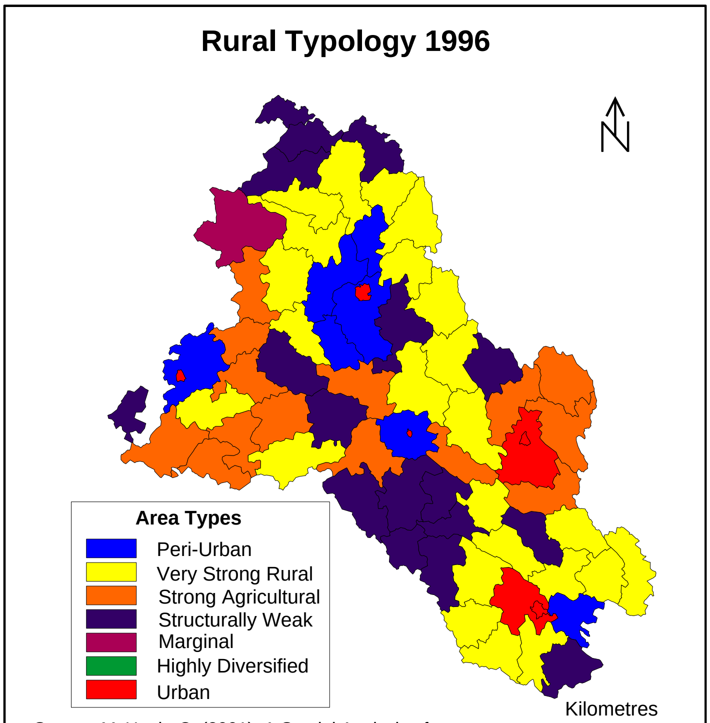
4.3 Rural Typology

The economic structure of rural areas varies significantly from location to location. This spatial variance is epitomised through the construction of rural typologies from the data outputs of the Census of Population. McHugh (2001) and Walsh et al. (2007) have constructed rural typologies from the 1996 and 2006 Censuses of Population. These typologies have been reproduced for Counties Monaghan and Limerick (Maps 4.1 – 4.4). The typologies varied significantly due to different classifications systems being used by the respective researchers[54]. According to McHugh's (2001) typology of Co. Monaghan, a significant proportion of the EDs were classified as strong agricultural areas or very strong rural areas whilst Walsh et al. (2007) depicted a significant proportion of EDs as being marginal areas. Furthermore, Castleblayney Rural and Carrickmacross Rural were classified as urban by McHugh (2001) whilst they are depicted as peri-urban in Walsh et al.'s (2007) typology. However, the hinterland around Monaghan Town was considered a core region of the county within both typologies, with these EDs being either classified as peri-urban or areas of urban employment (Maps 4.1 and 4.3).

According to McHugh (2001) and Walsh et al. (2007), a significant proportion of EDs in the hinterland of Limerick City and the regional towns of Kilmallock; Glin, and Dromcollogher are considered peri-urban (or areas of urban employment with respect to Walsh et al.'s typology). However, spatial variations exist between the two typologies. According to Walsh et al. (2007), the vast majority of EDs in West Limerick are marginal (peripheral) locations, along with the remainder of EDs straddling the North Cork border in South-East Limerick (Map 4.4). This contrasts with McHugh's typology as considerably more EDs were classified as very strong rural or strong agricultural areas (Map 4.2). Despite the different classification systems utilised in the respective

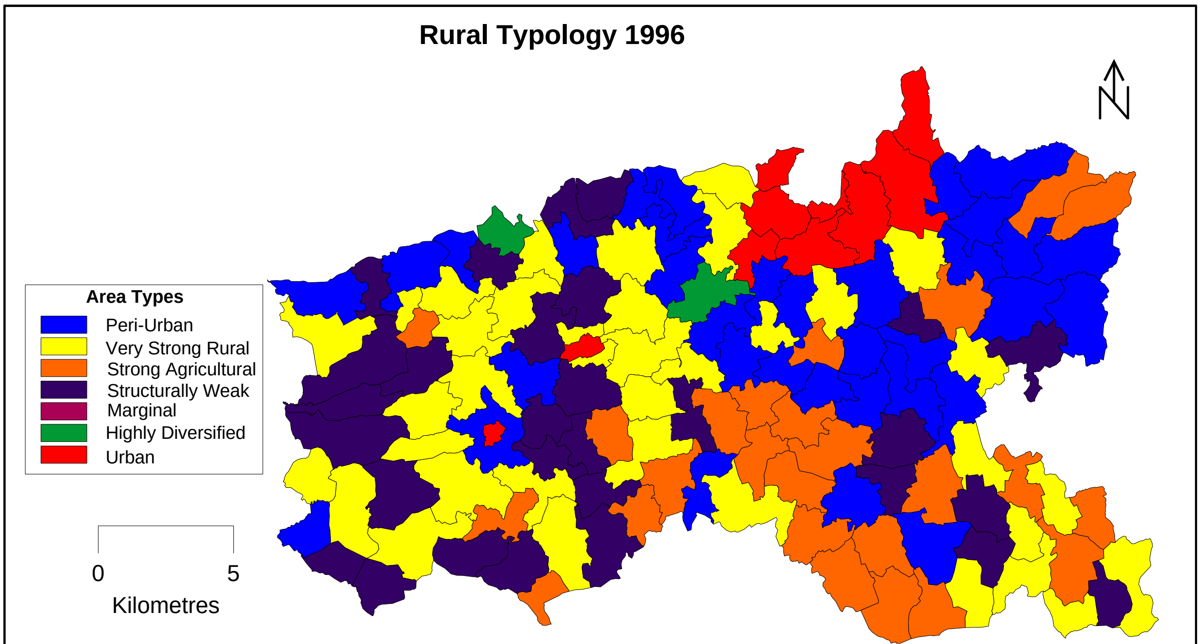
[54] McHugh (2001) used the following classifications for the compilation of the 1996 Typology: urban; peri-urban; very strong rural; strong agricultural; structurally weak; marginal; and highly diversified. Walsh et al. (2007) used the following classifications for the compilation of the 2002 Typology: urban; peri-urban; strong agricultural; structurally weak; marginal agricultural; diversifying areas of urban employment; and areas of economic expansion.

Map 4.1: Rural Typology of Co. Monaghan 1996



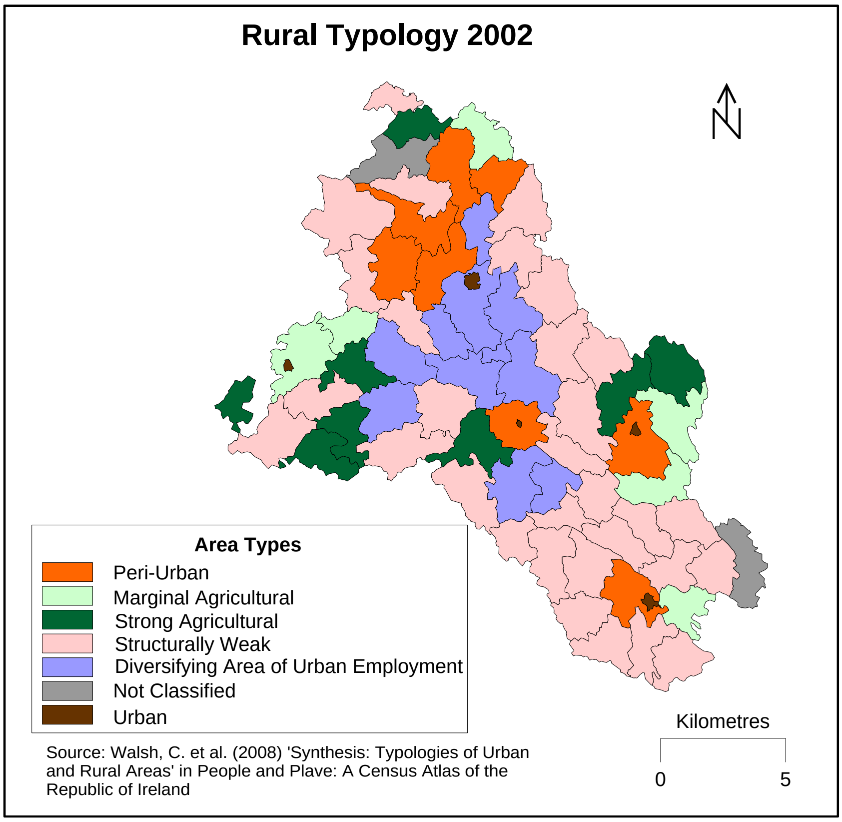
Source: McHugh, C. (2001), A Spatial Analysis of the Socio-Economic Adjustments in Rural Ireland 1991 - 1996.

Map 4.2: Rural Typology of Co. Limerick 1996

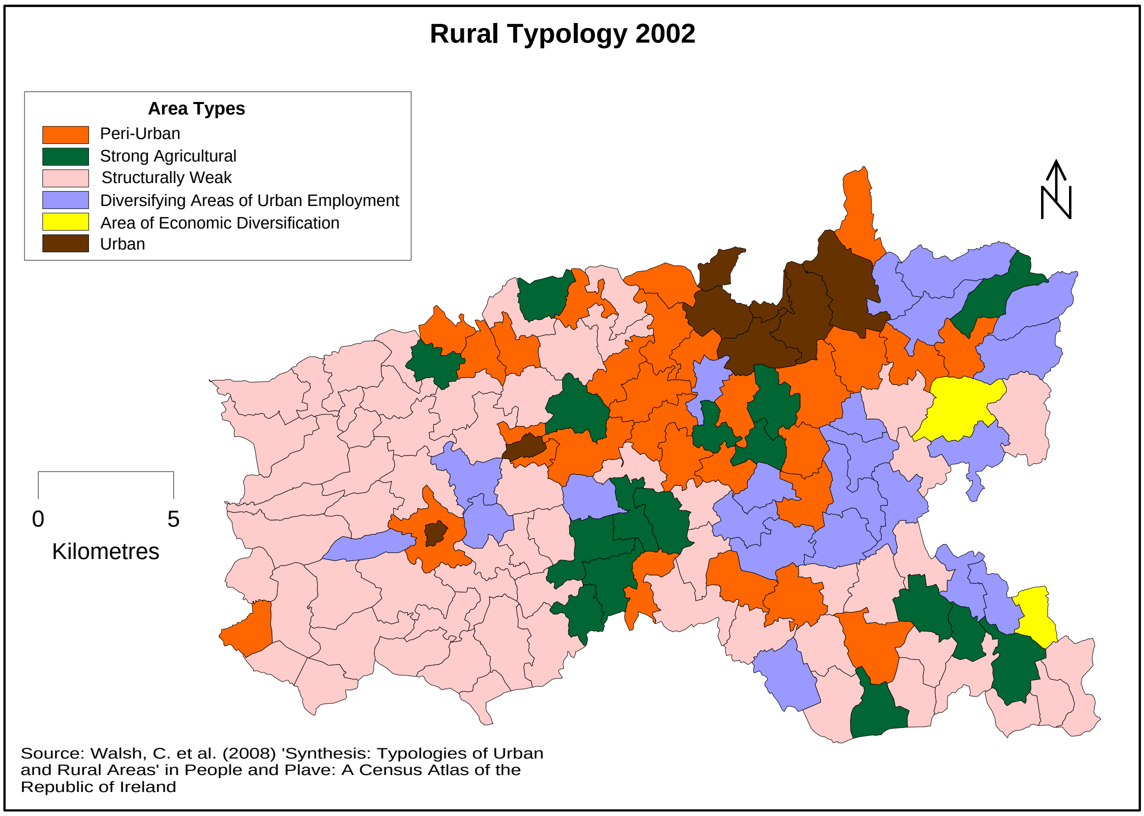


Source: McHugh, C. (2001), A Spatial Analysis of the Socio-Economic Adjustments in Rural Ireland 1991 - 1996.

Map 4.3: Rural Typology of Co. Monaghan 2002



Map 4.4: Rural Typology of Co. Limerick 2002



typologies, the changing spatial profile within both case study locations cannot be underestimated between the 1996 and 2002 Censuses of Population. These typologies pinpoint to a significant restructuring of the economic base, with peripheral EDs becoming structurally weaker whilst core locations, particularly in the vicinity of market towns (peri-urban) having become economically stronger. Walsh et al.'s (2007) typology was utilised for differentiating various rural area types in both the Co. Monaghan and Limerick case studies, thereby allowing for the selection of EDs for the distribution of household questionnaires. Walsh et al.'s (2007) typology was selected for the purpose of this research study due to being more contemporary than McHugh's (2001) typology.

4.4 Spatial Analysis of Foreign Nationals

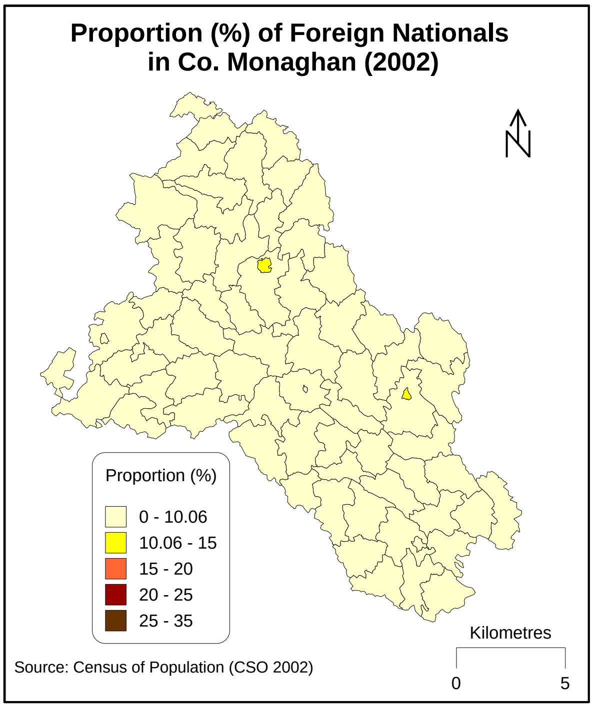
Ireland has witnessed an unprecedented increase in the number of foreign nationals residing within the country since 2002. However, there is an uneven geography associated with in-migration. Counties Monaghan and Limerick are prime examples of this spatial variance, with Co. Monaghan experiencing significant inward migration from Eastern Europe, whilst the opposite is true for Co. Limerick. This chapter will spatially analyse the distribution of foreign nationals for both counties. Furthermore, specific foreign national cohorts, as classified by the Census of Population, will also be spatially analysed, as there are significant differences between nationalities with respect to their spatial distribution and concentration throughout both Counties Monaghan and Limerick. The national proportional average for foreign nationals (10.06%) and the respective proportional averages for each nationality cohort in the 2006 Census of Population have been utilised as a baseline for the construction of map legends within this chapter. These maps indicate the higher spatial distribution of foreign nationals (in comparison to the national average) in Co. Monaghan than in Co. Limerick. Appendix 5 contains a similar set of maps, but the legends in these maps have been constructed utilising the respective 2006 county proportional averages for Monaghan and Limerick. These maps provide a differing spatial representation of the distribution of foreign nationals. There is a tendency for foreign nationals to be more concentrated in urbanised settlements (Monaghan Town, Carrickmacross, Castleblayney, and Ballybay) in Co. Monaghan, whereas the migrant population tend to be more dispersed across varying rural types (peri-urban, strong agricultural, marginal agricultural, areas of economic diversification, and areas of urban employment) in Co. Limerick.

4.4.1 Co. Monaghan

During the past decade, Co. Monaghan has witnessed a major change in the ethnic composition of its population. According to the 2002 Census of Population, only two EDs[55] (Monaghan Urban and Castleblayney Urban) had a migrant population in excess of 10% (Map 4.5). Since then, there been a large increase in the percentage of migrants living in Co. Monaghan, with the spatial distribution of foreign nationals increasing incrementally between the 2002, 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population (Maps 4.6 and 4.7). There has been significant inward migration to both rural areas and urbanised settlements (Monaghan Town, Carrickmacross and Castleblayney) within the county. The vast majority of EDs in the county have a lower proportion of foreign nationals than the national average. There are subtle differences with respect to the spatial concentration of migrants by ED between the inter-censual periods. Map 4.8 identifies a large increase of foreign nationals in Monaghan Town and its hinterland; Castleblayney; and Clones Urban since 2006. A number of EDs recorded a decline in the percentage of foreign nationals, with the steepest reduction occurring in Ballybay Urban. The most peripheral locations in Co. Monaghan have witnessed a significant drop of migrants, as a percentage of the population, in comparison to the more accessible locations within the county. This spatial distribution suggests foreign nationals are showing a preference to settle in urban and peri-urban locations, whilst more peripheral locations are witnessing a decline in their proportion of foreign national population. Accessibility to employment opportunities and services; and living in close proximity to family and friends are contributory factors for this urbanising tendency amongst the migrant population. However, it is important to stress, the divergence in the spatial distribution of foreign nationals (according to nationality) has occurred throughout Co. Monaghan[56]. This could be indicative of chain migration, as immigrants have a tendency to settle in close proximity to family and friends who are already residing within specific locations, thereby leading to a high concentration of a particular nationality / nationalities in these locations.

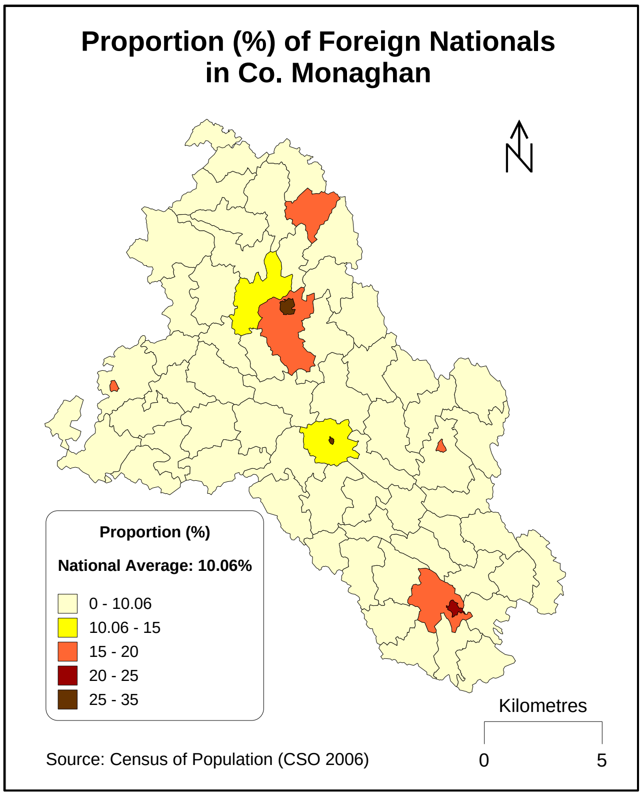
[55] Appendix 6 contains a locational map of the Electoral Divisions (EDs) in Co. Monaghan.
[56] Data pertaining to specific nationality cohorts is unavailable at ED level for Censuses of Population prior to 2002.

Map 4.5: Proportion (%) of Foreign Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2002)

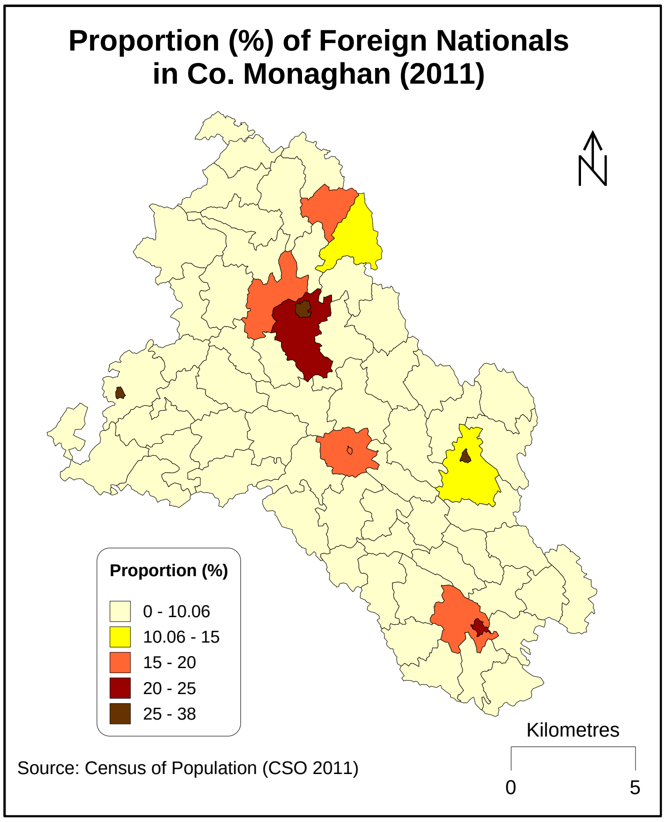


Note: The national average for foreign nationals by ED was 7.08% in the 2002 Census of Population

Map 4.6: Proportion (%) of Foreign Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2006)

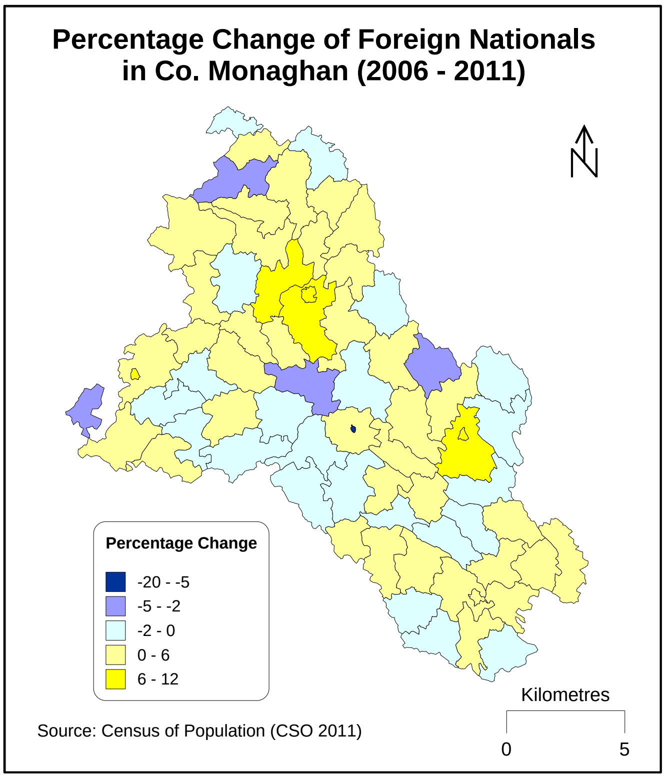


Map 4.7: Proportion (%) of Foreign Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2011)



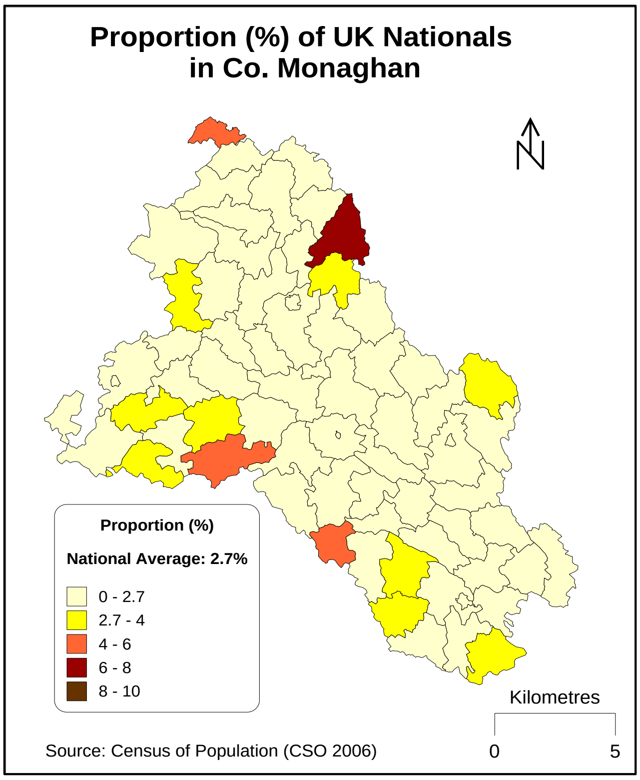
Note: The national average for foreign nationals by ED was 12.03% in the 2011 Census of Population

Map 4.8: Percentage Change of Foreign Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2006 – 2011)

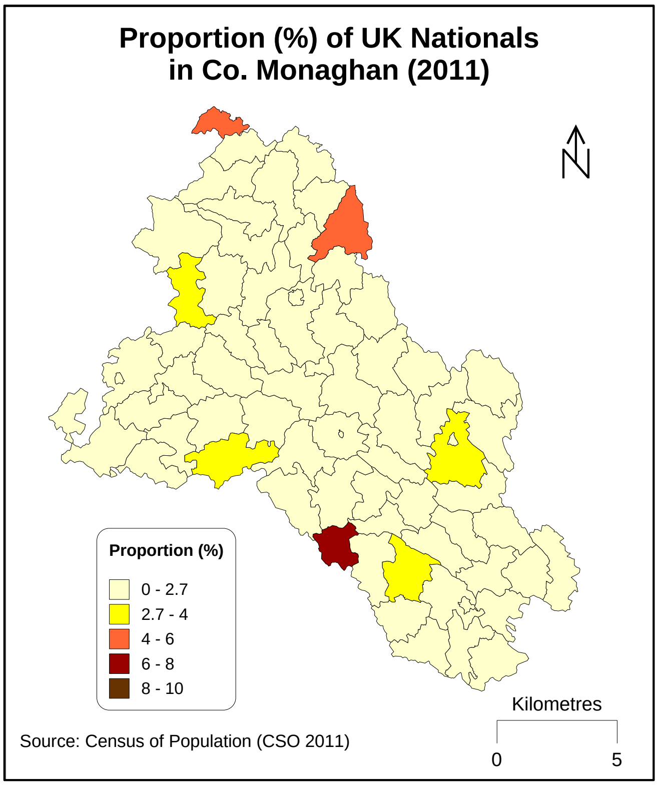


UK nationals are not a significant ethnic cohort in Co. Monaghan (Maps 4.9 and 4.10), with the county having the eight smallest proportion of UK nationals by local authority area According to the 2011 Census of Population, there are currently 1,073 UK nationals residing within the county, which equates to 1.79% of the overall population. UK nationals show a stronger preference to settle in predominantly rural (Glaslough (pop. 46), Dawsongrove (pop. 23)) and peri-urban (Monaghan Rural (pop. 99) and Castleblayney Rural (pop. 128)) Electoral Divisions. Glaslough is a picturesque and idyllic village, thereby acting as a magnet for amenity and retiree migration. The vast majority of EDs in Co. Monaghan recorded a decline in the percentage of UK nationals during the inter-censual period between 2006 and 2011. Only Corracharra (2.2%) recorded a significant proportional increase of UK nationals (Map 4.11) but in absolute terms, the largest increase occurred in Castleblayney Rural (+43 or +0.84%).

Map 4.9: Proportion (%) of UK Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2006)

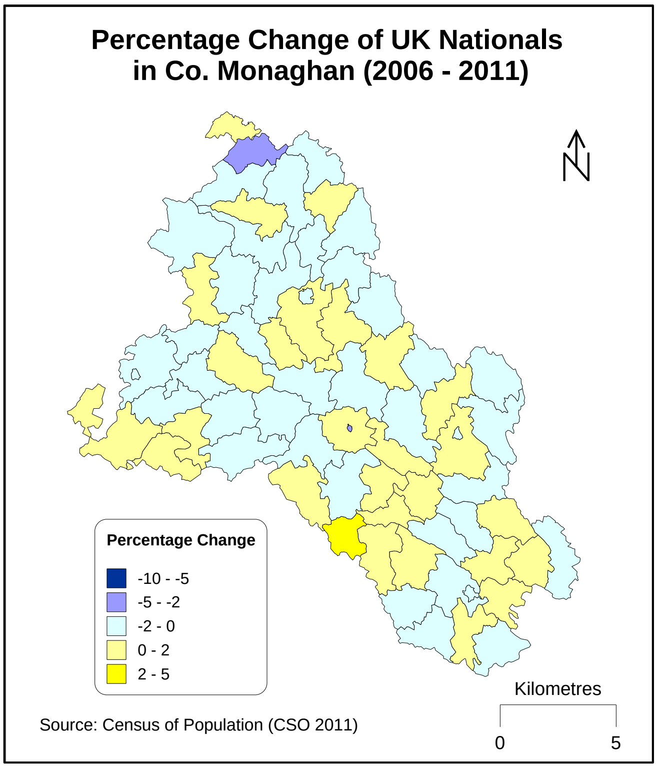


Map 4.10: Proportion (%) of UK Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2011)



Note: The national average for UK nationals by ED was 2.48% in the 2011 Census of Population

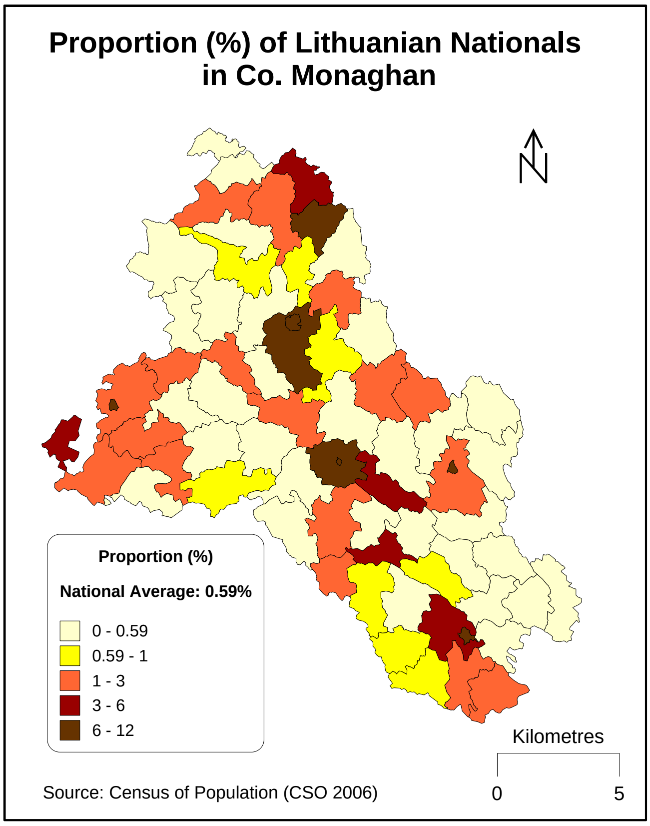
Map 4.11: Percentage Change of UK Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2006 – 2011)



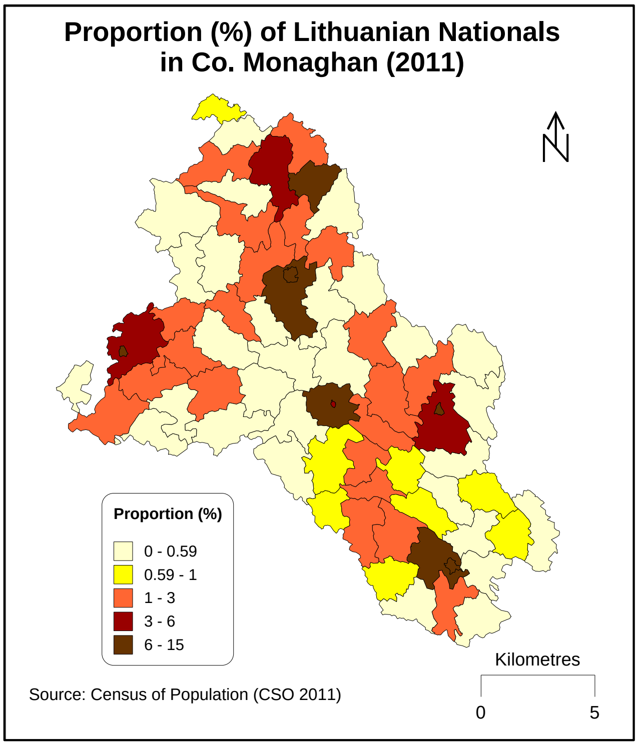
County Monaghan has the highest proportion (4%) of Lithuanians than any other local authority area in Ireland. The second highest proportion of Lithuanians is in Co. Meath (1.98%), which has a significantly smaller proportion than Co. Monaghan. According to the 2011 Census of Population, there are 2,398 Lithuanians resident in the county. The majority of EDs in both the 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population have a higher proportion than the national average[57] (Maps 4.12 and 4.13). There were several EDs in Co. Monaghan in which Lithuanians comprised between 10 and 15 per cent of the population. The greatest concentrations of Lithuanians are located in Monaghan Rural (pop. 907), Monaghan Town (pop. 307), Carrickmacross Rural (pop. 226), Castleblayney Rural (pop. 174), Emyvale (pop.153), and Ballybay Rural (pop.143). It is also interesting to note a large percentage of Lithuanians who live in predominantly rural and agricultural locations. This distinguishes the spatial distribution of Lithuanian nationals from other foreign nationality groups in Co. Monaghan, specifically 'other EU nationals' and 'Rest of the World' nationals. Furthermore, there continues to a steady increase in the percentage of Lithuanian nationals living within the county. This clustering effect is due to chain migration. Only a minority of EDs recoded a reduction in the percentage of Lithuanians between the 2006 and 2011 censuses. The EDs of Drumully[58] (-4.08%) and Bellatrain[59] (-2.12%) recorded the most significant decline as a percentage of the population (Map 4.14).

[57] In the 2011 Census, the national average (percentage) of Lithuanians per ED was 0.81%.
[58] This ED is located in West Monaghan and it is completely surrounded on three sides by the Northern Irish border. It is a peripheral location.
[59] Bellatrain is located approximately 10Km South of Ballybay.

Map 4.12: Proportion (%) of Lithuanian Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2006)

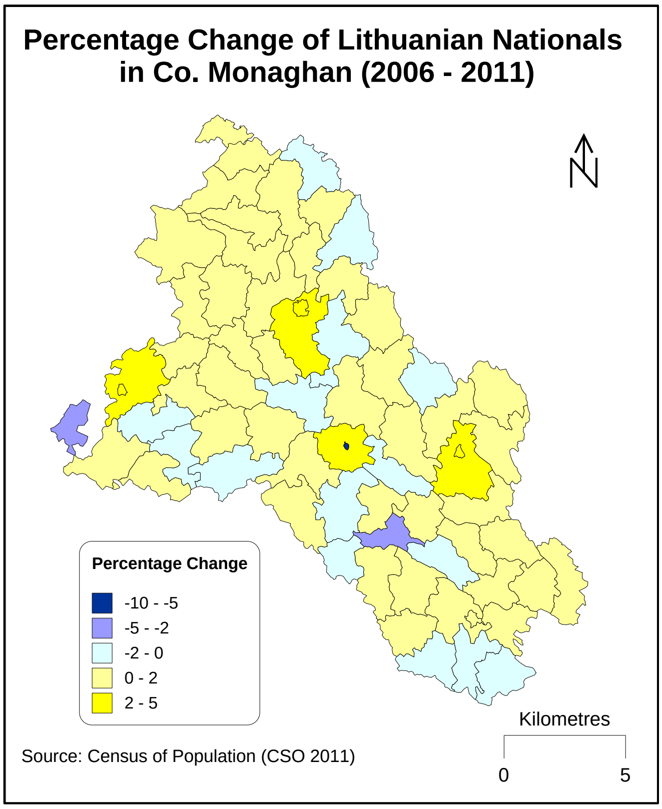


Map 4.13: Proportion (%) of Lithuanian Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2011)



Note: The national average for Lithuanian nationals by ED was 0.81% in the 2011 Census of Population

Map 4.14: Percentage Change of Lithuanian Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2006 – 2011)



The spatial distribution of Polish nationals within Co. Monaghan has increased marginally between the 2006 and 2011 censuses of population (Maps 4.15 and 4.16), with the absolute number of Polish nationals increasing from 680 to 1,083 in the inter-censual period. Clones and Castleblayney have emerged as new prominent destinations for Polish migrants. Furthermore, the percentage of Polish immigrants has increased within the towns and associated hinterlands of Monaghan and Carrickmacross[60]. The aforementioned locations have witnessed significant suburbanisation since 2000, due to the construction of several housing developments[61]. The concentration of Polish migrants has decreased between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population within Ballybay Urban (8 to 1)[62] and Bellatrain (5 to 0). However, the proportional decline may be high but in absolute terms the decline in Polish nationals within these EDs is insignificant. In general, the majority of EDs in Co. Monaghan witnessed an increase in

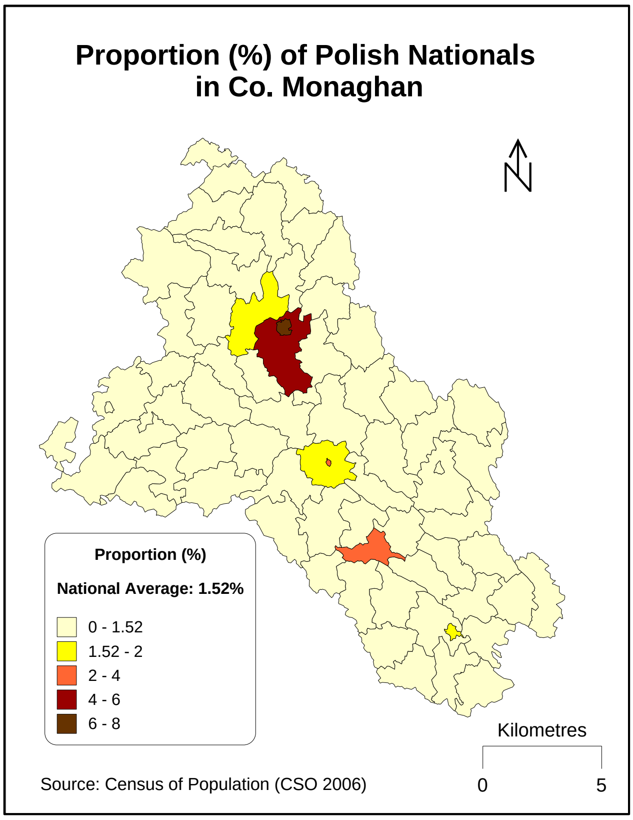
[60] According to the 2011 Census of Population, there are 309 and 181 Polish nationals living in Monaghan Rural and Monaghan Urban respectively whilst there are 68 and 139 Polish nationals residing in Carrickmacross Urban and Carrickmacross Rural respectively.

[61] Examples of recently built housing developments in Monaghan Town include Cathedral Walk; Drumbear Wood; Latlorcan; and Coolshanagh Walk. Examples of recently built housing developments in Carrickmacross include: Cluain Alainn; Alderwood; Inver Park; and Crann Nua.

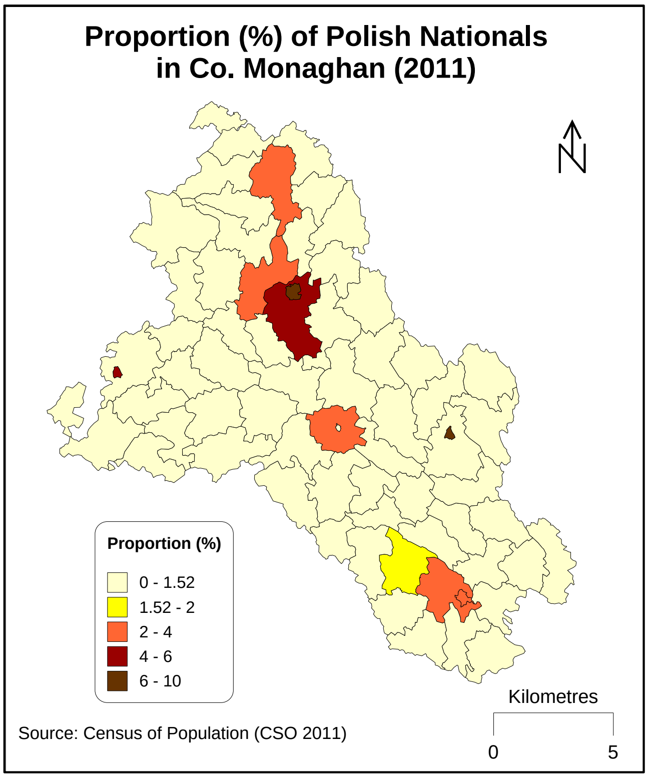
[62] However, there is evidence of suburbanisation as the number of Polish migrants increased from 22 to 32 in Ballybay Rural (located adjacent to Ballybay Urban).

the proportion of Polish nationals, especially within rural areas (Map 4.17). The greatest increases between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population by ED in Co. Monaghan occurred in Clones Urban (11 to 47), Carrickmacross Rural (34 to 139), Castleblayney Urban (12 to 56) and Anketell Grove (0 - 24).

Map 4.15: Proportion (%) of Polish Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2006)

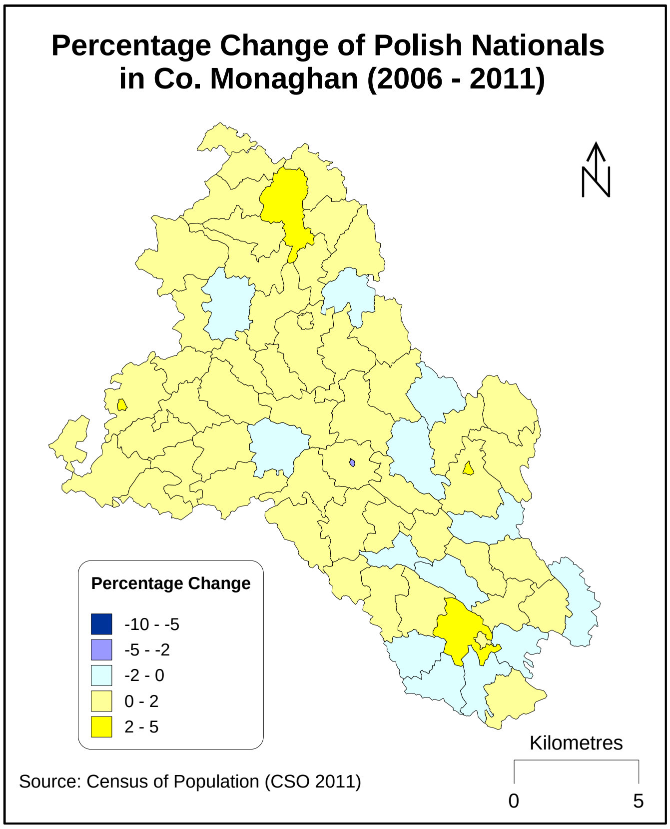


Map 4.16: Proportion (%) of Polish Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2011)



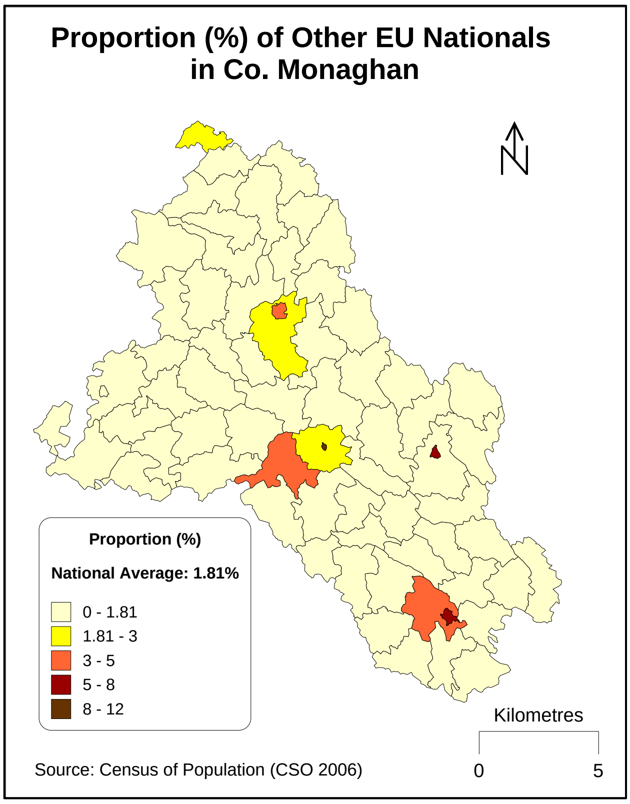
Note: The national average for Polish nationals by ED was 2.7% in the 2011 Census of Population

Map 4.17: Percentage Change of Polish Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2006 – 2011)



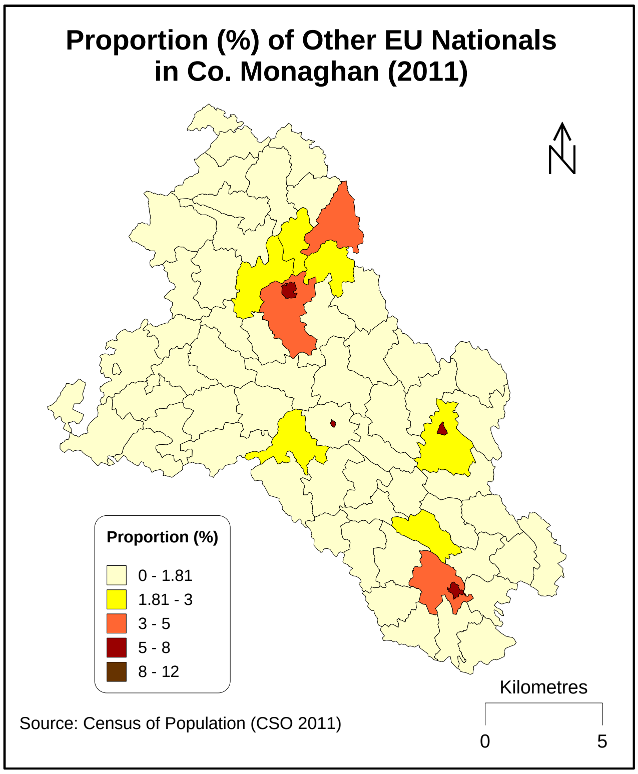
The proportion of other EU nationals (excluding Irish, UK, Polish and Lithuanian nationals) has increased markedly between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population (Maps 4.18 and 4.19). The other EU nationals category comprised of 21 EU member states in 2006, but this has increased to 23 countries with the accession of Romania and Bulgaria into the EU in the intervening timeframe. A significant cluster of other EU nationals has emerged in the north-eastern portion of the county. This includes Monaghan Town[63]. Carrickmacross Rural (pop. 161) and Castleblayney Rural (pop. 89) also have a significant proportion of other EU nationals. The most significant increases in the spatial concentration of other EU migrants to the overall population have occurred in Monaghan Urban (3.83%), Monaghan Rural (2.36%) and Glaslough (2.76%). In contrast, Ballybay Urban (-3.75%) and the EDs within its vicinity have recoded a decline in the proportion of other EU nationals between the two census periods (Map 4.20).

Map 4.18: Proportion (%) of Other EU Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2006)



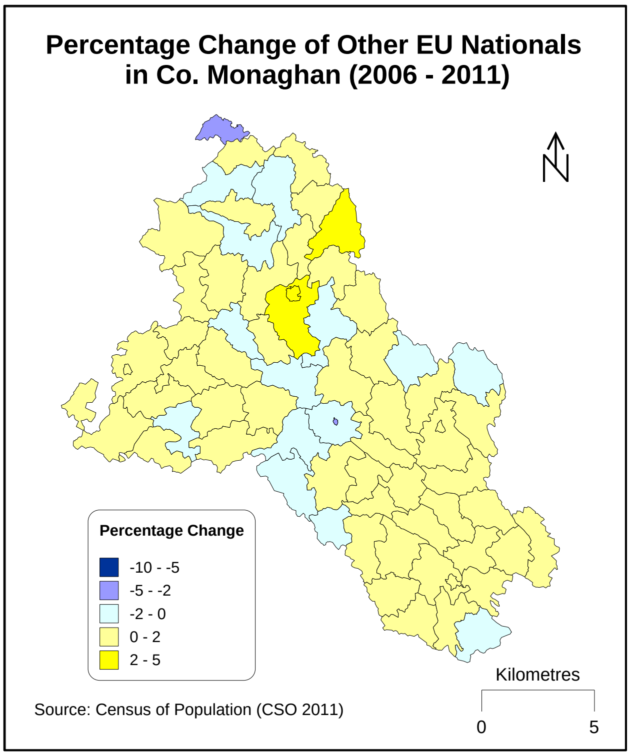
[63] There are 164 and 280 'other EU nationals' resident in Monaghan Urban and Monaghan Rural respectively.

Map 4.19: Proportion (%) of Other EU Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2011)



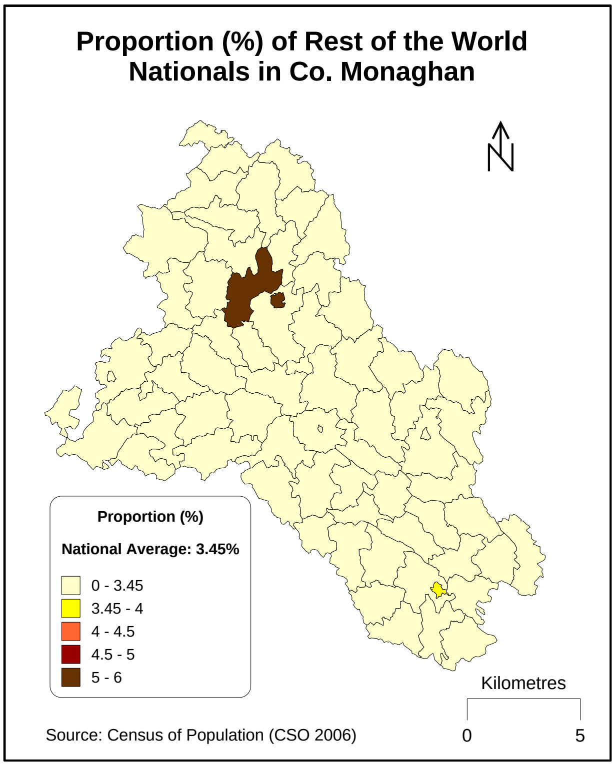
Note: The national average for Other EU nationals by ED was 2.55% in the 2011 Census of Population

Map 4.20: Percentage Change of Other EU Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2006 – 2011)

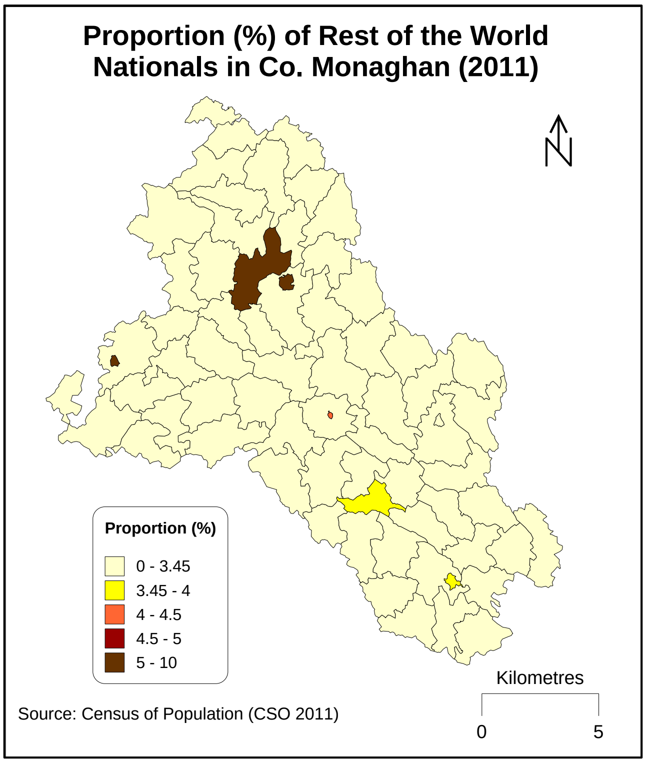


The percentage of foreign nationals from outside of the European Union (Rest of the World) is highly concentrated in Monaghan Urban (pop. 124) and Bellanode (pop. 148) (Maps 4.21 and 4.22). The high concentration in Monaghan Urban is possibly explained by the presence of many foreign-born staff employed at the county hospital. The high proportion of non-EU migrants living in Bellanode is due to the presence of St. Patrick's asylum centre. In 2009, 66 refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo moved to Co. Monaghan (four families in Monaghan Town and three families in Carrickmacross) under the United Nations Resettlement Programme. In the intervening years between 2006 and 2011 censuses, the proportion of 'rest of world' migrants has become more significant in Clones Urban (33 to 70). Even though Monaghan Urban has a significant proportion of non-EU immigrants, there has been a slight proportional decline between 2006 and 2011 (Map 4.23). A similar trend is apparent in Castleblayney Urban, but the remaining urbanised EDs in Co. Monaghan have recoded a marginal increase in the proportion of rest of the world immigrants. In general, the more peripheral and rural EDs have recorded a steady decline.

Map 4.21: Proportion (%) of Rest of the World Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2006)

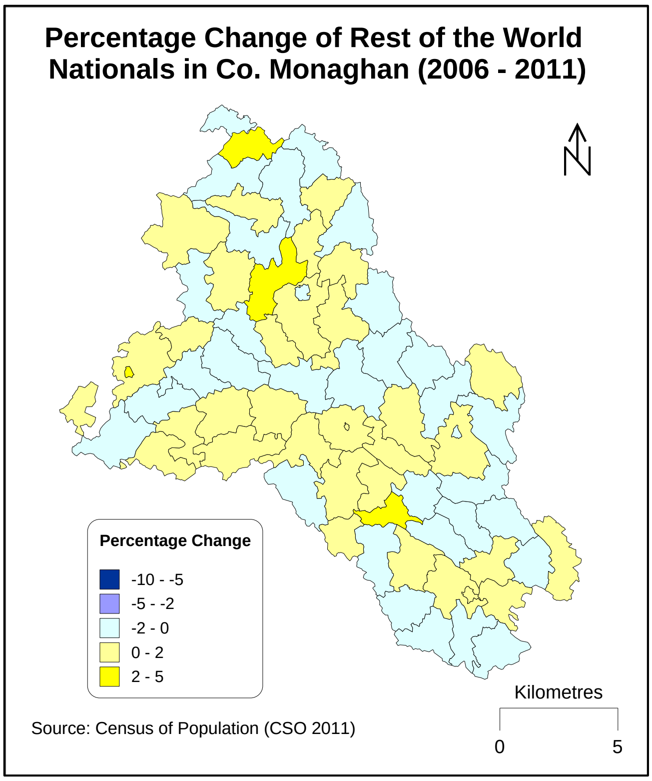


Map 4.22: Proportion (%) of Rest of the World Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2011)



Note: The national average for rest of the world nationals by ED was 3.48% in the 2011 Census of Population

Map 4.23: Percentage Change of Rest of the World Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2006 – 2011)



4.4.2 Co. Limerick

According to the 2011 Census of Population, Co. Limerick (8.67%) has the third lowest proportion of foreign nationals (pop. 11,980) by local authority in Ireland. Counties Donegal (8.13%) and Waterford (8.33%) have a marginally lower proportion of foreign nationals than Co. Limerick. However, it has to be noted that a large concentration of foreign nationals within Co. Limerick are located in the Limerick Metropolitan Area. This is densely populated and suburbanised area situated adjacent to Limerick City. Furthermore, the proportion of foreign nationals resident in Co. Limerick is significantly less than the national average (11.39%). According to the 2002 Census of Population, only two EDs in Co. Limerick[64] had a higher proportion of foreign nationals than the national average. These were Aughnish[65] and Croagh (Map 4.24). However, these locations were below the national average for the 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population. Since 2006, Newcastle West[66] has witnessed a significant growth in the proportion of foreign nationals residing within the town (10.11%) and its immediate hinterland (1.76%) (Maps 4.25 & 4.26). It is the only settlement in Co. Limerick to have experienced significant inward migration. This spatial distribution is similar to the suburbanisation and urbanisation trend observed by migrants in Co. Monaghan.

Other locations that experienced a proportional increase in migrants between 2006 and 2011 include: Loghill (9.4%); Dromard (3.44%); Clonkeen (4.81%); and the Limerick City suburbs[67]. The remainder of the EDs recorded a lower concentration of foreign nationals than the national average. Even though, Co. Limerick has a relatively small migrant population, some locations have experienced a noticeable decline in the proportion of foreign nationals between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population (Map 4.27). The negative percentage change is most acute in EDs adjacent the Shannon Estuary and in the South-Eastern portion of the county. These are also the parts of the county that have been experiencing rural depopulation. Therefore, unlike the situation that pertained in West Cork and South Kerry during the 1970s and 1980s when migrants

[64] Appendix 7 contains a locational map of the Electoral Divisions (EDs) in Co .Limerick.

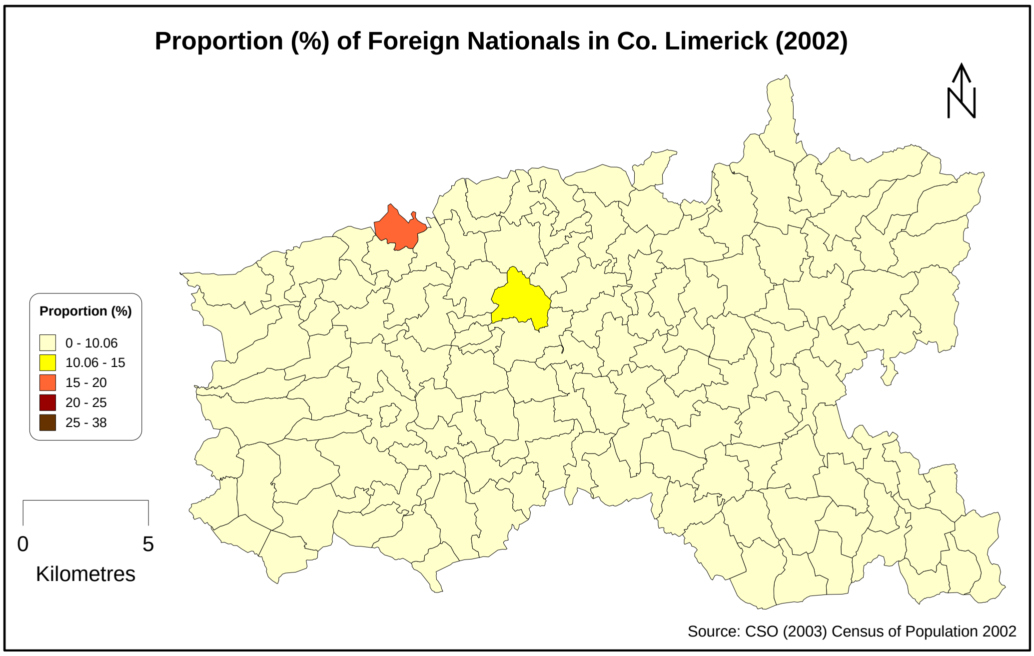
[65] The Aughinish Alumna production plant is located within this ED and it is a significant employer within West Limerick.

[66] According to the 2011 Census of Population, here are 338 and 1,152 foreign nationals in Newcastle West Rural and Newcastle West Urban respectively.

[67] EDs within the Limerick Metropolitan Area that recorded an increase of foreign nationals between 2006 and 2011 include: Ballycummin (3.28%); Ballysimon (1.59%); Ballyvarra (2.46%); and Limerick South Rural (1.89%).

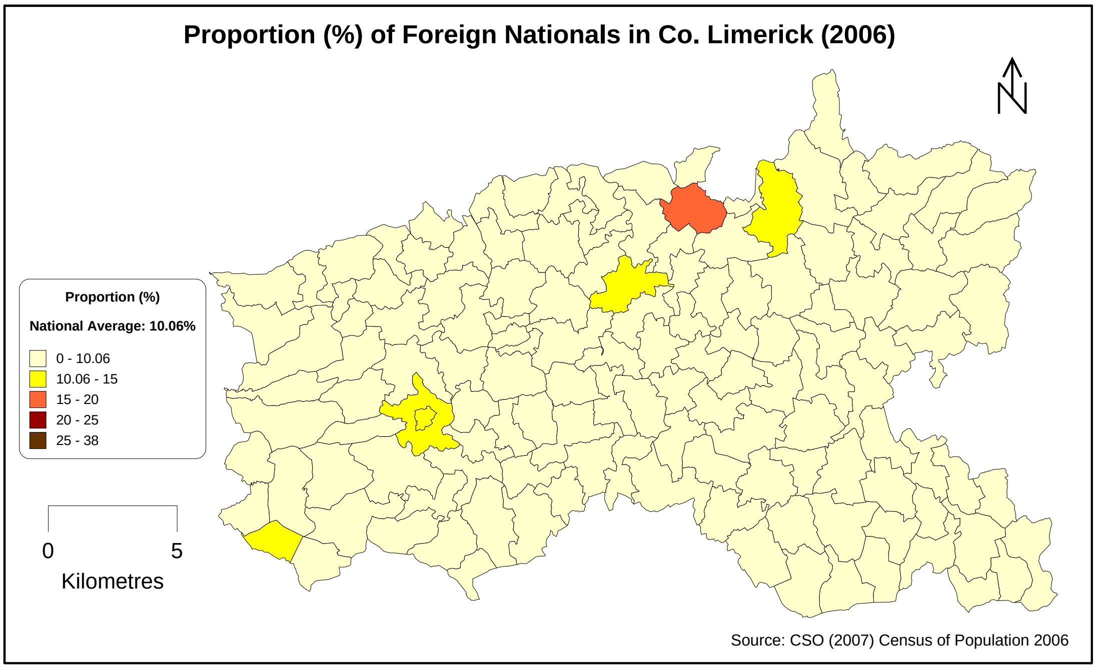
were attracted to peripheral areas that had suffered considerable demographic decline and rural restructuring, peripheral and structurally-weak parts of County Limerick have not experienced migration-induced demographic renewal. However, the majority of the EDs in the hinterland of Limerick City recorded an increase in the proportion of foreign nationals between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population.

Map 4.24: Proportion (%) of Foreign Nationals in Co. Limerick (2002)

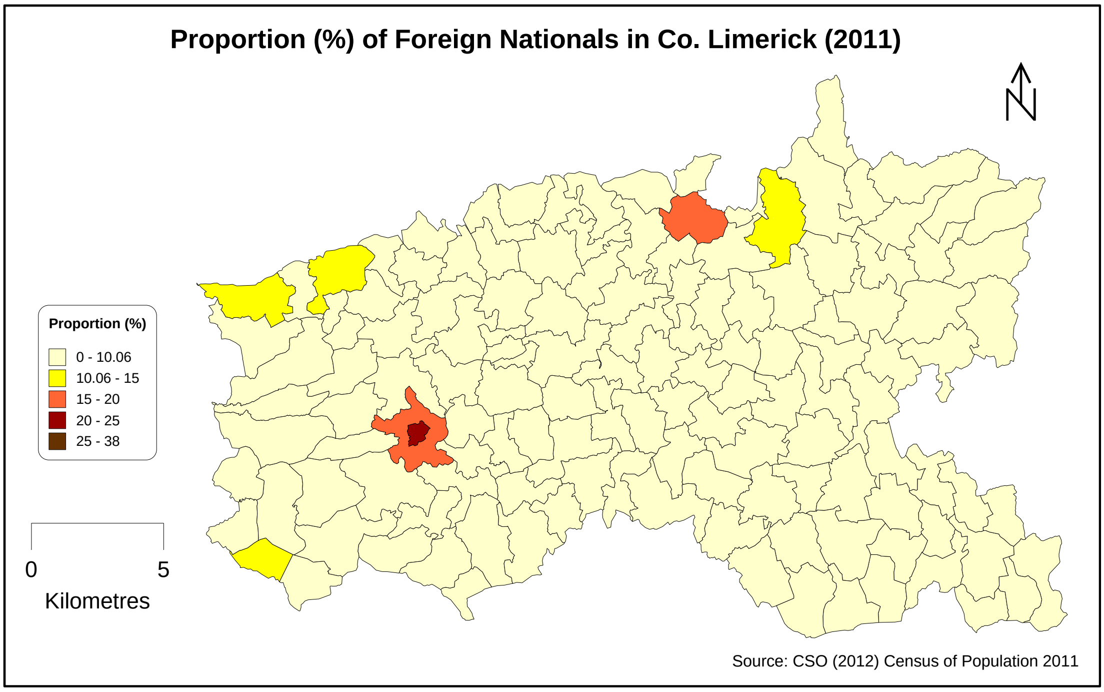


Note: The national average for foreign nationals by ED was 7.08% in the 2002 Census of Population

Map 4.25: Proportion (%) of Foreign Nationals in Co. Limerick (2006)

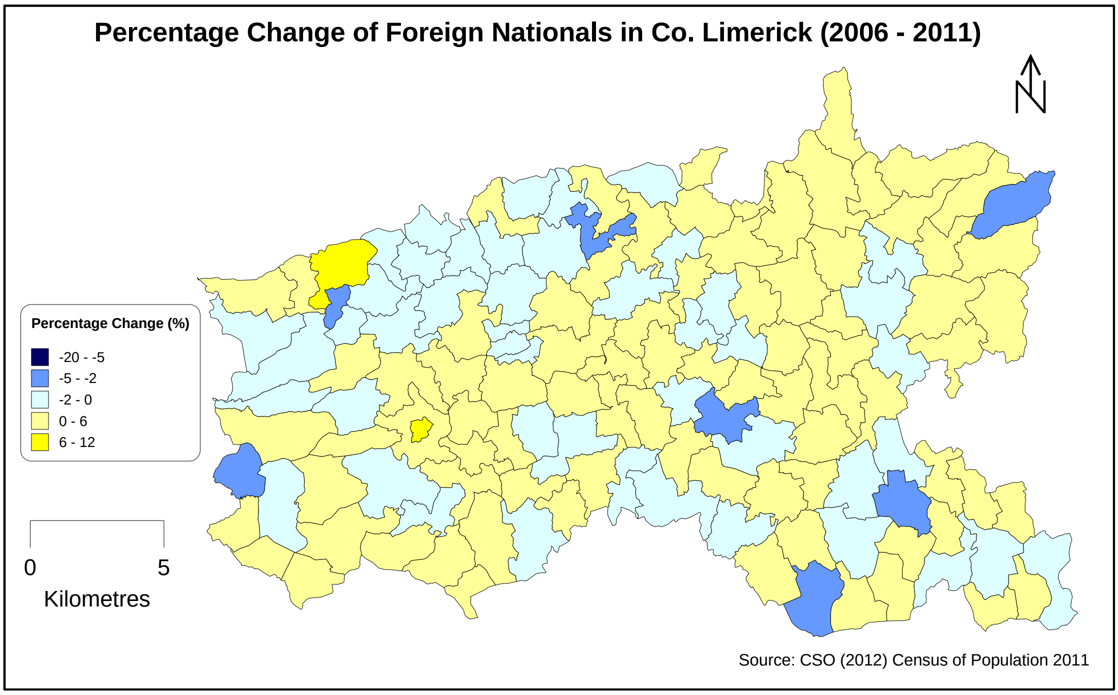


Map 4.26: Proportion (%) of Foreign Nationals in Co. Limerick (2011)



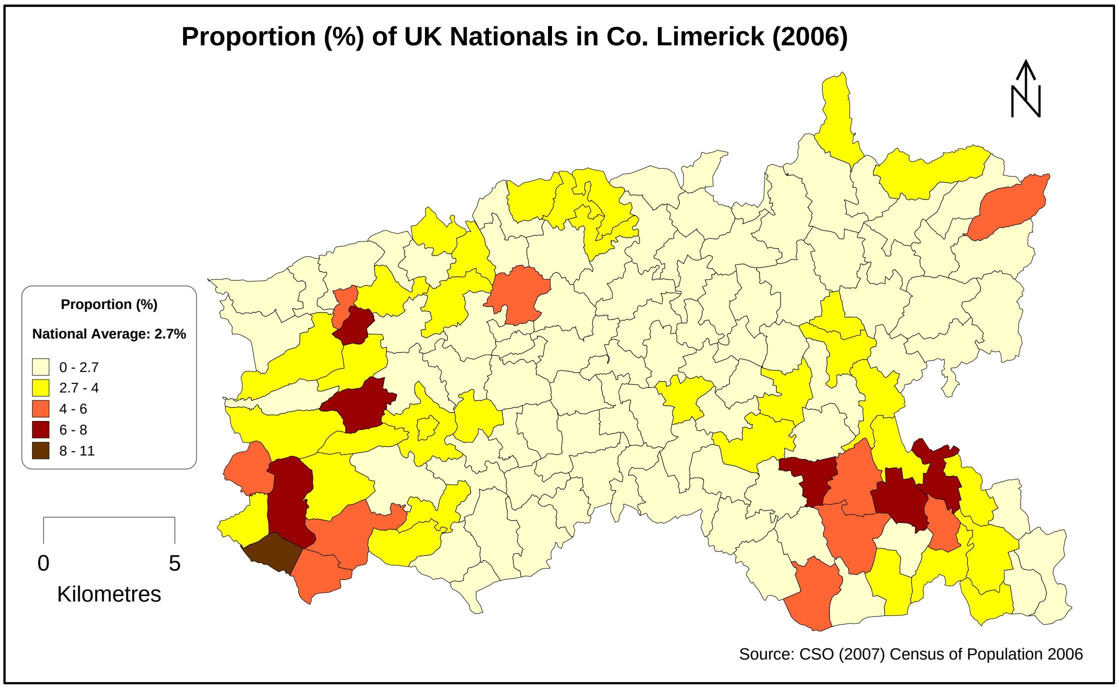
Note: The national average for foreign nationals by ED was 12.03% in the 2011 Census of Population

Map 4.27: Percentage Change of Foreign Nationals in Co. Limerick (2006 – 2011)

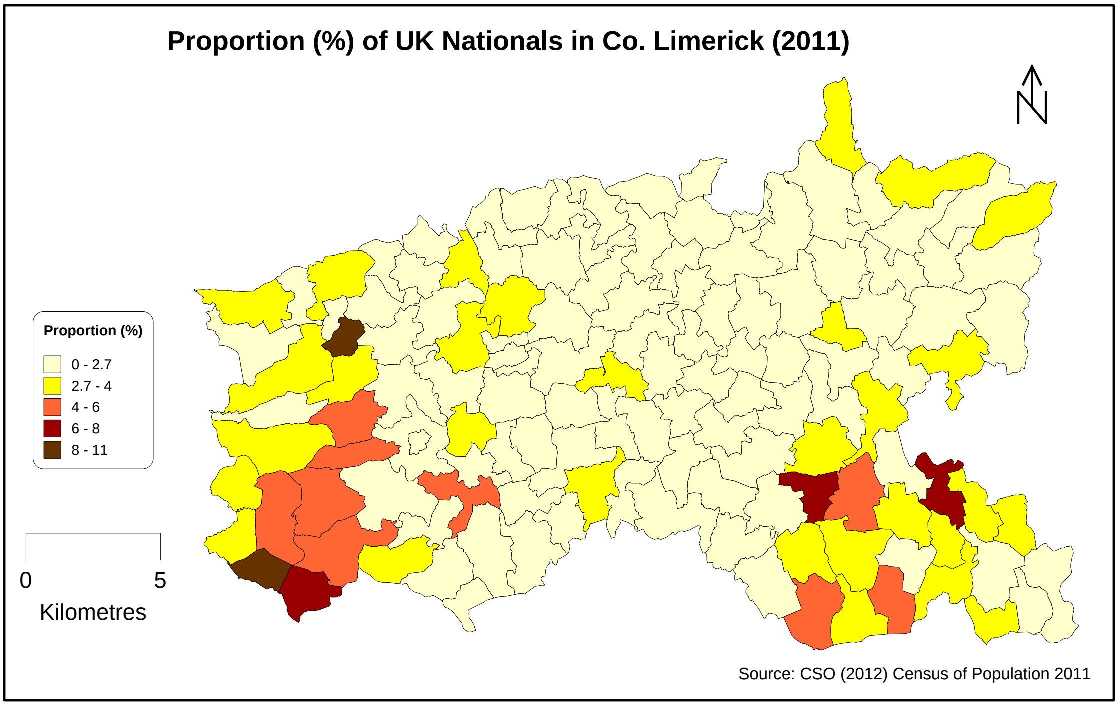


UK nationals are the single largest non-Irish ethnic group in Co. Limerick. Their distribution varies considerably throughout the county with the highest concentrations in the South-West and South-East of the county. These locations have attracted UK migrants due to being predominantly scenic rural areas. This parallels the situation in West Cork, Kerry, and the Leitrim Glens, whereby migrants from the UK, Germany and Netherlands travel to peripheral locations in pursuit of the rural idyll and to engage in alternative lifestyles (artisan production and organic farming). This phenomenon was most acute between the 1960s and 1980s and pre-dates the contemporary movement of economic migrants to rural Ireland. There has only been a subtle change in the distribution of UK migrants between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population (Maps 4.2 & 4.29). However, there has been a noticeable decline in the proportion of UK migrants, especially in locations that had the highest concentration in 2006 (Map 4.30). Electoral divisions that have recoded a decline in the proportion of UK nationals between the inter-censual period include both urban (Abbeyfeale (-0.13%) and Newcastle West Urban (-0.48%) and rural locations (Bilboa (-2.51%), Glenbrohane (-3.96%), and Mohernagh (-2.93%).

Map 4.28: Proportion (%) of UK Nationals in Co. Limerick (2006)

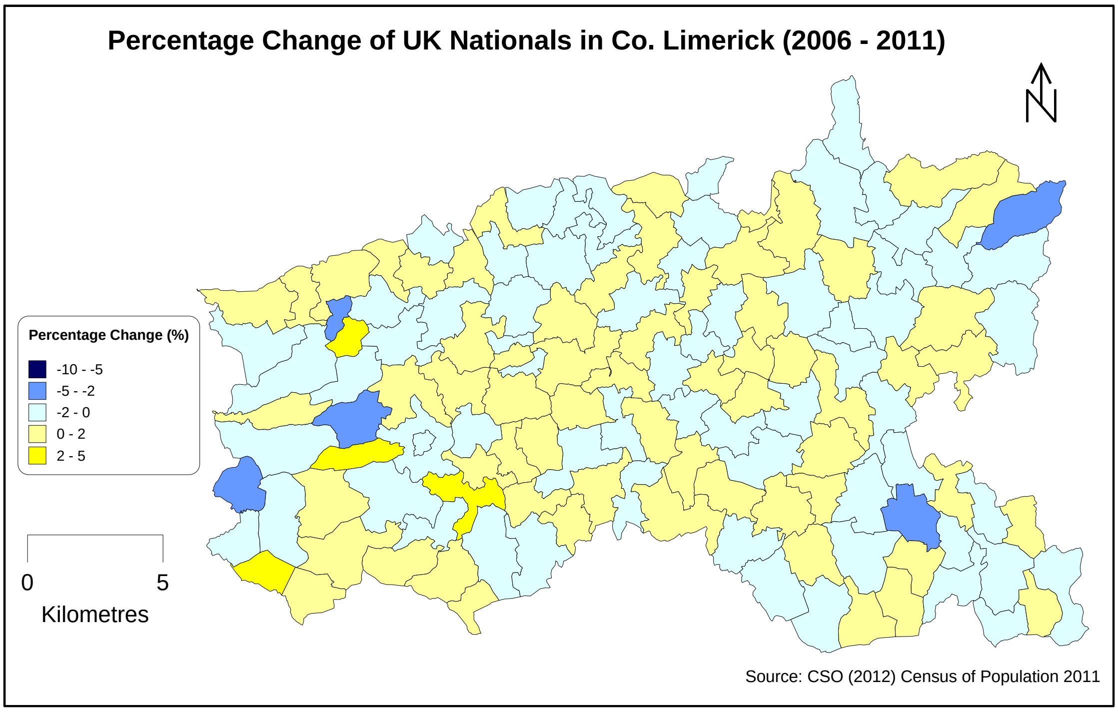


Map 4.29: Proportion (%) of UK Nationals in Co. Limerick (2011)



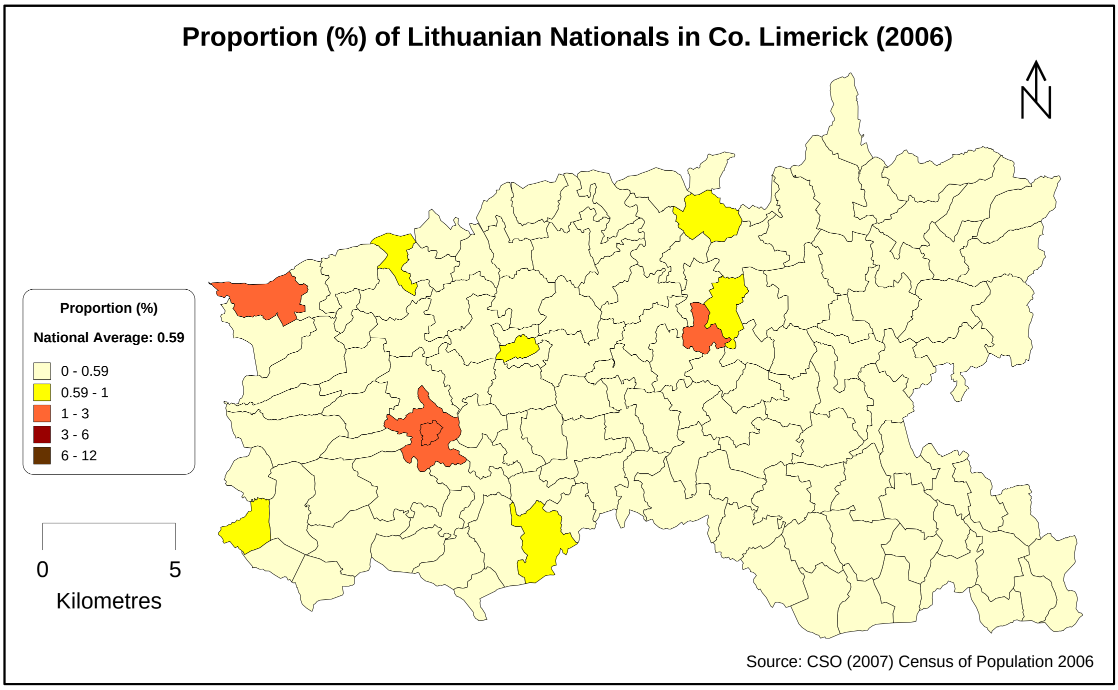
Note: The national average for UK nationals by ED was 2.48% in the 2011 Census of Population

Map 4.30: Percentage Change of UK Nationals in Co. Limerick (2006 – 2011)

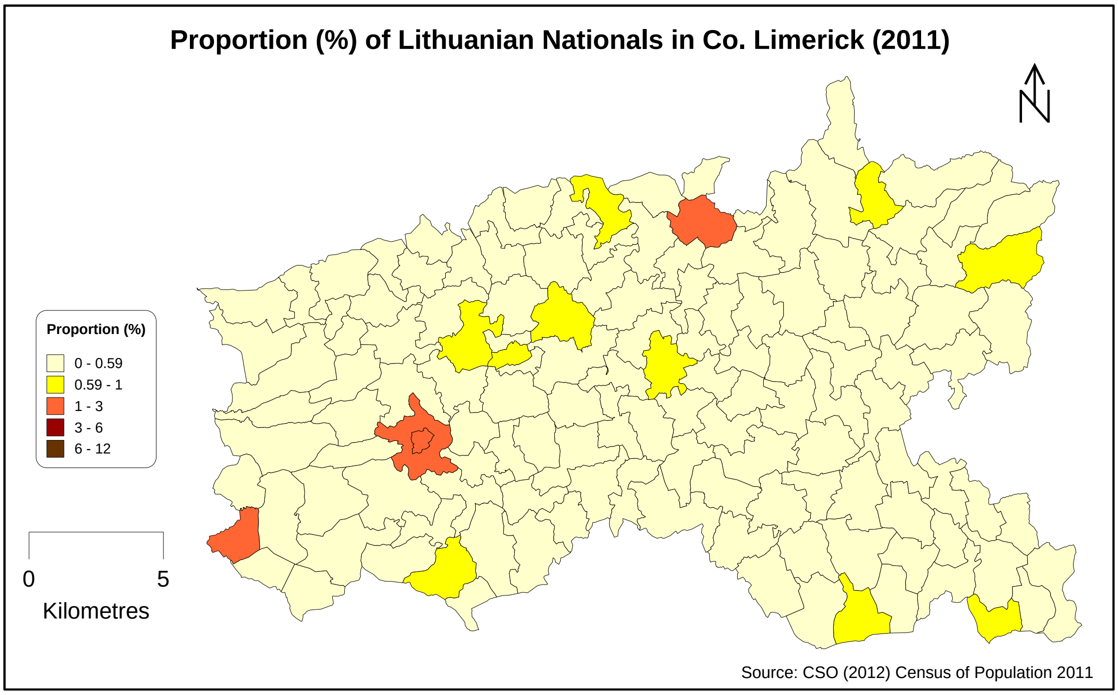


The spatial distribution and concentration of Lithuanian nationals has varied slightly between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population (Maps 4.31 & 4.32). In 2006, Newcastle West, Glin and Rathmore had the highest concentration of Lithuanian nationals, albeit marginally higher than the national average. Both Glin and Rathmore witnessed a decrease in the proportion of Lithuanian nationals between 2006 and 2011, whilst Abbeyfeale and Ballycummin (suburb of Limerick City) witnessed an increase. However, the vast majority of EDs in Co. Limerick have a lower proportion of Lithuanian nationals than the national average. Only a small number of EDs in Co. Limerick recorded a marginal percentage decline of Lithuanian nationals (Map 4.33). The decline was most noticeable in the vicinity of Rathkeale; Rathmore / Fedamore; Knocklong / Hospital; and Foynes.

Map 4.31: Proportion (%) of Lithuanian Nationals in Co. Limerick (2006)

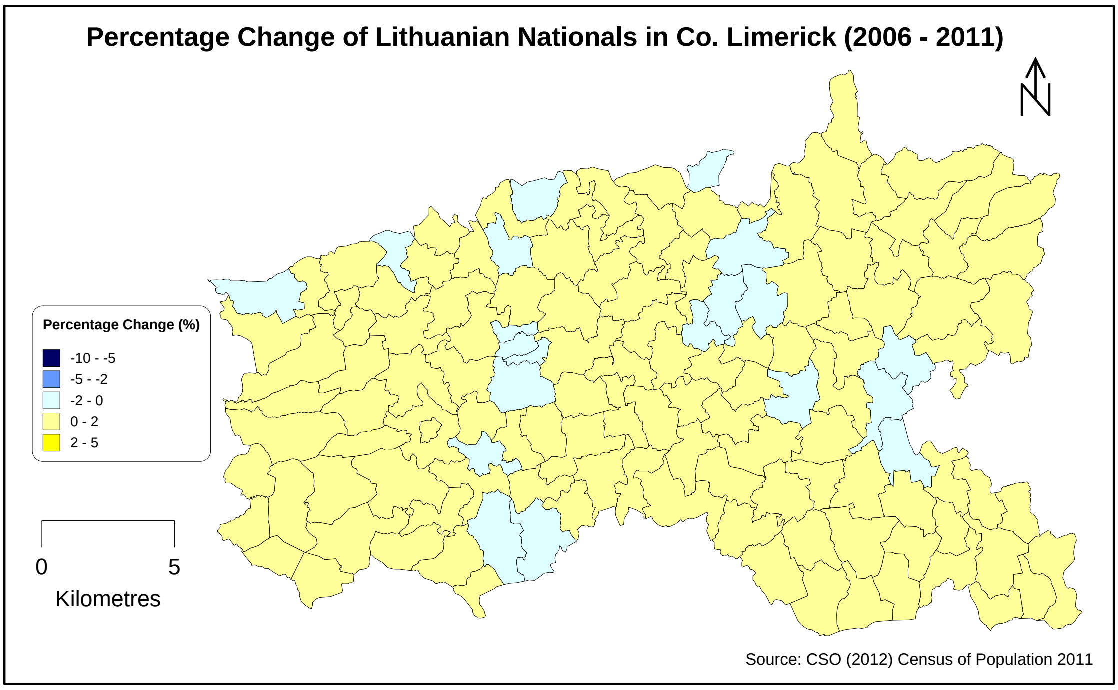


Map 4.32: Proportion (%) of Lithuanian Nationals in Co. Limerick (2011)



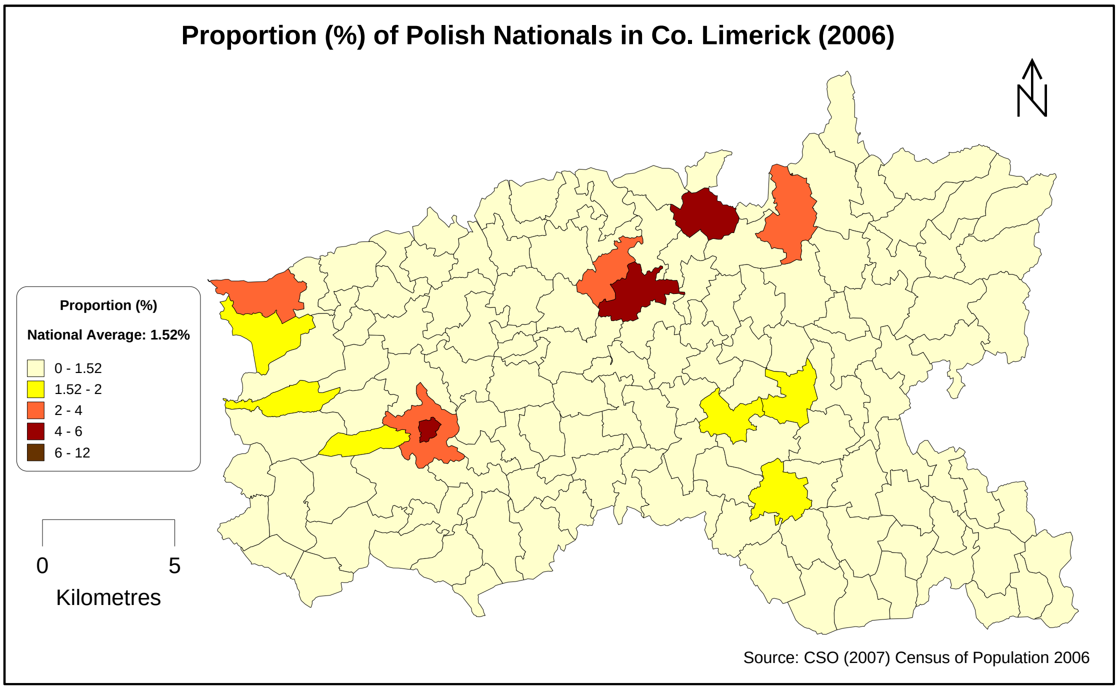
Note: The national average for Lithuanian nationals by ED was 0.81% in the 2011 Census of Population

Map 4.33: Percentage Change of Lithuanian Nationals in Co. Limerick (2006 – 2011)

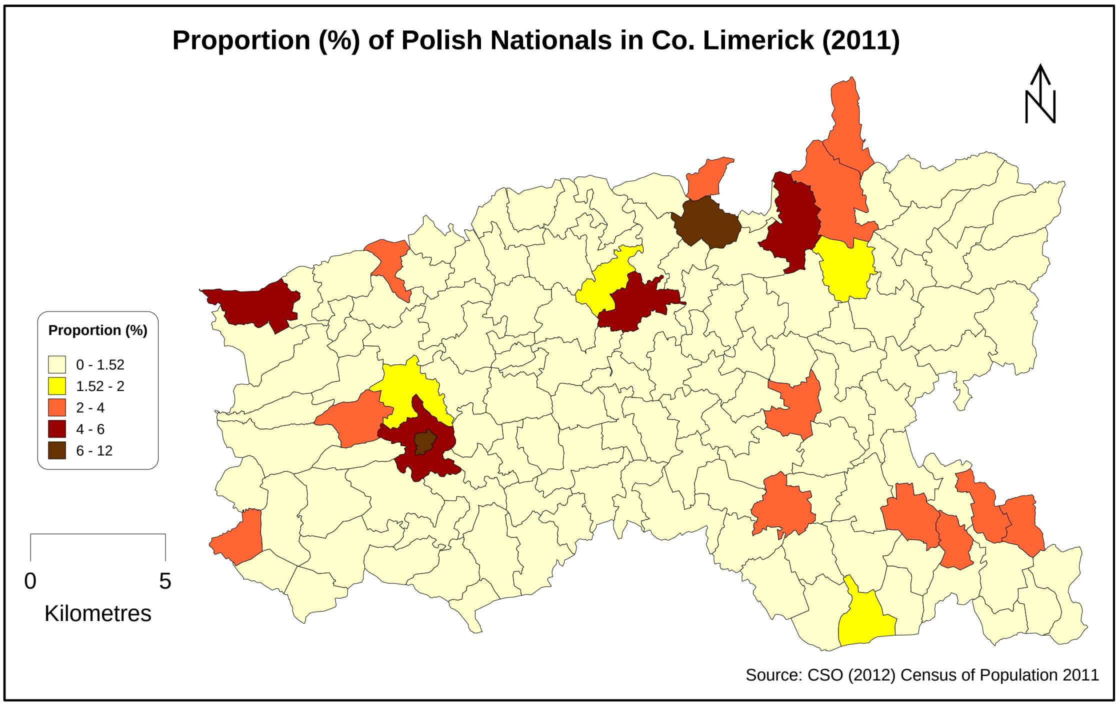


The proportion of Polish migrants has increased markedly in Co. Limerick between 2006 and 2011 (Maps 4.34 & 4.35). Newcastle West, Adare, Glin and the suburbs of Limerick City had the greatest concentration of Polish nationals in 2006. According to the 2011 Census of Population, there has been a further increase in the proportion of Polish nationals within these settlements. Furthermore, Castleconnell, Abbeyfeale, Kilmallock, Bruff, Galbally and Ballylanders have a significantly higher concentration of Polish nationals than the national average. The vast majority of EDs observed a percentage increase in the spatial concentration of Polish nationals, with the strongest increases (in excess of 2%) observed in Newcastle West Urban, Glin, Castleconnell, Ballylanders and Rooskagh (Map 4.36).

Map 4.34: Proportion (%) of Polish Nationals in Co. Limerick (2006)

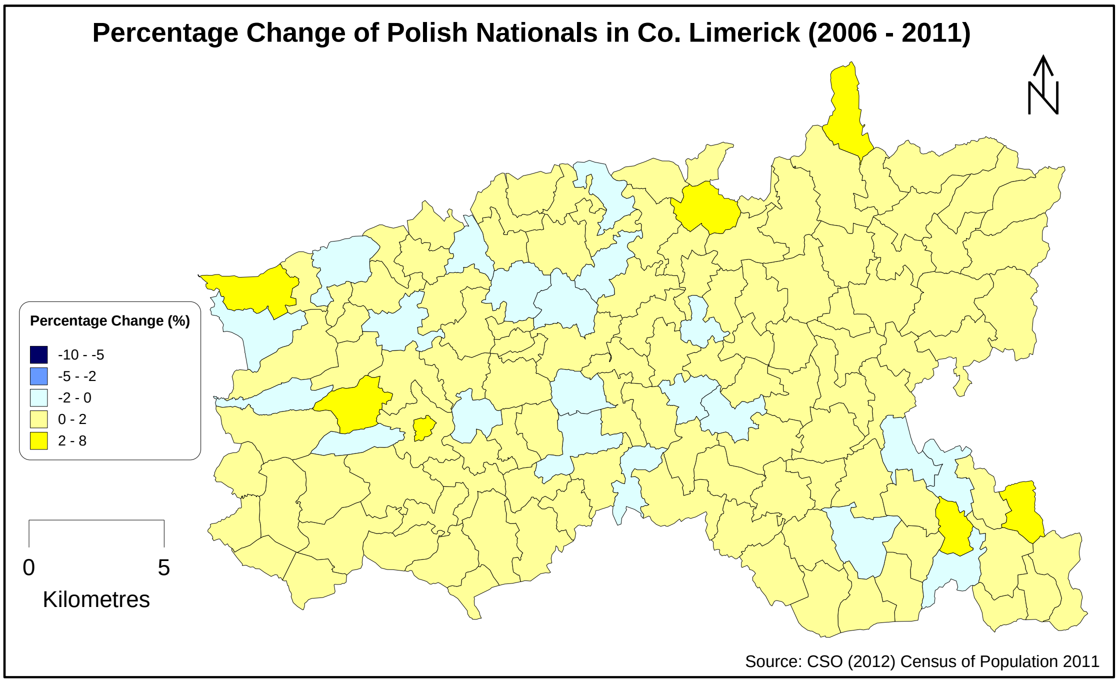


Map 4.35: Proportion (%) of Polish Nationals in Co. Limerick (2011)



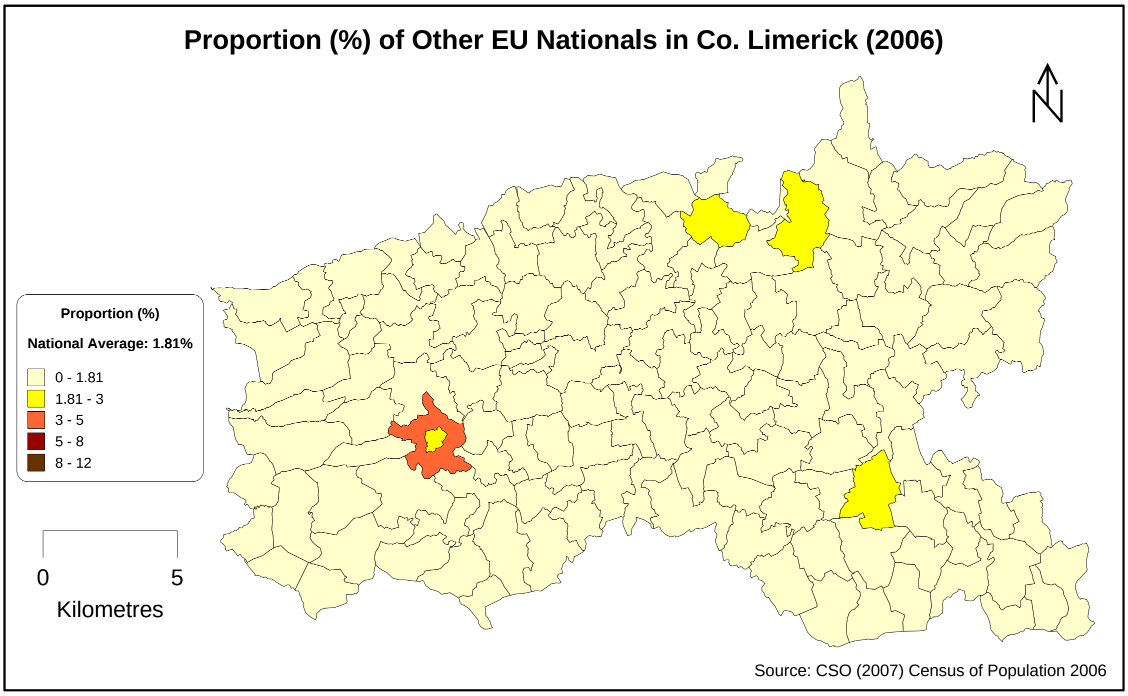
Note: The national average for Polish nationals by ED was 2.7% in the 2011 Census of Population

Map 4.36: Percentage Change of Polish Nationals in Co. Limerick (2006 – 2011)

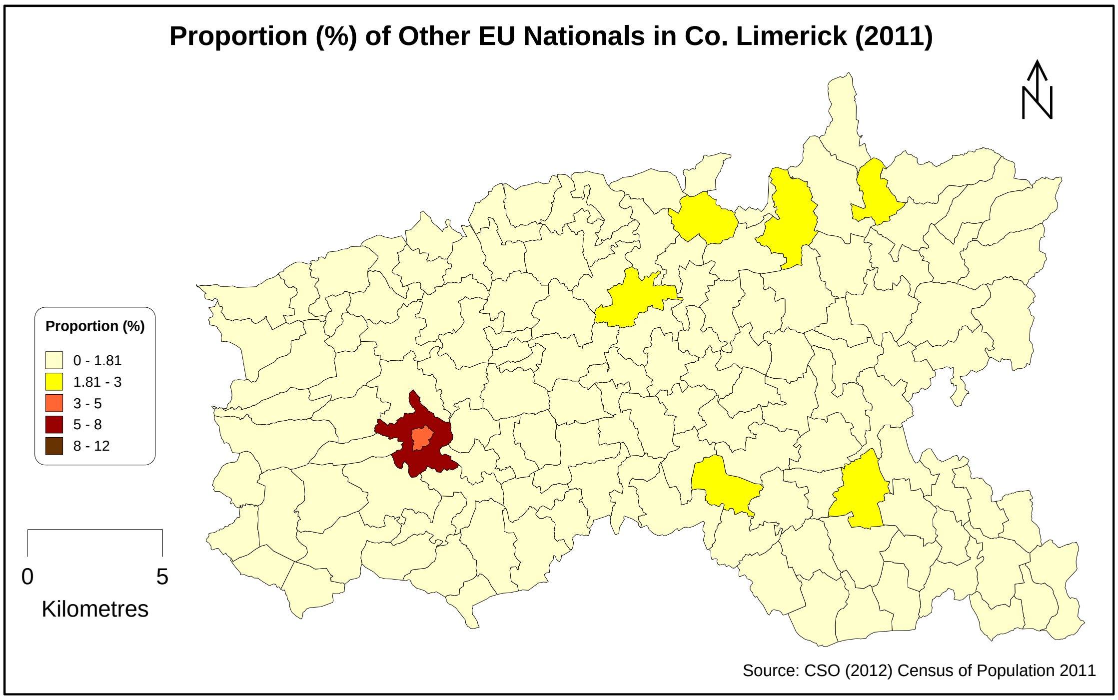


The spatial distribution and concentration of other EU nationals is minimal in Co. Limerick (Maps 4.37 and 4.38). Newcastle West Urban (pop. 188) and Rural (pop. 119) are the only EDs to have a significantly higher proportion of other EU nationals than the national average. There has been only a subtle percentage change with respect to the proportion of other EU nationals between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population, with EDs either recording either a marginal increase or decrease (Map 4.39). The spatial distribution of the percentage change is rather sporadic throughout Co. Limerick.

Map 4.37: Proportion (%) of Other EU Nationals in Co. Limerick (2011)

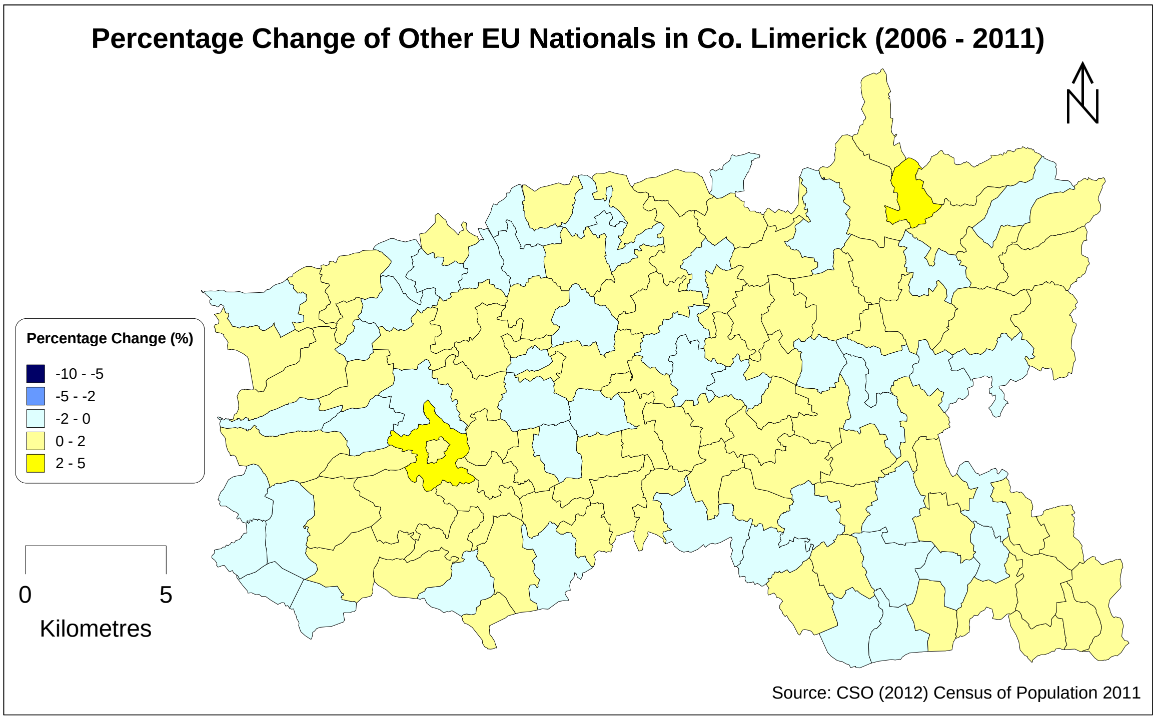


Map 4.38: Proportion (%) of Other EU Nationals in Co. Limerick (2011)



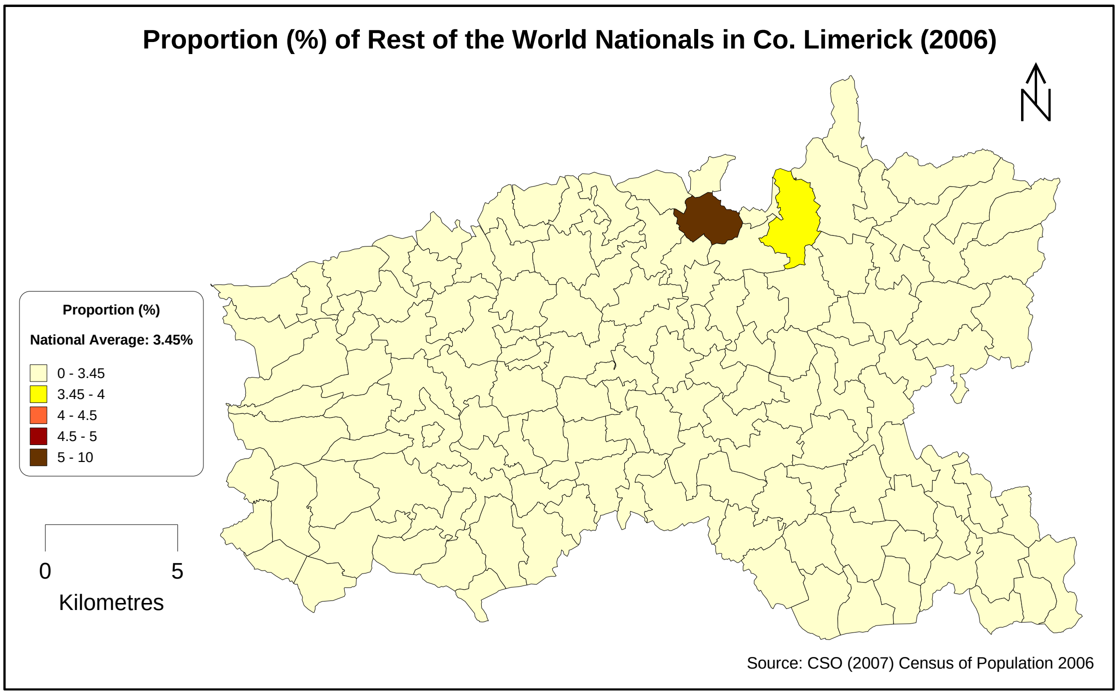
Note: The national average for Other EU nationals by ED was 2.55% in the 2011 Census of Population

Map 4.39: Percentage Change of Other EU Nationals in Co. Limerick (2006 – 2011)

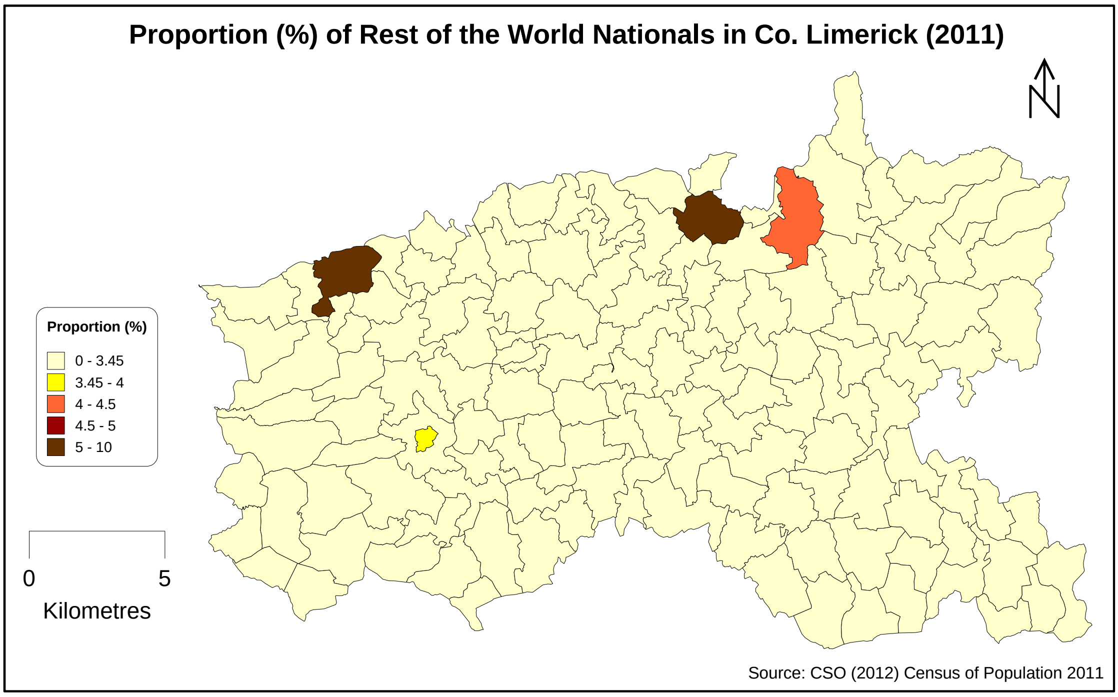


County Limerick has an insignificant proportion of foreign nationals from outside of the EU27 (Maps 4.40 & 4.41). In 2006, the only EDs to have a higher proportion than the national average were located in the suburbs of Limerick City. Loghill recorded a dramatic proportional increase of foreign nationals from the 'rest of the world' in the 2011 Census of Population. This is attributable to the opening of an asylum centre at Mount Trenchard (located approximately 4Km from the village of Foynes) in 2005. Newcastle West Urban (2.15%) has also a slightly higher than average concentration of foreign nationals from outside of the EU27. The percentage change between the two censuses is minimal, with some EDs (predominantly rural) recoding a marginal decrease whilst other EDs recorded a slight increase (Map 4.42).

Map 4.40: Proportion (%) of Rest of the World Nationals in Co. Limerick (2006)

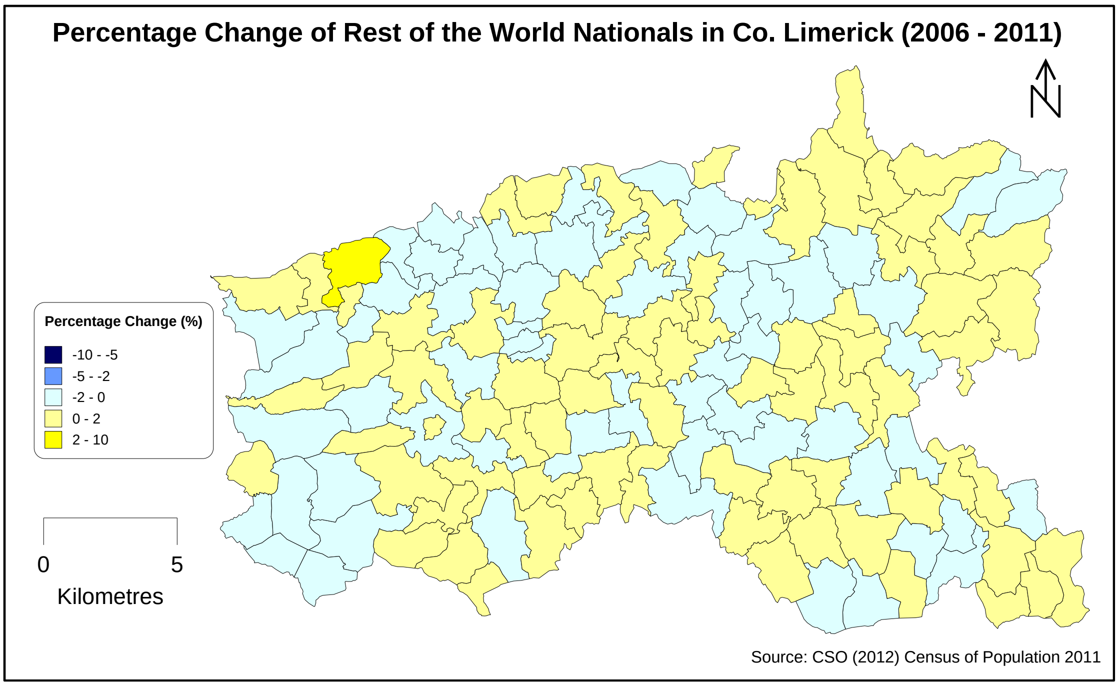


Map 4.41: Proportion (%) of Rest of the World Nationals in Co. Limerick (2011)



Note: The national average for rest of the world nationals by ED was 3.48% in the 2011 Census of Population

Map 4.42: Percentage Change of Rest of the World Nationals in Co. Limerick (2006 – 2011)



4.5 Conclusion

The key indicators for analysing rural restructuring and immigration patterns within the selected case study locations of Counties Monaghan and Limerick are outlined in Tables 4.1 and 4.2. According to the 2011 Census of Population, the workforce profile by industrial sector is broadly similar for both case study locations, albeit the agriculture, forestry and fishing sector is stronger in Co. Monaghan than in Co. Limerick. It has to be acknowledged that the proportion of agricultural workers has increased in both counties between 2006 and 2011. This has been perpetuated by the current economic downturn, as there are less employment opportunities in manufacturing; and building and construction. Despite this recent phenomenon, the agricultural sector is no longer the most dominant source of employment within rural Ireland. The most significant industrial sectors for employment include commerce and trade; and professional services. Walsh et al.'s (2007) typology has identified varying different area types co-existing within both Counties Monaghan and Limerick. The hinterlands of urban areas (Limerick City, Newcastle West, Monaghan Town, Carrickmacross and Castleblayney) are classified as being economically diversified whilst peripheral locations (West Limerick and South Monaghan) are classified as structurally weak. Only a small number of EDs in both counties are classified as strong agricultural areas.

In tandem with the restructuring of rural economy, there has been significant in-migration, particularly from Eastern Europe, to some rural locations. The proportion of foreign nationals within Counties Monaghan and Limerick differ considerably (Table 4.2). Co. Monaghan has witnessed higher rates of inward migration than Co. Limerick, especially amongst Lithuanian and Other EU 27 nationals. Despite the current economic downturn, numerous EDs in rural Ireland have continued to witness an increase in the proportion of foreign nationals (with respect to overall population size) between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population. The following chapters will present the research findings associated with the extensive data collection completed in both Counties Monaghan (Chapter 5) and Limerick (Chapter 6). Each chapter outlines: the restructuring of the rural economic base; the linkages between rural restructuring and rural in-migration; migrants' influence on the socio-economic restructuring of rural areas; labour market multiplier effects associated with economic migration; the integration of migrant and non-migrant communities; and the future intentions of migrants within the respective case study locations.

Table 4.1: Proportion (%) of Workforce by Industrial Sector in Selected Case Study Locations (2002, 2006 and 2011)

Industry	Monaghan 2002 (%)	Limerick 2002 (%)	Monaghan 2006 (%)	Limerick 2006 (%)	Monaghan 2011 (%)	Limerick 2011 (%)
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	13.53	8.89	10.35	6.88	12.25	8.13
Building and Construction	10.66	9.49	13.96	11.32	6.56	5.58
Manufacturing Industries	19.32	21.44	17.18	19.95	15.32	15.94
Commerce and Trade	20.07	22.30	20.17	21.93	21.39	21.39
Transport and Communications	4.09	5.29	4.04	5.42	5.01	6.51
Public Administration	5.39	4.50	4.52	3.92	5.61	4.97
Professional Services	14.39	16.17	15.89	17.92	21.14	24.85
Other	12.54	11.92	13.89	12.65	12.72	12.63

Table 4.2: Proportion (%) of Foreign Nationals in Selected Case Study Locations (2002 and 2006)

Nationality	Monaghan 2006 (%)	Limerick 2006 (%)	Monaghan 2011 (%)	Limerick 2011 (%)
UK	2.02	2.31	1.79	2.15
Poland	1.23	1.34	1.81	2.64
Lithuania	2.98	0.34	4.00	0.46
Other EU (25/27)	1.48	1.06	2.12	1.28
Rest of World	1.60	2.01	1.74	2.15
Total Foreign Nationals	**9.31**	**7.06**	**11.46**	**8.68**

Chapter 5: County Monaghan Results

5.1 Introduction

County Monaghan has experienced one of the highest levels of inward migration in proportion to its population since the beginning of the last decade. This in-migration, particularly from Eastern Europe, has been initiated by a transformation of the rural economic base, whereby employment vacancies could only be filled by economic migrants. This chapter will identify the processes by which rural restructuring has enabled new economic sectors to emerge within the rural economy and to outline how these have provided the stimulus for the recent rural in-migration. Prior to 2002, Co. Monaghan was not a destination for economic migrants but '*the increasing number of employees of government and other service industries and the establishment of new industrial enterprises in an area where farming was for generations the principal source of employment has introduced a variety of new surnames to Monaghan*' (Holland, 2003, p. 12). According to Holland, foreign surnames only began to appear in Co. Monaghan as a consequence of the restructuring of the economic base.

Furthermore, this chapter will gauge the extent and the means by which economic migrants have influenced socio-economic restructuring within Co. Monaghan. It has been acknowledged by Monaghan County Council, that economic migrants have generated a positive indirect effect on the local economy but challenges may arise due to the current economic downturn:

> *'Over the last decade the county has welcomed new additions to the population from abroad. Their contribution to the local economy has been positive and they should be encouraged to settle within established settlements to help build the critical mass necessary to sustain existing local services and attract additional investment and opportunities. However given the current economic climate, the retention of these migrants is a challenge.'* (Monaghan County Council, 2012, p. 26).

This study seeks to determine the labour market (job generation) multiplier effect associated with net in-migration to rural areas. The streetscape of the principal towns in Co. Monaghan has been clearly influenced by the processes of globalisation as migrant-orientated businesses are clearly visible. There is also a wide variety of ethnic cuisine restaurants within the major settlements of Monaghan Town, Carrickmacross and

Castleblayney. However, economic migrants within Co. Monaghan are considerably less entrepreneurial than the indigenous population. This chapter will identify the challenges faced by migrants in establishing their own businesses.

The forging of positive community relations between the migrant and indigenous populations remains a central task of statutory and non-statutory organisations within Co. Monaghan. This chapter will also highlight the ways in which migrants have integrated into the community. Migrants are considered a priority group by agencies / organisations within the county as migrants are generally more likely to experience poverty and / or social exclusion. This scenario has arisen due to migrants being in low-paid and low skilled employment; facing overt discrimination and being at risk of ghettoization (Monaghan County Council, 2008). However, local agencies have tried to remediate these challenges by devising innovative diversity awareness-raising programmes.

The final section of this chapter seeks to identify the future intentions of economic migrants residing in rural areas and to determine the potential consequences for the rural economy in Co. Monaghan. The 2011 Census of Population has identified a continuance in the spatial patterns associated with the residence of foreign nationals in Co. Monaghan. Therefore, it is important to explore the reasons why migrants are remaining in situ within rural areas.

5.2 Rural Restructuring of the Economic Base

Even though agriculture remains a strong anchor of the rural economy in Co. Monaghan, the county has not been immune to the influence to globalisation. In recent years, there has been a restructuring of the economic base, with the services sector and light manufacturing becoming more prominent. There has been a rationalisation of traditional manufacturing industries, particularly the production of furniture. Spatially, the restructuring of the economic base has been uneven with Walsh et al.'s (2007) rural typology indicating the presence of diversifying areas of urban employment; peri-urban areas; structurally weak; marginal agricultural areas; and strong agricultural areas located throughout the county. The varying socio-economic profile with respect to rural area type has ultimately impacted on the spatial distribution of economic migrants, with migrants being more likely to reside in locations that offer employment opportunities than vice versa.

Due to Monaghan's proximity to Northern Ireland, the restructuring of the economic base has been strongly influenced by the peace process. There has been significant investment in physical and social infrastructure by both statutory and non-statutory bodies along the border region. For example, both the Irish and British governments have dramatically improved the physical infrastructure, particularly road connectivity across the Northern Ireland border. During the Troubles, the conflict hampered both the social and economic development of this region through extensive road closures. One interviewee highlighted the difficulty of accessing Clones.

> *'So you had one road in and one road out. Both roads had a major check-point on them, that then left Clones physically cut off'* (Interviewee No. 1).

Furthermore, another interviewee stated the effects of road closures on rural communities, particularly farmers.

> *'For years, there were neighbours who did not know each other, that never mixed because they physically could not. They could not move across the border. They didn't know their neighbouring counterparts. Farms were cut in two and a farmer had maybe take an hour of a drive to get to the field on the other side, so physically there has been a change'* (Interviewee No. 2).

The enhancement of the physical infrastructure within Co. Monaghan has been beneficial for the local rural economy, by securing additional employment within the construction sector; and through increased transportation connectivity to this peripheral location.

The sectoral and occupational profiles of Co. Monaghan differ significantly from the national profile (Figures 5.1 and 5.2). A significantly higher proportion of the workforce in Co. Monaghan is engaged in agricultural and manufacturing activities than the national average. Furthermore, the occupational profile indicates an under-representation of financial and insurance activities; professional, scientific and technical activities; administrative and support service activities; accommodation and food service activities; and arts, entertainment and recreation activities tourism within Co. Monaghan in comparison to the national average. The aforementioned occupational categories, with the exception of accommodation and food service activities and arts, entertainment and recreation, are more likely to located in urban locations. In the past, Co. Monaghan's close proximity to Northern Ireland acted as a hindrance to the development of the tourism sector, thereby resulting in a lower proportion of the population being employed in the tourism and hospitality sector. It can be discerned from the literature review, that the restructuring of the rural economic base has been a multi-faceted process with numerous sectors, incorporating agriculture; industry, retail, tourism, ICT and the knowledge economy, having experienced a significant degree of transformation during the past two decades. Therefore, it is essential to examine whether Co. Monaghan has experienced a similar restructuring of its economic base.

Figure 5.1: Comparative Sectoral Profiles of Co. Monaghan and Ireland

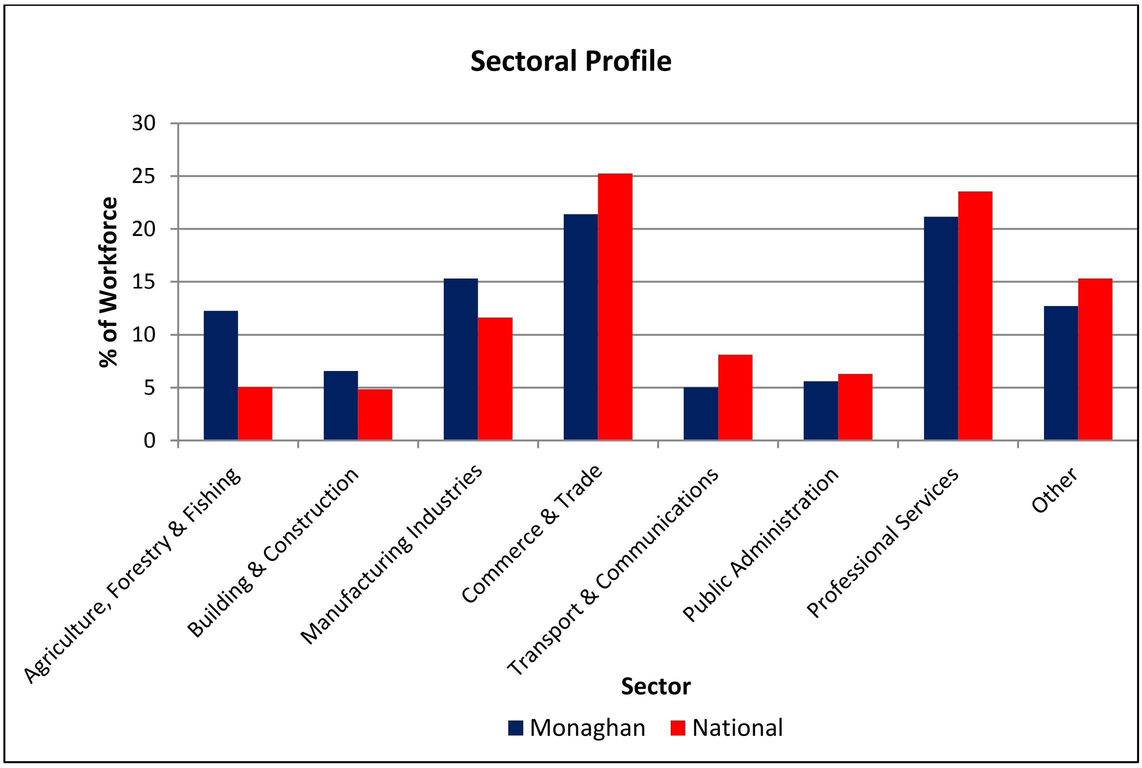
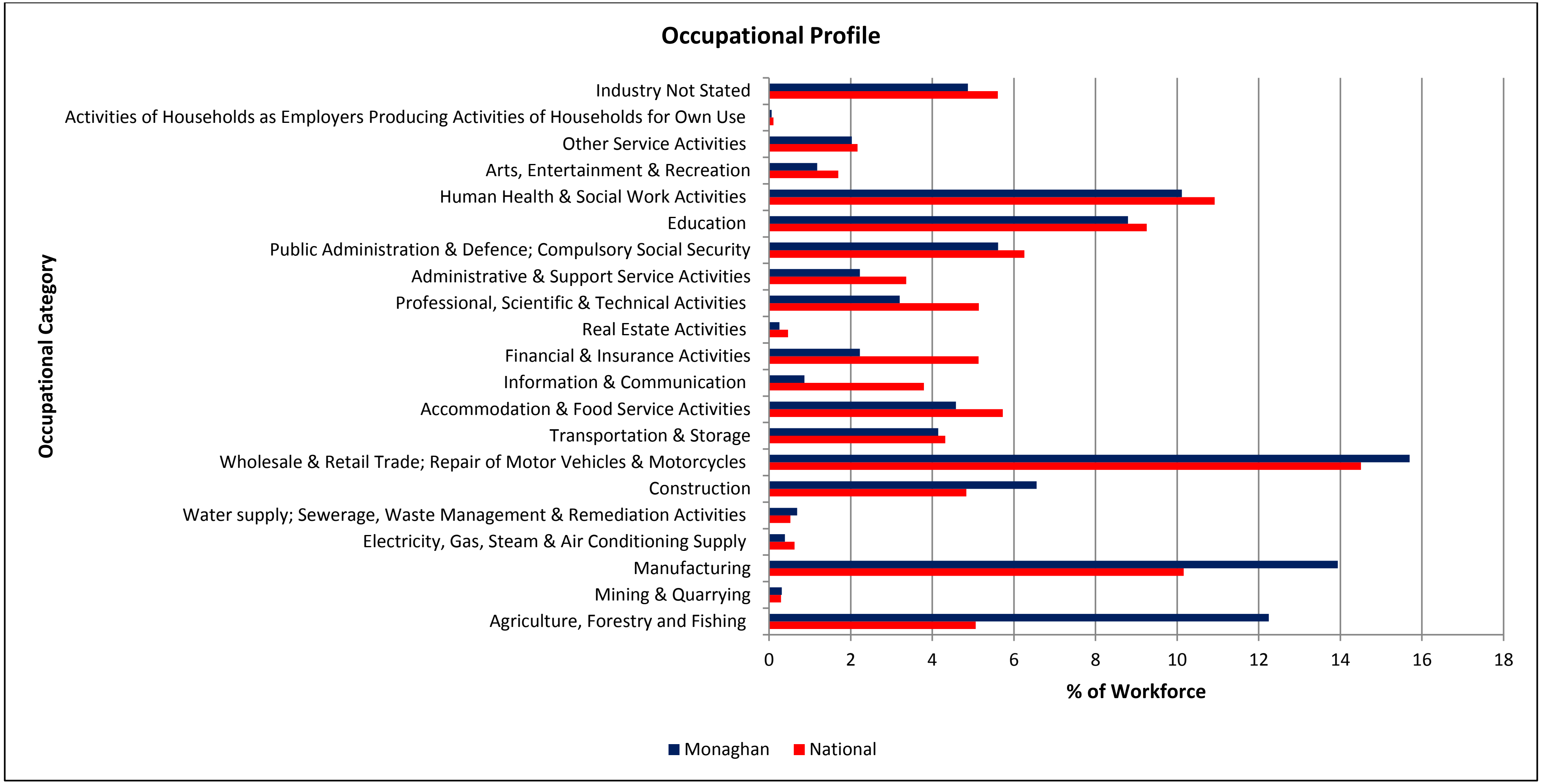


Figure 5.2: Comparative Occupational Profiles of Co. Monaghan and Ireland



5.2.1 Rural Restructuring – Patterns in Agriculture

The agricultural sector in Co. Monaghan is going through a period of transition at the current time. According to several interviewees, the number of people employed within the agricultural sector has been consistently declining for several decades. However, the food sector remains one of the strongest industries in rural areas and it is one of the most dominant economic sectors in Co. Monaghan. The strengths of the agriculture sector include:

- A diverse agricultural base with mushroom production, poultry, porcine, beef and dairy.
- Accessibility to the UK market through the ports located at Dublin and Belfast.
- Adequate infrastructure including the availability of temperature controlled warehouses; food testing laboratories; and refrigerated transport (Monaghan County Development Board, 2010).

Table 5.1 provides an overview of the diverse agricultural base within the county. The vast majority of farms engage in the rearing of bovines, specialising in either dairy or beef production.

Table 5.1: Comparative Overview of Principal Farming Activities between Co. Monaghan and Ireland

Farm Type	Number of Farms in Co. Monaghan	% of Farms in Co. Monaghan	Number of Farms in Ireland	% of Farms in Ireland
Specialist Tillage	20	0.5	4,736	3.34
Specialist Dairy	1,093	24	26,292	18.57
Specialist Beef Production	2,731	60	72,141	50.97
Specialist Sheep	77	0.6	12,233	8.64
Mixed Grazing Livestock	402	9.0	20,729	14.64
Mixed Crops & Livestock	29	0.7	3,644	2.54
Other	215	5.0	1,752	1.23
Total	4,567	100	141,527	100

Source: 2000 *Census of Agriculture* (CSO, 2002c)

Furthermore, the cultivation of mushrooms and the rearing of pigs and poultry are strong agricultural activities in contrast to the national average[68]. The diversification into these sectors stems from the small size of agricultural holdings and the difficulties posed by the drumlin terrain and infamous 'stony grey soil.' In recent years, there has

[68] The picking of mushrooms and the rearing of pigs and poultry are not seasonal agricultural activities. Therefore, these activities offer employment opportunities throughout the year.

been significant investment in *'mushroom production facilities by organisations such as Monaghan Mushrooms that have greatly expanded the capacity for production in the county'* (Monaghan County Council, 2012, p. 102). There has also been an increase in the construction of new poultry and porcine units, alongside the expansion of units already in existence. These agricultural activities are considerably more labour intensive than dairy farming and beef or tillage production. As one interviewee commented:

> *'The physical labour to keep those (*poultry production and mushroom cultivation) *has in itself created a steady flow of jobs'* (Interviewee No.3).

The rural economy benefits immensely due to the high labour intensity through direct employment and the demand for ancillary services. However, there has been a process of consolidation and rationalisation within the mushroom sector in Co. Monaghan. The smaller and less productive mushroom growers are no longer able to compete with their larger rivals. This has inevitability led to the emergence of vacant mushroom houses on the landscape. A feasibility study has been commissioned with respect to finding alternative uses for these abandoned mushroom houses. One proposal currently being considered is hydroponics[69]. According to an interviewee from the County Development Board, this innovative means of growing animal fodder will provide farmers with small holdings a competitive advantage as *'one tunnel would produce 1.2 tonnes of sprouting fodder a day which would feed 120 dairy cows per day, so you could expand your herd without going for additional land'* (Interviewee 2).

5.2.2 Rural Restructuring – Patterns in Industry

The industrial sector in Co. Monaghan has been heavily reliant on traditional industries, incorporating food processing and furniture manufacturing. The food processing sector has diversified alongside agricultural production within the county over the past two decades. These include Silver Hill Foods (Emyvale); Grove Turkeys (Smithborough); Cargill Integra Ltd. (Castleblayney); Abbott (Cavan – Monaghan border); AIBP (Clones); Monaghan Mushrooms (Tyholland) and Monaghan Co-operative Society (Monaghan Town). A strong food processing sector has enabled employment creation, thereby providing a positive stimulus for the local rural economy (Monaghan Chamber of Commerce, 2009). However, the furniture industry is currently witnessing significant

[69] Hydroponics is a way of growing plants (including grass) in a nutrient solution instead of soil. It enables plants to produce higher yields and the controlled environment prevents pests and disease destroying the crops.

rationalisation (Monaghan County Council, 2007). A change in customer preferences to cheaper imported flat-pack furniture is partly responsible for the decline but it has been exacerbated by the current economic downturn[70]. In essence, the demise of the furniture industry has been highly influenced by the processes of globalisation.

There is also a strong belief amongst interviewees that Co. Monaghan has not benefited from foreign direct investment and that economic development has only been achieved through local entrepreneurism. An interviewee stated:

> *'There's very little FDI in Monaghan. As a result of that, Monaghan people have felt we've done it ourselves; we have to do it* ourselves' (Interviewee No. 4).

Even though there is limited data to quantify whether Co. Monaghan has higher levels of entrepreneurism in comparison to other rural locations in Ireland, numerous sources (albeit local) make reference to the 'Monaghan can-do attitude' with respect to the strength of entrepreneurism within the county (Monaghan County Development Board, 2010; Northern Standard, 2010).

5.2.3 Rural Restructuring – Patterns in the Retail Sector

The retail sector has undergone a transformation within Co. Monaghan. Consumers go to the larger urban centres (Monaghan Town and Carrickmacross) in order to avail of a wide variety of retail outlets, with retail services becoming reduced or curtailed in other settlements within the county. Furthermore, the changing lifestyles spurred on by globalisation have impacted on the physical appearance of the streetscape: the emergence of multi-national retail stores; ethnic and franchise takeaways; and East European grocery shops. In recent years, the variety of retail outlets within rural market towns has been in decline as consumers commute to larger urban centres or shop on-line in order to avail of a wider selection of consumer products. One interviewee (a business owner) believes this transformation of the retail landscape has had negative connotations for Carrickmacross as boutiques / clothes shops have been replaced with takeaways and bookmaking businesses:

> *'Consumers want a choice but they want a choice of certain types of shops, they want comparison shopping, they want clothes shops, boutiques, kids shops, toy shops, sports shops etc. but we have seen a proliferation of*

[70] The rationalisation of the furniture industry in Co. Monaghan pre-dates the current economic downturn.

> *bookies and takeaways in the last 5 to 10 years. The bookmaking business is very very lucrative. They've taken 3 to 4 of the best units in town that were previously those type of shops. We have also seen an increase in takeaways; let them be Chinese, Indian or Italian'* (Interviewee No. 5).

Despite the growing variety of retail outlets, this sector has been badly affected by the current economic downturn. Furthermore, the retail sector in Co. Monaghan has experienced major challenges due to its close proximity to Northern Ireland. During much of the 2000s the weak British pound sterling and competitive UK VAT rates lured consumers from Co. Monaghan to towns across the border. These included Dungannon, Armagh and Newry. Since 2011, there has been an appreciation of the British pound sterling and a tightening of the consumer tax differential between the North and South, thereby mitigating the effects of cross-border shopping. The diversification of the rural economy is closely linked to the growth in dominance of the retail sector. Migrants have had an intrinsic part to play in this process. This will be shown in later sections of this chapter, specifically though their composition with the retail labour force; establishment of migrant businesses; and the provision of migrant orientated products and services within retail outlets throughout Co. Monaghan.

5.2.4 Rural Restructuring – Patterns in ICT and the Knowledge Economy

Another facet of rural restructuring is the growth of ICT enterprises within rural areas. The growth in digital-orientated enterprises is contingent on the availability of a good broadband network. The Armagh – Monaghan Digital Corridor project developed a high speed broadband network, linking the city of Armagh and Monaghan Town. This development facilitated the construction of the MTEK complex in Monaghan Town (Monaghan Chamber of Commerce, 2009). In recent years, the broadband network in Monaghan Town and Castleblayney has been greatly enhanced through their connection to Project Kelvin. This is a submarine and sub-terrestrial cable that links Northern Ireland and North America. This is crucial infrastructure for attracting investment within the ICT sector. In the more remote locations within the county, local development organisations have been instrumental in developing and enhancing their ICT connectivity. An example includes Blackwater Valley Broadband Consortium (2004 – 2006), a cross–border venture between Truagh and Aughnacloy Development Associations to provide broadband facilities within North Monaghan and South Tyrone. As one interviewee commented:

> *'Funding was accessed from INTERREG to put in place what we call Blackwater Broadband, which linked up with Aughnacloy because there was no broadband here 5 or 6 years ago'* (Interviewee No. 6).

The total cost of this project was €217,513 with INTERREG providing €163,148 in grant funding through the Inter-Regional Economic Infrastructure measure. Telecommunication companies were reluctant to provide broadband infrastructure in North Monaghan / South Tyrone as it was viewed as commercially unviable. The Blackwater Valley Broadband initiative provided high-speed internet infrastructure to a geographically disadvantaged location, thereby enabling community organisations, local businesses, early learning providers, primary and secondary schools, adult learning centres and local residents to benefit (both socially and economically) from recent advances in ICT and to play a proactive role within the knowledge society (Special EU Programmes Body, 2013).

5.2.5 Rural Restructuring – Patterns in Tourism & Amenities

The promotion of tourism activities enables a diversification of the rural economic base, whereby the purchasing power of tourists sustains and enhances employment opportunities within the local retail outlets and accommodation service providers. There are several hotels located throughout the county, with 3 hotels in Monaghan Town; 2 hotels in Carrickmacross; and one each in Castleblayney, Ballybay and Glaslough. However, the tourism sector is not very strong in Co. Monaghan as this area was shunned by tourists due to the political violence in Northern Ireland and along the border between the 1960s and 1990s. Indeed as one interviewee pointed out:

> *'The day after the first ceasefire broke down, that was it. We didn't see another tourist for the whole Summer, so it brought home to us at that time as tourism providers that tourism was never going to be a viable option until there was permanent peace'* (Interviewee No. 2).

Since the cessation of the violence, there been collective action on part of local authorities from the North and South to promote tourism initiatives. A prime example is the promotion of tourism activities through the Blackwater Region brand name. This region incorporates Monaghan, Dungannon & South Tyrone Borough and Armagh & District Councils. Tourism activities promoted through this venture include angling; heritage trail; arts and crafts guide; Knockatallon walking trails; and an Eating Out guide.

Furthermore, specific tourism trails within Co. Monaghan include:

- The Monaghan Way (walking trail)
- Monaghan Heritage: Wonderful Wetlands
- Monaghan Town Trail
- Carrickmacross Town Trail
- Clones Town Trail
- Sliabh Beagh
- Motor car trails, incorporating the Glaslough. Mid-Monaghan and Kavanagh tours.

The hosting of festivals throughout the county at specific points of the year has been pivotal to attracting tourists into the county. The key cultural and social events include:

- Féile Oriel, Monaghan Town
- Harvest Times Blues Festival, Monaghan Town
- Newbliss Festival
- Scoil Cheoil na Bhotha, Scotstown
- Flat Lake Literary and Arts Festival, Clones
- Clones Film Festival
- Castleblayney Festival
- Patrick Kavanagh Writers' Weekend, Inniskeen
- Raglan Road Festival, Inniskeen
- St. Jona's Day, Castleblayney (Lithuanian feast day)
- Muckno Mania Festival, Castleblayney
- The Colm Sands' Song Writing Workshop, Inniskeen
- Carrickmacross Festival
- Movin' with Poetry, Inniskeen
- Taste of Monaghan - Festival of Food, Monaghan Town

In Co. Monaghan, there is a clear commitment on the part of tourism stakeholders to expand and enhance tourism facilities and amenities. There are currently two major tourism orientated projects being considered: the building of a marina on the Ulster Canal and development of facilities for coarse and pike angling at Lough Muckno, Castleblayney. Even though Co. Monaghan is situated in a peripheral location, there are advantages as one interviewee outlined:

> *'The virtues of being off the beaten tourist track means that visitors can enjoy their stay in Monaghan being looked after by and in the company of Monaghan people'* (Fáilte Ireland, 2011a).

The emergence of a tourism sector, through the organisation of cultural festivals; development of tourism infrastructure; and initiation of marketing campaigns, has enabled a broadening of the economic base within Co. Monaghan.

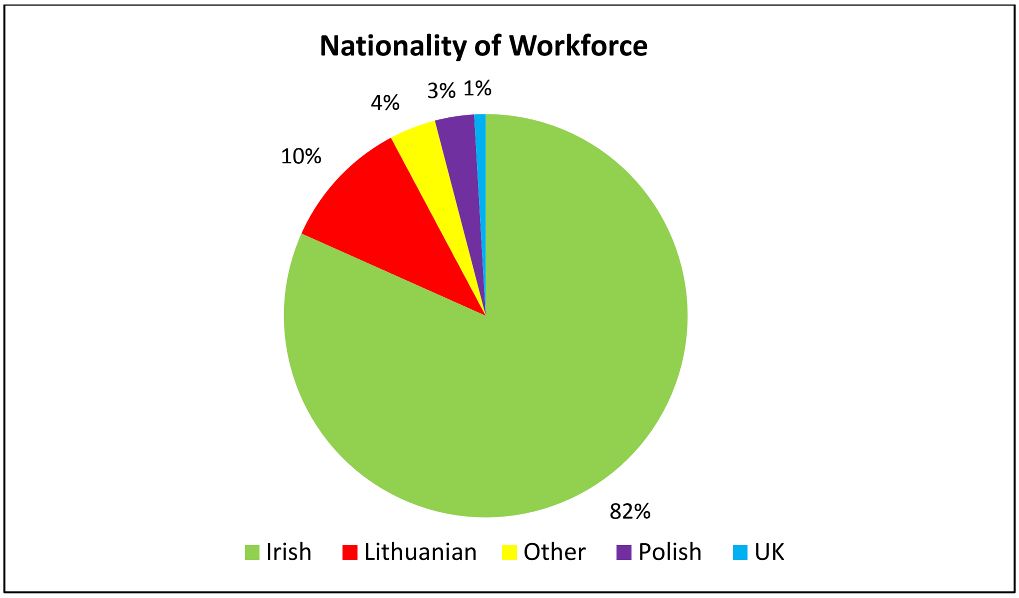
5.3 Links between Rural Restructuring and Rural In-Migration

Economic migration is a recent phenomenon in Co. Monaghan, as East European nationals have only had unhindered access to the labour market since May 2004. Prior to this, the percentage of foreign national workers was relatively low in Co. Monaghan as non-EU migrants had to have work permits. These permits were only granted on the basis of a legitimate labour shortage within specific industrial sectors. The diversification of the economic base in Co. Monaghan, with a strong emphasis on light manufacturing, retail and intensive agricultural production has acted as catalyst for the recent in-migration of economic migrants, predominantly from Eastern Europe, and specifically Lithuania.

Even though the agricultural sector is still prominent in Co. Monaghan, there has been a significant diversification of farming activities, particularly the cultivation of mushrooms and the rearing of poultry and porcine. Despite intense mechanisation and technicalisation within the agricultural sector, mushroom and poultry production is still heavily labour intensive. During the economic boom, Irish workers shunned employment within the agricultural sector as it was perceived to be poorly enumerated and low skilled. In order to fill employment vacancies, employers had to recruit economic migrants, especially from Eastern Europe. For similar reasons, the retail and wholesale trade; and accommodation and food service sectors have also become heavily reliant on migrant labour. The dependence on migrant labour has become apparent through the ethnic composition of the workforce. From the businesses sampled in Co. Monaghan, approximately 18% of the workforce originated outside of Ireland (Figure 5.3). East Europeans constitute a significant proportion of the total workforce, with

Lithuanians (10%) and Poles (3%) comprising an overwhelming majority of migrant workers within the county. UK nationals represent only 1% of the workforce. This ethnic profile of the labour market concurs with the spatial concentration of particular foreign nationalities within Co. Monaghan.

Figure 5.3: Nationality of Workforce in Co. Monaghan (2011)



5.3.1 Rationale for Migrant Labour

During the economic boom, business owners became dependent on migrant workers due to labour shortages within specific sectors, particularly in manufacturing and agriculture. One manager from a prominent manufacturing firm in Co. Monaghan stated that:

> *'The introduction of immigration has been a very positive thing. During the boom years, it was not possible to get the numbers required to make our products. Without this access to workers, we would have struggled to meet our customers' demands'* (Business Questionnaire No. 78).

There is also a perception amongst employers that foreign national workers are more willing to undertake lower-paid employment than Irish employees:

> *'If the Irish worked there would be no foreign nationals. The Irish do not want lower paid jobs, that's why the foreign nationals are here'* (Business Questionnaire No. 56).

Furthermore, other employers believe migrants are more diligent and skilled in contrast to non-migrant workers:

'If some companies did not have foreign nationals they might not be able to stay in business. Reason for this is they will work when asked and turn up every day' (Business Questionnaire No. 54).

One migrant interviewee clearly epitomised this strong work ethic by stating:

'I have never lived without work. I always had work. I am still working part-time, it is not good for me but it is better than nothing' (Interviewee No. 21).

However, some employers are resentful of the high proportion of migrants who have sought employment in Co. Monaghan. Typically, the strongest condemnation has come from sole retail traders and / or companies who do not employ any foreign national workers. Respondents to the business questionnaire, who oppose economic migrants, strongly believe all job vacancies should be filled by Irish nationals, preferably from Co. Monaghan. In essence, some employers assert the belief that Irish people are entitled to fill job vacancies, with the criteria strongly focused on nationality rather than relevant skillsets.

'They (foreign nationals) have come into this town and country, got everything handed to them. Took jobs that the local people should have been given' (Business Questionnaire No. 45).

According to Fanning (2009, p. 69), this comment could be interpreted as prejudicial as '*racism can be expressed through the acts of individuals or in the values, presumptions, structures and processes of social, economic, cultural and political institutions'*. A similar racist / discriminatory attitude towards economic migrants was also expressed by a sole trader who simply stated that there are '*no jobs for local people in this area'* (Business Questionnaire No. 37). These negative attitudes act as a barrier to fostering a socially cohesive and inclusive society, whereby everyone is treated with respect and dignity.

5.3.2 Sectoral Profile

Migrants and non-migrants in Co Monaghan have contrasting occupational profiles There are more migrants employed in agriculture, forestry and food; industry; wholesale and retail trade; transportation and storage; accommodation and food service activities; human health and social work; and other industries than non-migrants (Figure 5.4). The percentage of migrants employed in construction is considerably lower than non-migrants. In recent years, the construction sector has collapsed as a consequence of the economic downturn, with a significant contraction of the labour force within this sector. The agriculture, forestry and fishing sector is a significant employer, especially for migrants (21%) in Co. Monaghan. This is attributable to the numerous mushroom houses and poultry farms located throughout the county.

The absence of migrant workers in finance, insurance and real estate; and public administration and defence; along with a significant under-representation in education highlights the challenges encountered by migrants in securing employment within specific occupational categories. These challenges include the failure to recognise qualifications attained from Third Level institutes outside of Ireland and UK; and a requirement to have a proficiency in the Irish language. Furthermore, a lack of proficiency in the English language acts as a key barrier for migrants gaining access to high skilled employment. In an interview with members of a community development project, a Polish national stated:

> *'How can I get a job without English? I can't even go for an interview without English. There are some places – mushrooms, chicken factory. There you can go without any language. It's very hard jobs'* (Interviewee No. 7).

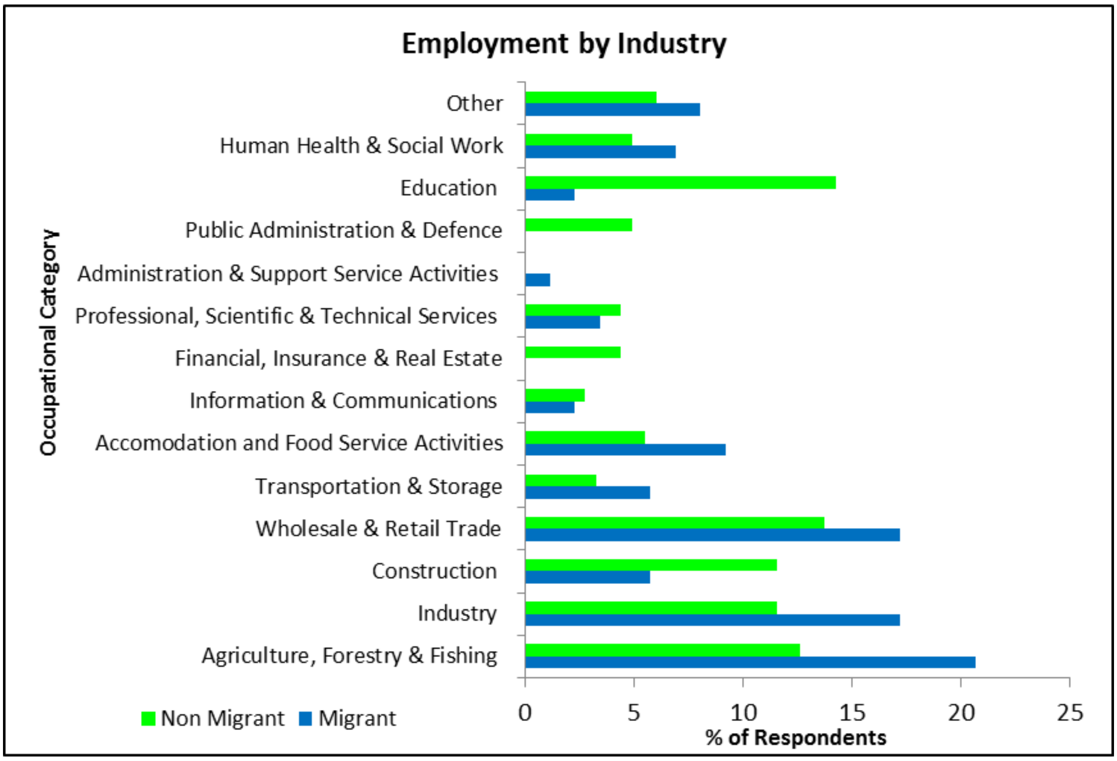
Recent ESRI studies have also indicated that economic migrants from non-English speaking countries experience a wage penalty within the Irish labour market (Barrett & Kellly, 2012; Voitchovsky, et al., 2012). In essence, economic migrants face significant difficulties in acquiring high-skilled positions due to a lack (or perceived lack) of fluency in the English language, thereby leading to a high concentration of migrants within low-paid and low-skilled occupational sectors. However, the Bologna Declaration should assist economic migrants in acquiring higher skilled occupations into the future, as this policy agreement seeks the mutual recognition of Third Level educational attainments / qualifications across all EU member states (European Commission, 2011).

Furthermore, the aforementioned interviewee asserted the belief that some employers preferred to hire foreign workers with limited English for low paid and low skilled employment. This failure to gain entry into high skilled professions leads to segregation within the labour market. These sentiments were clearly expressed by a Lithuanian migrant who was on a work placement within a community development office.

'There is a lot of people here a good while, their English has improved a lot but how do you get in the door to get a better job, even though you might be more qualified or have loads of experience behind you, it seems very difficult for people to make that move… People from Lithuania with good English still worked in factories. I was astounded. I asked Why? Why? Why are you young people not looking for something better?' (Interviewee No. 8).

Even though the restructuring of the economic base has led to the growth of higher skilled professions within rural areas, it is primarily the indigenous population that has gained access into these professions than economic migrants.

Figure 5.4: Employment by Industry for Migrants and Non-Migrants in Co. Monaghan

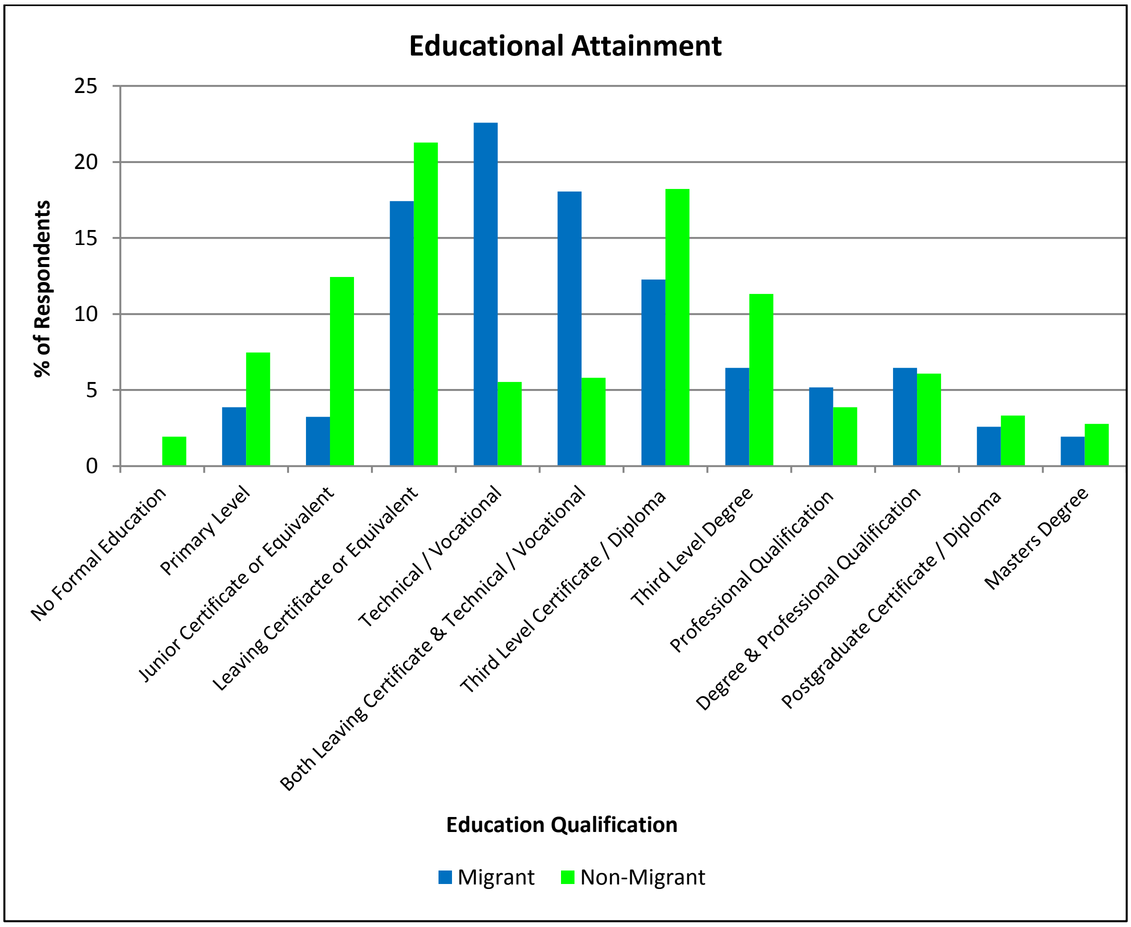


The level of education attainment has a profound role in determining the level of entry into the labour market. A significant proportion of respondents, both migrants and non-migrants have either upper secondary level or Third Level Certificate / Diploma qualifications (Figure 5.5). The sample is representative of both the migrant and non-migrant populations in respect of age[71] and gender[72]. However, there is a distinction in the type of qualifications held by migrants and non-migrants. Migrants have a more

[71] Migrants tend to be younger than non-migrants, with migrants being more likely to be in the working age categories than non-migrants. This is a typical age profile for economic migrants.
[72] The gender balance is broadly similar for both cohorts, with a 47:53 male – female ratio for migrants and a 50:50 male – female ratio for non-migrants.

technically orientated education than non-migrants, with a significantly higher proportion of migrants having either technical / vocational qualifications and / or having completed an upper secondary education alongside the technical / vocational qualifications. Non-migrants have a mixed educational profile, with significantly more having secured a minimal education qualification (Junior Certificate or lower) than migrants. However, non-migrants are more likely to have a Third Level education (Certificate, Diploma, and Degree) than migrants. The distinction does not arise for professional and / or Masters qualifications. The significant difference in the skillsets possessed by migrants and non-migrants ultimately leads to segregation within the labour market. This segregation leads to a higher concentration of low-skilled and low-enumerated employment amongst economic migrants resident in Co. Monaghan.

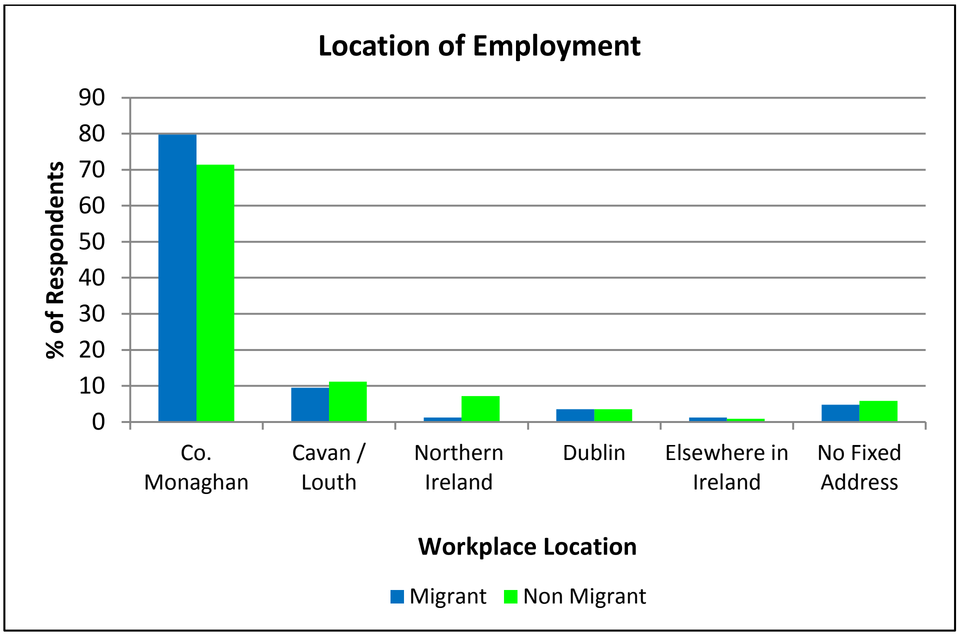
Figure 5.5: Education Attainments of Migrants and Non-Migrants in Co. Monaghan



5.3.3 Location of Employment

Migrants have been enticed to Co. Monaghan due to the availability of employment opportunities. The labour market within the county required additional labour due to the restructuring of the economic base and the unwillingness of members of the local population to engage in certain employment activities. This has led to a contrasting occupational profile between migrants and non-migrants. However, the location of employment for the two cohorts does not vary significantly. The vast majority of respondents have secured employment within close proximity to their place of residence, as 80% of migrants and 71% of non-migrants are working within Co. Monaghan (Figure 5.6). The higher number of migrants working within the county is not surprising as migrants typically seek a place of residence which is adjacent to their workplace. The other workplace locations are considerably lower, with the counties surrounding Co. Monaghan (including Northern Ireland) being the most frequent locations. The percentage of migrants (1.19%) working in Northern Ireland is significantly lower than non-migrants (7.14%). Furthermore, 3.5% of both migrants and non-migrants commute a considerable distance to Dublin. A small percentage of respondents (4.76% of migrants and 5.8% of non-migrants) have no fixed address with respect to their location of employment. Occupations which have no fixed address include construction workers and sales representatives.

Figure 5.6: Location of Employment for Migrants and Non-Migrants in Co. Monaghan



5.4 The Influence of Migrants within the Socio-Economic Restructuring of Rural Areas

The literature review has highlighted the divergent views amongst policymakers and academics with respect to the contribution provided by migrants to both the micro and macro economies. Overall, economic migrants have played a direct role in the socio-economic restructuring of Co. Monaghan. This can be demonstrated through: rural businesses providing specialist products and services orientated towards the migrant customer base; and through the spending power of migrants within the local community.

> *'Help retail trade in the town, but impact on local employment'* (Business Questionnaire No. 35).

However, there is a perception amongst a certain proportion of the indigenous population that migrants are not providing a stimulus or any significant contribution to the economy:

> '*They do not contribute to the local economy in any great extent' (*Business Questionnaire No. 16).

Examples provided by respondents with respect to the lack of economic contribution include the payment of remittances to family and friends abroad; migrants' not purchasing goods / services locally; perceived displacement of indigenous workers with migrant employees; and migrants' financial dependence on the state. Therefore, it is crucial to outline the empirical evidence gathered through the fieldwork, to highlight the extent of the economic contribution or otherwise provided by migrants, and to investigate if their presence is enabling a continuance and strengthening of the economic restructuring within Co. Monaghan.

All respondents to the business questionnaire were asked to identify the economic impact of migrants within their respective locality. The majority of business owners / managers believed migrants had/ have a positive impact on the local economy (Table 5.2). This was indicated through migrants purchasing local goods and services (21%) and migrants' strong work ethic (32%). During the economic boom, employers had difficulties filling job vacancies due to near full employment and migrants played a notable role in filling surplus job vacancies. This enabled the continuance of economic growth within the rural economy in Co. Monaghan. The onset of the economic downturn has resulted in a significant number of migrants becoming unemployed, and there is a degree of dissatisfaction amongst the indigenous population that migrants are in receipt of state benefits.

> *'Migrants filled a lot of employment vacancies during the boom years. Some are still in employment but a large number of them are collecting benefits which our country is less than able to pay at the present time*' (Household Questionnaire No. 86).

Table 5.2: Business Owners Perceptions towards the Economic Impact of Foreign Nationals in Co. Monaghan

Economic Impact	% of Respondents
Good business from foreign national customers	21
No trade or little trade from foreign national customers	13
Foreign national remittances	4
Foreign nationals are financially dependent on the state	9
Number of foreign national customers has been in decline	5
Foreign nationals have a good work ethic	32
Foreign nationals have a negative impact on local labour force	9
Other	7

N= 56.

5.4.1 Migrants' Spending Power

The large migrant population in Co. Monaghan, especially from Eastern Europe, has played an important role within the restructuring of the economic base. This is most evident in Co. Monaghan through the purchasing of goods and services orientated towards the migrant market. There is a general perception amongst business owners that the spending power of migrants is lower than the indigenous community and immigrants rely on migrant owned businesses / traders for the provision of goods and services. A business owner commented that:

> *'They* (foreign nationals) *would seem not to spend as much as Irish, tending to economise and use money within their own circle, although we do have one or two very good foreign national customers'* (Business Questionnaire No. 65).

Historically, remittances from Irish emigrants would have provided a positive contribution to the rural economy in Ireland. However, there is now a role reversal as foreign born migrants are perceived to be sending income earned in rural Ireland to relatives in their respective homelands, thereby having a negative impact on the local economy. There is no awareness amongst any interviewees or respondents to the household and business questionnaires of the previous historical importance of remittances to the Irish rural economy. As one business owner stated:

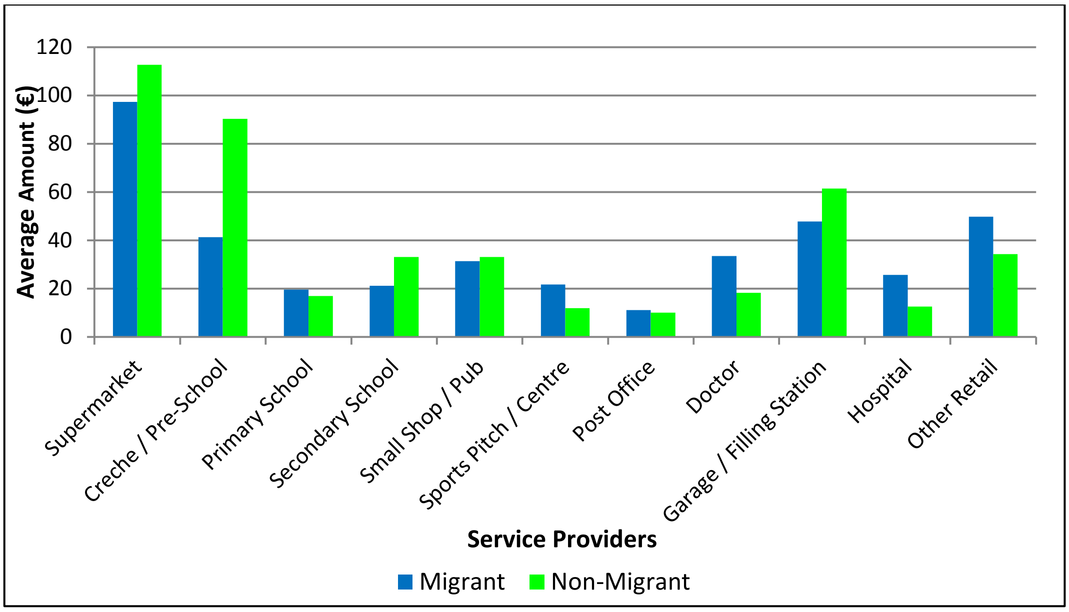
> *'Immigration has some effect in boosting retail and associated trades although a proportion of money earned will be transferred to be spent in foreign economies'* (Business Questionnaire No. 72).

Data was sought through the household questionnaire on the spending power of households on services (Figure 5.7) and to ascertain the distance (Figure 5.8) travelled by householders to access these services. Migrants typically spend less money on goods and services than non-migrants, with the exception of sports and recreation; medical services[73]; and other retail. Even though migrants generally spend less, the monetary difference between the two cohorts is insignificant with the exception of crèche / preschool services. The highest amounts of money are spent at supermarkets and garages / filling stations by both migrants and non-migrants. The high expenditure at garages / filling stations indicates a strong reliance on private car ownership. This is not surprising as Monaghan is primarily a rural county, with limited public transportation services.

A significant proportion of migrants and non-migrants in Co. Monaghan usually obtain a wide range of household and recreational services, where possible, within close proximity to their residence. Furthermore, there is no difference with respect to the distances travelled by migrants and non-migrants (Figure 5.6). The majority of services are accessed within a distance of 10Km from the household. All householders have to travel longer distances in order to access hospital and other retail services. Economic migrants are stimulating economic activity within Co. Monaghan through their spending power within the local community. The large economic migrant population is sustaining local employment within retail outlets. Furthermore, the utilisation of services (medical, education) enables their retention within the local community.

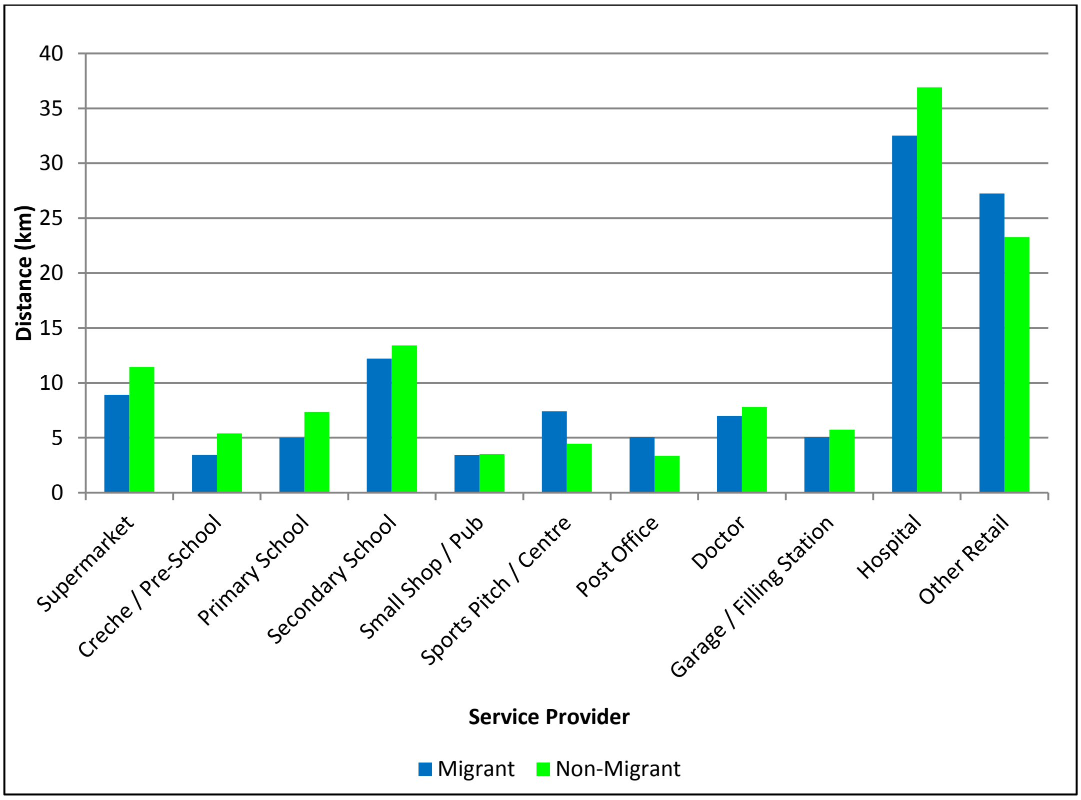
[73] Possible reasons for migrants spending less on medical care include: a higher proportion having medical cards as a higher proportion of migrants are unemployed in comparison to non-migrants; and migrants have a younger age profile in comparison to non-migrants, thereby reducing the risk of becoming ill.

Figure 5.7: Average Amount of Money (€) Spent Weekly on Services in Co. Monaghan



Amount spent in primary school: p = 0.89, Cramer's V = .247
Amount spent in garage / filling station: p = .003, Cramer's V = .400
Amount spent in other retail: p = .082, Cramer's V = .323

Figure 5.8: Average Distance (Km) Travelled to Service Providers in Co. Monaghan

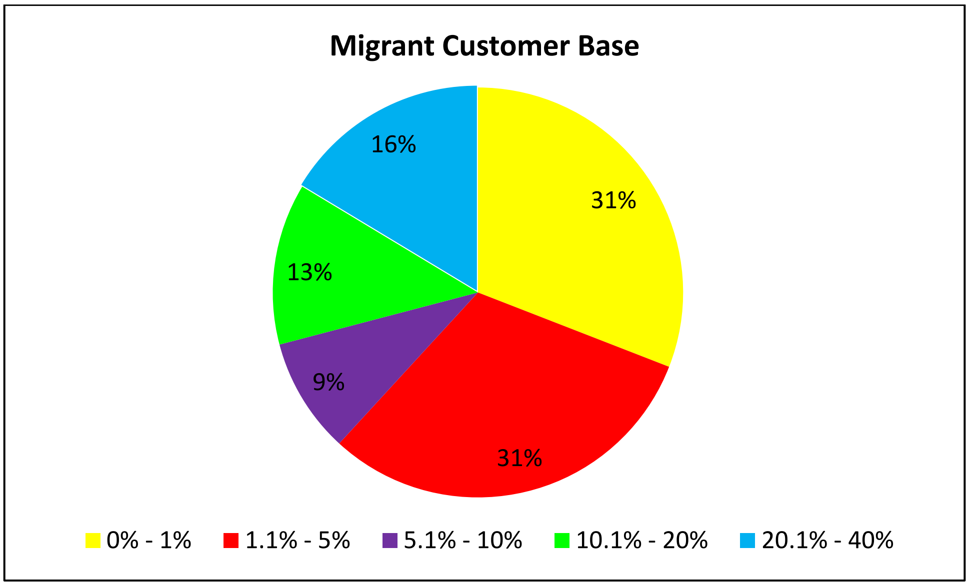


Distance to recreational centre / sports pitch: p = 0.031; Cramer's V = 0.429
Distance to post office: p = 0.059, Cramer's V = 0.453
Distance to doctor's surgery: p = 0.104, Cramer's V = 0.539
Distance to other retail: p = 0.131, Cramer's V = 0.605

5.4.2 Migrant Customer Base

Even though migrants purchase goods and services locally, there is a remarkable variation with respect to the retail outlets selected by migrant customers. Approximately a third of businesses surveyed reported that have very few or no migrant customers (Figure 5.9). A further 31% of businesses have a 1.1% and 5% migrant customer base. Interestingly, migrants account for between 20.1% and 40% of weekly customers in 16% of businesses in Co. Monaghan. Price considerations and availability of migrant orientated products are the key reasons for the uneven distribution of the migrant customer base amongst businesses. However, migrants constitute a sizeable proportion of the customer base for specific retail outlets. By stimulating the services sector, migrants are actively enabling the economic restructuring of rural areas in Co. Monaghan.

Figure 5.9: Percentage of Migrant Weekly Customers in Retail Outlets within Co. Monaghan



5.4.3 Availability of Migrant Orientated Products and Services

A small proportion (21%) of businesses in Co. Monaghan merchandise products and / or services specifically orientated towards the migrant customer base (Figure 5.10). The outlets that provide these products / services are more likely to have a higher migrant customer base. Figure 5.11 outlines the type of products and services provided by businesses that cater for the specific requirements of the migrant customer. A quarter of retail outlets sell at least one East European grocery product. In many instances, the larger supermarkets have an entire section of the shop allocated to East European food and beverage products. A further 25% of businesses stock language dictionaries catering for East European languages. Translation services are offered by 17% of businesses to migrant customers. Other migrant-orientated products and services provided by businesses in Co. Monaghan include:

- Mobile phone top-up cards for global calls
- Floral bouquets for special occasions (Ladies Day 18 March)
- Graphic signage in several East European languages for migrant customers.
- Referral / consultation service.

Figure 5.10: Provision of Products / Services by Retail Outlets for Migrant Customers in Co. Monaghan

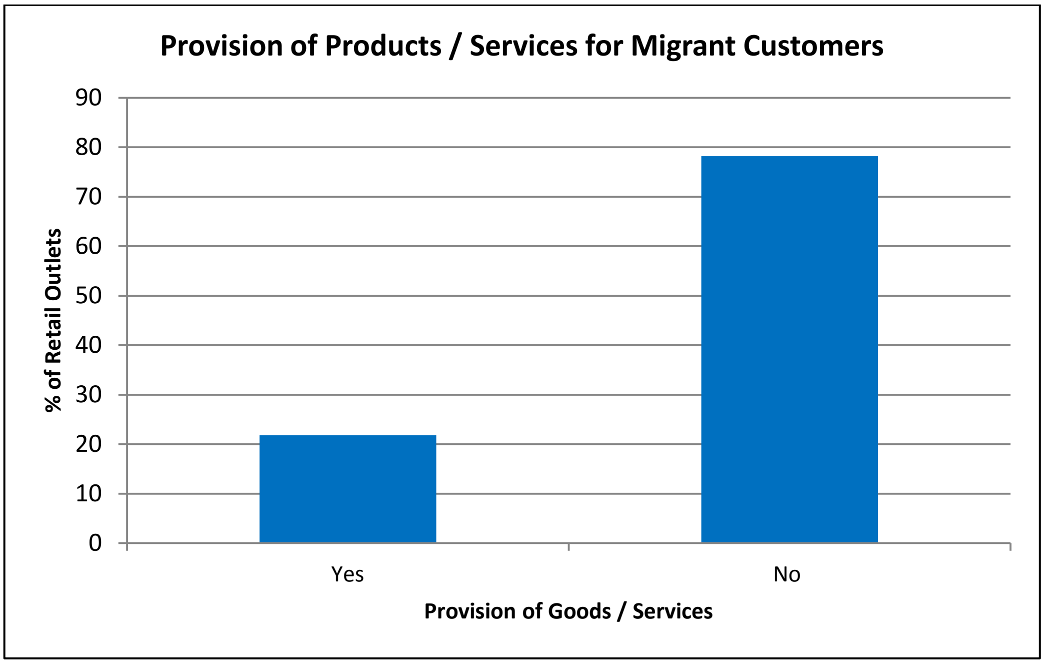
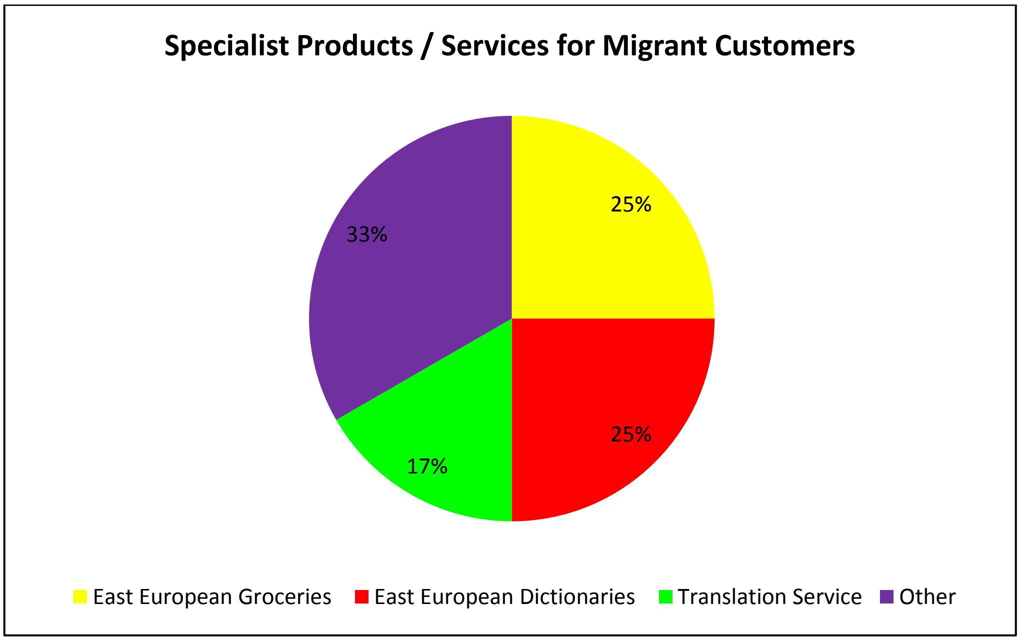


Figure 5.11: Specialist Products / Services Provided by Retail Outlets for Migrant Customers in Co. Monaghan

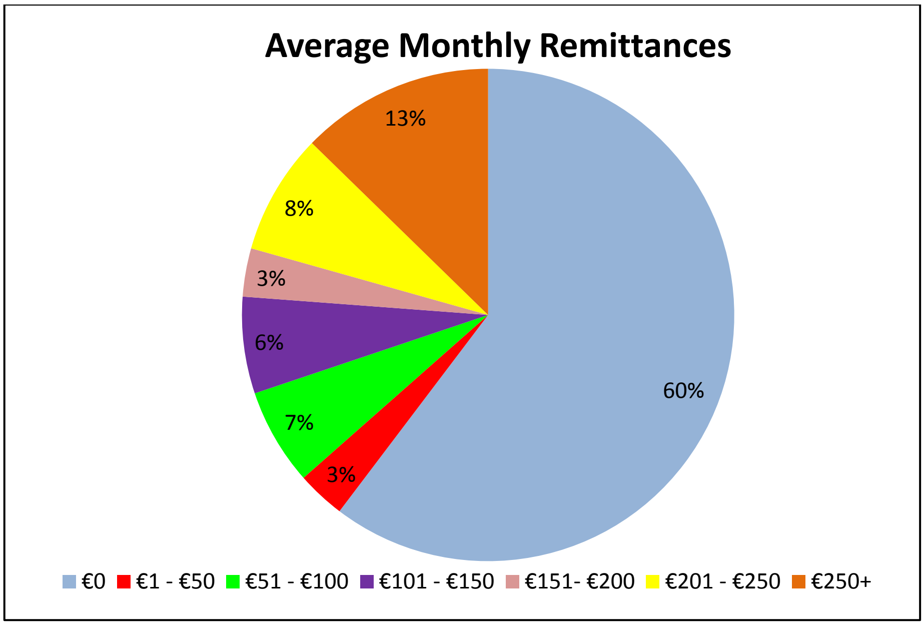


5.4.4 Remittances

Remittances[74] have a negative effect on the sending economy as there is less money available for migrants to spend on local goods and services, thereby having an adverse indirect effect on job generation. However, these effects do not appear to be significant in Co. Monaghan due to the majority of migrants sending either no remittances or relatively low amounts of money to their respective homeland. A very large percentage of migrants (60%) do not send any remittances and a further 10% of migrants send remittances ranging between €1 and €100 on average per month (Figure 5.12). However, a significantly smaller percentage of migrants (13%) spend over €250 per month on remittances.

[74] All migrant respondents of the household questionnaire had to identify the average amount of money sent abroad to relatives or friends on a monthly basis.

Figure 5.12: Average Monthly Remittances by Migrants in Co. Monaghan



5.5 Labour Market Multiplier Effect

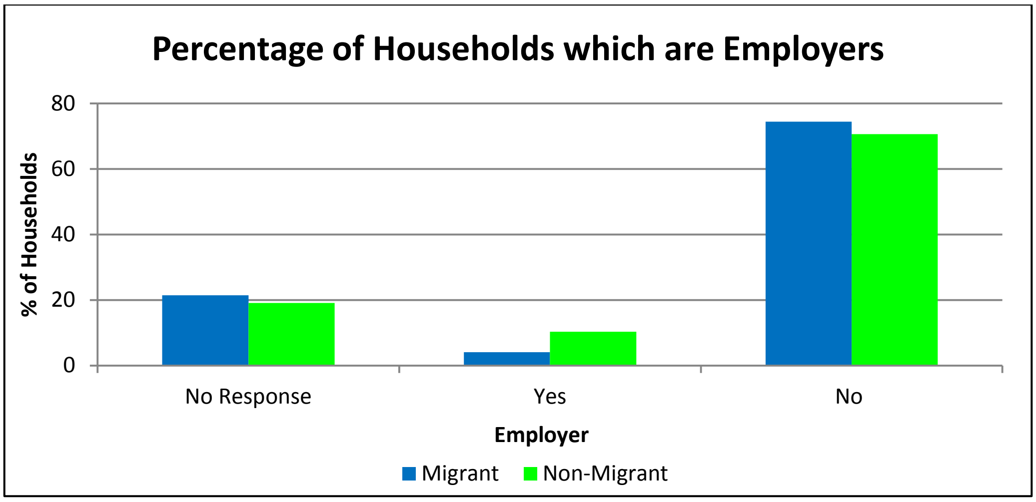
The existence of a labour market multiplier effect associated with net in-migration would have very positive implications for the local rural economy in Co Monaghan. The existence of net-employment generation would stimulate the local economy through additional demand for goods and services. This direct multiplier effect can be measured through comparing the number of individuals employed by migrant and non-migrant households; and calculating the number of self-employed migrants. Furthermore, Co. Monaghan is reputed to be an entrepreneurial county, with a 'can-do' attitude and it is important to decipher whether the level of entrepreneurial supports available for new and existing companies by statutory and non-statutory agencies has played a role in stimulating entrepreneurship. Household questionnaires and semi-structured interviews were utilised to quantify and determine the existence of labour market multiplier effects of net in-migration.

All respondents of the household questionnaire were required to state whether any member of the household (including the respondent) is an employer and if so, to state the number of persons employed by the member(s) of the household. This question sought to determine the labour market multiplier effect of net in-migration within rural Monaghan. In total, 74.5% and 71% of migrant and non-migrant households did not employ anyone. The percentage of households occupied by at least one employer (Figure 5.13) is 10.3 % for non-migrant households, whilst it is considerably less (4%) for migrant households[75]. In absolute terms, migrant households collectively employ 16 individuals in contrast to 114 individuals for non-migrant households surveyed (Figure 5.14). Therefore, the direct jobs multiplier effect for migrant households is 0.16 whilst non-migrant households recorded a higher job generation multiplier effect of 0.59. This equates to:

- 16 direct jobs being generated for every 100 migrant households.
- 59 direct jobs being generated for every 100 non-migrant households.

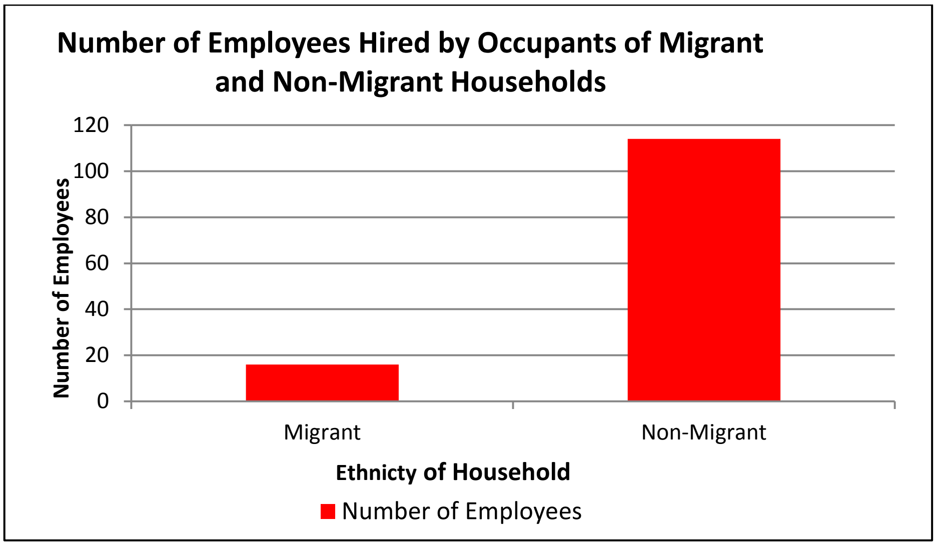
Hence, there are minimal labour market (job generation) multiplier effects associated with net in-migration to Co. Monaghan. This scenario could be possibly explained by the employment status of migrants and non-migrants; education attainment levels; and the availability of entrepreneurial supports.

Figure 5.13: Percentage of Households Occupied by at Least 1 Employer in Co. Monaghan



[75] In total, 292 household questionnaires were completed in Co. Monaghan.

Figure 5.14: Number of Employees Hired by Entrepreneurial Households in Co. Monaghan



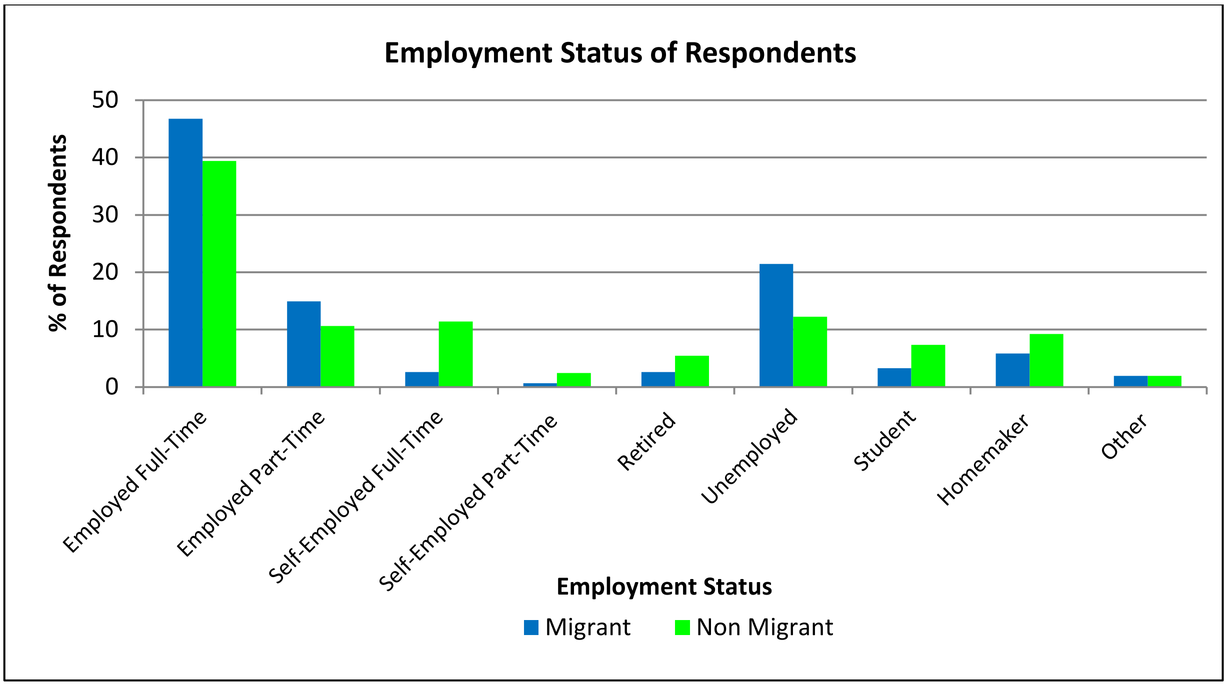
5.5.1 Employment Status

The employment status of migrants differs considerably from that of non-migrants in Co. Monaghan. The percentage of both full-time and part-time employees is higher for the migrant population, whilst the percentage of both full-time and part-time self-employed migrants is substantially lower than the non-migrant cohort (Figure 5.15). Therefore, migrants residing in Co. Monaghan are more likely to be employees than entrepreneurs. The percentage of unemployed persons is considerably above the national average for both groups, with a marked difference between migrants (21.42%) and non-migrants (12.22%). It appears migrants are faring more negatively than non-migrants with respect to maintaining and / or securing employment during the current economic downturn. A representative from a community organisation stated that state sponsored employment interventions are having little impact in enabling unemployed migrants regain access into the labour market:

> *'We would have a good number of foreign nationals particularly East European on various community employment schemes and we find that it is difficult enough to find them employment'* (Interviewee No. 9).

The lower educational attainments and language skillsets amongst economic migrants residing in Co. Monaghan would negatively affect their employment status. This increases the likelihood of migrants being more socio-economically disadvantaged, thereby counteracting against any minimal job generation multiplier effect. However, the migrant population have a higher labour force participation rate[76] (86.34%) than non-migrants (76.11%). This difference is attributable to a higher concentration of retirees, homemakers and students amongst the non-migrant population.

Figure 5.15: Employment Status of Respondents in Co. Monaghan



5.5.2 Entrepreneurial Supports

The County Monaghan Enterprise Board is the principal agency tasked with supporting economic and entrepreneurial activity within Co Monaghan. The remit of this organisation also extends to enhancing the indigenous enterprise potential of the micro-business sector[77]. A wide range of entrepreneurial supports are provided by the Enterprise Board[78]. To date, the Co. Monaghan Enterprise Board has not provided a specific *Start Your Own Business* course for foreign nationals. However, one interviewee (migrant) has established a company that provides this training course to

[76] The labour force includes full-time and part-time employees; full-time and part-time self-employees; and unemployed.
[77] The Co. Monaghan Enterprise Board only assists companies with 10 or less employees.
[78] The services provided by the County Enterprise Board include: financial supports through business expansion grants; feasibility innovation grants; and priming grants; training courses – new entrepreneurs initially complete the Start Your Own Business programme and if desired, proceed onto courses in management development; sales / marketing; financial management; e-commerce; and IT skills; and mentoring service – small business entrepreneurs can gain practical one-to-one advice and guidance from experienced business owners (Monaghan County Enterprise Board, 2011).

migrants, and it is being offered through Cavan, Sligo and Roscommon County Enterprise Boards. This innovative course was well attended but it faced an initial challenge with respect to being:

> *'So unique at the time and a lot of people did not think it was appropriate, but we wanted to show that people coming over to Ireland were not coming only for social welfare but the majority of them have their own ideas'* (Interviewee No. 10).

The Cavan-Monaghan LEADER, a rural development agency situated in Ballyhaise, Co. Cavan administers the EU rural development programme. This programme[79] aims to diversify the rural economic base whilst improving the quality of life for rural dwellers. Monaghan Integrated Development Ltd., a local development company, provides assistance to unemployed persons who wish to become self-employed[80]. Other agencies which provide assistance to entrepreneurs include Enterprise Ireland; InterTrade Ireland; Monaghan Women in Business; Bord Bia; FÁS; and the Chambers of Commerce in Monaghan Town; Carrickmacross; and Castleblayney.

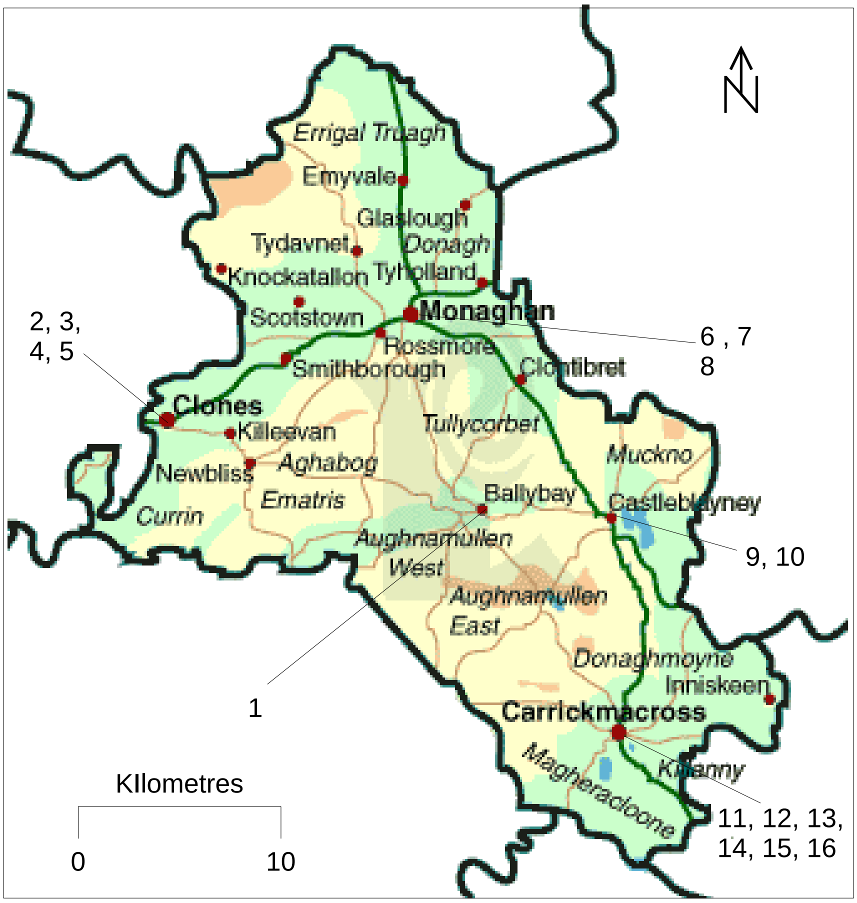
5.5.3 Migrant Businesses

Even though a small proportion of migrants are entrepreneurs, all participants of the semi-structured interviews were asked to identify the existence of any migrant owned business in Co. Monaghan. (Map 5.1). It has to be noted that interviewees also stated the existence of self-employed migrant construction contractors within the county, but the workplace location of construction workers tends to be very variable. Therefore, Map 5.1 spatially illustrates the location of migrant owned businesses on the streetscapes of the principal settlements within the county. A high proportion of the migrant owned businesses tend to cater for the migrant orientated market. Examples include East European food shops (Photograph 5.1) and interpreter services.

[79] The Rural Development Programme (LEADER) provides financial assistance under seven different measures including: diversification into non-agricultural activities; support for business creation and development; encouragement of tourism activities; basic services for the economy and rural population; village and countryside renewal and development; conservation and upgrading of rural heritage; and training and information. The grant aid for private projects is allocated at 'a maximum rate of 50% to a maximum of €150,000 and a maximum of 75% to a maximum of €30,000 for Analysis and Development projects. In the support for Business Creation and Development Measure, analysis and development support is available at a maximum rate of 60% to a maximum of €30,000' (Cavan-Monaghan LEADER Funding Availability Pamphlet).

[80] Financial assistance is offered through the Back to Work Enterprise Allowance and Short Term Enterprise Allowance schemes. All recipients of these allowances' are eligible to participate in training workshops and mentoring programmes offered by Monaghan Integrated Development Ltd. through the Small Business Support Service.

Map 5.1: Migrant Owned Businesses in Co. Monaghan



Key	
1 Turkish Barber	9 Golden Translation Service
2 Grocery Shop	10 Lithuanian Café
3 Garage	11 Santaka East European Shop
4 PR / Marketing Firm	12 Asian Food Shop
5 Culture Link Ltd.	13 Ozzy’s Barber
6 Raduga Beauty and Hair Salon	14 Beauty Parlour
7 Sodzius East European Shop	15 Latvian Lingerie Shop
8 Inga Hair Salon	16 Malibu Tanning Salon

Photograph 5.1: East European Food Shop in Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan

In addition to the migrant owned businesses (as identified in Map 5.1), Lituanica supermarkets are located in Castleblayney (Photograph 5.2), Monaghan Town and Carrickmacross. This supermarket chain specialises in East European produce, with 20 retail and 2 wholesale stores[81] located in Ireland, specifically at locations with a high population of Lithuanian nationals. The Lituanica chain was founded in Dublin in 2001. In 2003, this company expanded into the UK market and currently, it has 10 retail shops and 1 wholesale store located primarily in South-East England. Lituanica imports produce from Lithuania, Poland, Russia, Latvia, Estonia, the Czech Republic and Moldova (Lituanica, 2013). Furthermore, each town in Co. Monaghan has ethnic take-away restaurants (Photographs 5.3 & 5.4), with Chinese restaurants being the most predominant.

[81] Lituanica wholesale business specialises in the sale of meat, bread, dairy products, confectionary, tea coffee, soft drinks and alcoholic beverages to national retail stores. Examples include Dunnes Stores, Lidl Ireland, Spar, Londis and several off-licence chains including O'Brien's Wines, Next Door and The Carry Out (Lituanica, 2013).

Photograph 5.2: Lituanica Grocery Shop, Castleblayney, Co. Monaghan

Photographs 5.3 & 5.4: Takeaway Restaurants (La Traviara, Castleblayney & Chinese Restaurant, Clones)

One serious challenge that hinders the establishment of migrant owned businesses is a lack of proficiency in the English language. According to one interviewee from a rural development agency, this deficit in communication skills was the principal reason for the lack of migrant entrepreneurs within Co. Monaghan:

> *'A number of them (foreign nationals) expressed an interest in starting up their own business but you could see straight away, I don't know how they were going to communicate with people, because the rule with business is that you have to be a good communicator. A lot of them are not at that level yet'* (Interviewee No. 11).

However, the vast majority of migrant owned businesses currently trading in Co. Monaghan possibly do not face this challenge due to catering for a predominantly migrant customer base. Migrants may also face difficulties with regard to a lack of knowledge of the legal rules and procedures of establishing and operating a business in Ireland.

5.6 Integration of Migrant and Non-Migrant Communities

In response to the significant inward migration of economic migrants from Eastern Europe; the existence of an asylum centre; and an UN sponsored resettlement programme of Congolese refugees, various statutory and non-statutory agencies in Co. Monaghan have designed and developed integration initiatives to forge better community relations between the host and newcomer communities. These integration initiatives have benefited from significant funding through the PEACE III[82] programme (administered by Pobal in Ireland). At a county level, this programme is overseen by the County Monaghan Peace and Reconciliation Partnership, with Monaghan County Council, Monaghan Integrated Development Ltd., Cavan & Monaghan Education Training Board, Monaghan Community Forum and Monaghan Community Network being the principal members/ stakeholders. The County Monaghan Peace and Reconciliation Partnership (2010, p.4) seeks to '*build positive relations at a local level*' between different religious and ethnic communities, thereby enabling a 'shared society' or cohesive / integrative society to flourish (This is a key priority area of the PEACE III programme (Special EU Programmes Body, 2011)). The overall vision of the partnership is to make Monaghan '*an inclusive, outward looking progressive county which enjoys a diverse vibrant economy, a sustainable environment and a high quality of life for all*' (County Monaghan Peace and Reconciliation Partnership, 2008, p.7). In order to achieve this mission statement, migrant orientated integration projects have been implemented throughout the Co. Monaghan due to a lack of social interaction between migrants and non-migrants; and to combat against loneliness / isolation experienced by migrants. One interviewee stated:

> *'You come to Ireland and you feel isolated, very lonely, start of depression, this is why social activities are so important… We like to integrate all different communities but our East European people just miss our own culture, miss our traditions, miss our community, miss our food'* (Interviewee No. 12).

[82] The PEACE III programme is the EU Programme for Peace and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland. It is funded through EU Structural Funds and contributions from the Irish and British governments.

Even though significant funding has been allocated to integration initiatives, various viewpoints exist on whether migrants have integrated successfully into the social, cultural and economic spheres of community life within the county. Both migrants and non-migrants were invited to express their opinions in the household questionnaire regarding the impact of migration within their community. This question allowed for an open-ended response, whereby respondents could express their personal attitudes towards the socio-economic impacts of immigration within Co. Monaghan. It was necessary to categorise the personal responses / attitudes of respondents with respect to showing either a positive, negative or ambiguous attitude towards migrants (Figure 5.16). Figure 5.16 shows a divergence of opinions towards immigration, with non-migrants being more opposed to immigration than non-migrants. The majority of responses were also categorised thematically, with respondents making reference to the economic; social integration; or linguistic / cultural impacts of immigration within their respective communities (Figure 5.17). The majority of migrant and non-migrant respondents believed immigration has impacted their community through either economics or social integration (Figure 5.17).

Interestingly, a significant proportion of migrants and non-migrants expressed a degree of in-difference as suggested by the relatively high proportion of ambiguous / neutral opinions. Examples of negative comments from non-migrant respondents could be categorised as stereotypical / prejudicial: '*No proper checks on people coming into area / county. Too many hand-outs (social welfare, accommodation)*' (Household Questionnaire no. 42); overtly racist: *'young people can't get work. Many migrants in this county but no work for our own people'* (Household Questionnaire no. 68); and observational: '*Large numbers of Lithuanians who don't mix with locals have moved into the area. Availability of rented properties adversely effected – high demand, low supply'* (Household Questionnaire no. 18). In contrast, some migrants were critical of the host community's lack of interest in fostering a cohesive / shared society: '*There are different cultures in this locality. I suggest that the local community could do more to bring these cultures together'* (Household Questionnaire no. 246); and cost of rental accommodation '*Constantly increasing rent due to large immigrant population*' (Household Questionnaire no. 8). Furthermore, one migrant outlined vividly the barriers faced by a migrant who originated from outside the EU:

'I would like to work in this country. I have qualifications in accountancy but because I do not have a work permit, I cannot find a job. I cannot look forward to the future' (Household Questionnaire no. 270).

Figure 5.16: Attitudes of Migrants and Non-Migrants Towards Immigrants

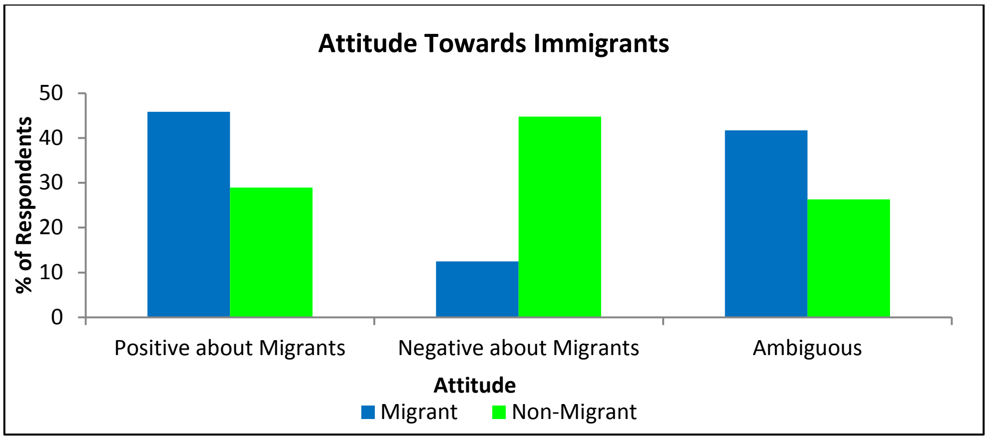
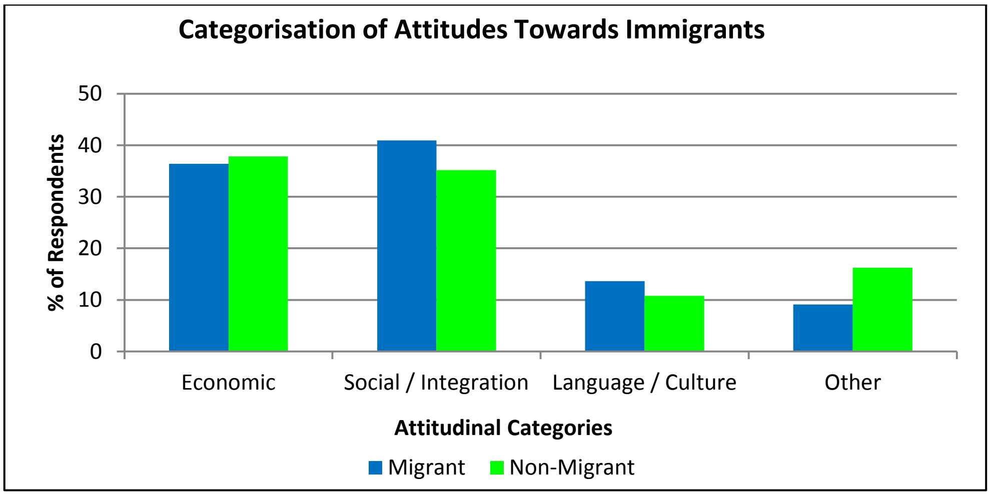


Figure 5.17: Categorisation of Attitudes Towards Immigrants



A number of migrant respondents to the household questionnaire mentioned the friendliness of the local community:

'People are friendly – better than Latvia' (Household Questionnaire no. 274).

'People are friendly here and I would say new residents have the same opportunities as the Irish' (Household Questionnaire no. 275).

'Very good and warm people – I and my two sons are satisfied with everything here' (Household Questionnaire no. 278).

These sentiments are also clearly expressed by Sintija Pirite (2008) in *Ireland – A Multicultural Landscape*, in which she states:

> *'When you get to know people in Monaghan, they open up to you and are very nice, and welcome you in their homes and visit your home as well, that's what we Latvians do we visit each other at home'* (Pirite, 2008, p. 51).

However, a Slovak respondent felt very lonely and isolated living in Co. Monaghan due to the absence of a Slovak community. This person's response indicates a degree of polarisation between the migrant and non-migrant communities; and even amongst the migrant population:

> *'No Slovak friends and very few contacts in the area. There is a very small Slovak community in Co. Monaghan'* (Household Questionnaire no. 88).

Likewise, a wide spectrum of comments, ranging from positive to negative, were discerned from the indigenous population with regard to integration of foreign nationals into the host communities. The positive responses advocate the virtues of creating an inclusive society, insofar as it provides migrants with a better standard of living and the development of a more tolerant society. This sentiment was reflected by a non-migrant household respondent:

> *'Migration for me has had a positive impact on this locality. It makes our culture more diverse and gives immigrants the opportunity to live happy, more peaceful and safe life'* (Household Questionnaire no. 40).

Another non-migrant household questionnaire respondent acknowledged the importance of immigration in fostering a more egalitarian society:

> *'Very good for children / adolescents to grow aware of other nationalities and to be aware of all races / nationalities being equal'* (Household Questionnaire no. 244).

However, a significant number of Irish household questionnaire respondents showed a degree of apprehension in their comments towards immigration. The disconcertedness centred on the belief that migrants were not integrating into the local community. This was expressed through the physical segregation of migrant and non-migrants with respect to the location of residence. The previous chapter outlined the tendency for migrants, particularly from Eastern Europe, to reside in private rented accommodation within housing developments built during the Celtic Tiger boom. Consequently, this has led to an uneven distribution of migrants within towns and villages across Co.

Monaghan. Additionally, migrants who have recently arrived into the county, have a tendency to reside in close proximity to family and friends (if possible). This chain migration phenomenon results in a higher than average concentration of migrants at a specific location. As one respondent stated:

> *'It appears that non-nationals are still coming to Ireland. This causes a sense of division in neighbourhood where Irish / East European reside. Despite not being racist, there is a tendency for Irish and foreign nationals to segregate themselves. This creates an unfriendly atmosphere. Since I moved here 3 years ago, the number of non-nationals living in this estate has increased'* (Household Questionnaire no. 36).

Furthermore, another respondent acknowledged the social difficulties posed by significant immigration into one particular location:

> *'The estate in which I live has 14 detached houses. 12 of these properties have families not from the area. We are very much an estate of strangers, making it harder to settle into the community'* (Household Questionnaire no. 68).

It was also asserted that migrants do not frequent local amenities / facilities or utilise local services. This has a polarising effect on social relations within the community. One respondent stated that:

> *'Many people who have recently moved to area do not participate in village life. They do not attend churches or schools in area'* (Household Questionnaire no. 180).

This negative comment seems extreme as evidence suggests from this study that migrant children are attending local schools and utilising other local services. Migrants also faced criticism from non-migrant respondents with respect to being heavily dependent on social welfare payments. This prejudicial perception is creating a degree of animosity between migrants and non-migrants, with the responses of Irish respondents being rather hostile towards unemployed migrants. As one household questionnaire respondent commented:

> *'Migrants filled a lot of employment vacancies during the boom years. Some are still in employment but a large number of them are collecting benefits which our country is less than able to pay at the present time'* (Household Questionnaire no. 85).

The following comment from a non-migrant household also vividly describes discriminatory and stereotypical attitudes towards immigrants:

> *'All the young people are leaving because there are no jobs. Where is the work for all the foreign nationals? If none, why come to this country? Welfare!!* (Household Questionnaire no. 219).

In response to the lack of interaction and engagement between migrants and non-migrants, numerous statutory and non-statutory organisations and community groups have developed integration programmes. There are two community groups (Lithuanian Community of Monaghan and Blayney Blades International[83]) whose remit revolves around economic migrants. In recent years, Drumlin CDP and Monaghan Family Resource Centre have assisted migrants through the organisation of cultural activities and by providing advice on employment, housing and social welfare rights and entitlements. The local integrated development company, Monaghan Integrated Development initiated the 'Integration of New Communities' project whereby migrants in Co. Monaghan could engage in cultural diversity promotional activities.

The diversity awareness-raising activities organised through the various community and voluntary bodies include:

- The celebration of East European religious feast days (particularly St. Joniné's Day on 21 June)
- Intercultural schools games at GAA matches
- A countywide poster campaign
- Religious & Multicultural Diversity awareness training
- Christmas banner campaigns in Castleblayney
- Pitch and putt matches in Inniskeen
- The participation of *Lithuanian Community of Monaghan* choir / dancers at festivals / social gatherings
- The participation of migrant groups in St. Patrick's Day parades.
- Networking trips incorporating visits to food, enterprise and heritage sites.
- Library workshops exploring migrants' experiences of living in Co. Monaghan.
- Intercultural mural painting
- Anti-racism and diversity workshops.
- Establishment of Lithuanian Saturday Schools

These activities have been successful in highlighting the cultural diversity of Co. Monaghan. Furthermore, Monaghan Integrated Development (previously known as

[83] Blayney Blades International is based at the Iontas Centre, Castleblayney, Co. Monaghan. The board of this organisation is comprised of migrant and non-migrant members.

County Monaghan Partnership) produced a booklet entitled *Living in County Monaghan: A Guide for Members of New Communities*. This pamphlet provides information about rights, entitlements and responsibilities, and contact information for relevant service providers within Co. Monaghan (County Monaghan Partnership, 2008). However, all of the community organisations have raised financial concerns with regard to funding integration and multicultural activities into the future. The economic downturn has placed financial constraints on statutory agencies to fund community sponsored integration initiatives. Furthermore, the PEACE III sponsored integration initiatives in Co. Monaghan – *Integration of New Communities* and *Challenge of Change* – have short term non-renewable funding. Therefore, integration projects revolving around migrants are inhibited by financial insecurity.

In recent years, Monaghan County Council has adopted a series of initiatives and policies with regard to immigrants. The Social Inclusion Unit was formed in 2008 to enable socially excluded groups (migrants, elderly, people with disabilities, early school leavers) gain access to services and information provided by the local authority more easily (Monaghan County Council, 2008). The Social Inclusion Unit sought to help migrants by publishing multi-lingual brochures outlining the various services and facilities available in Co. Monaghan (Monaghan County Development Board, 2010). However, the Social Inclusion Unit has ceased to function since May 2011. The library service[84] has catered for migrants by stocking books written in East European languages and by organising a series of workshops in which migrants shared their personal experiences of living in Co. Monaghan.

The Motor Tax Office also provides information on its services in various different languages. The County Council has also tried to spearhead the social integration of economic migrants through the through the arts office by hosting exhibitions by artists from the home countries of immigrants (Monaghan County Council, 2008). Overall, migrants were content with living in Co. Monaghan as they had integrated into the employment and educational sphere of community life, but the social and recreational spheres remained an obstacle. This sentiment was expressed by one interviewee:

> *'On the whole, there experience was quite positive, but they didn't feel there were opportunities to engage in social and cultural activities in the county.*

[84] There are over 70 nationalities registered with the library service in Co. Monaghan.

Education and employment opportunities were readily available' (Interviewee No. 52).

5.6.1 Education: English language

A lack of competency in the English language poses a significant barrier for foreign nationals with respect to integrating into the local community. According to one interviewee from a non-statutory organisation, a significant number of migrants living in Co. Monaghan for 5 to 6 years have limited English as a consequence of securing employment alongside fellow migrants. This resulted in East European languages being spoken in both the home and workplace. English conversation classes with native speakers from the local community were organised by a local rural partnership organisation as a means of enhancing the English language competency of the foreign national population in Co. Monaghan[85] (Monaghan Integrated Development, 2011). However, not all migrants could maintain a basic conversation as '*they could only string one or two English words together. So it became very difficult to build up relationships with the host communities'* (Interviewee No.1).

- 16 language classes were delivered as a means of integrating both the host and migrant communities at 10 different community locations (Map 5.2) over a 12 week period. The majority of the selected locations for the conversation classes had a high proportion of migrants in comparison to the national average.
- In total, 335 people from both the migrant and host communities participated in this integration initiative.

Monaghan VEC is the largest provider of ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) classes to non-native speakers in Co. Monaghan. The classes are held in the three principal towns of Monaghan, Castleblayney and Carrickmacross. These classes are highly appreciated by the migrant population as they allow for the interaction of various nationalities whilst learning vital English language skills. A migrant respondent to the household questionnaire stated that:

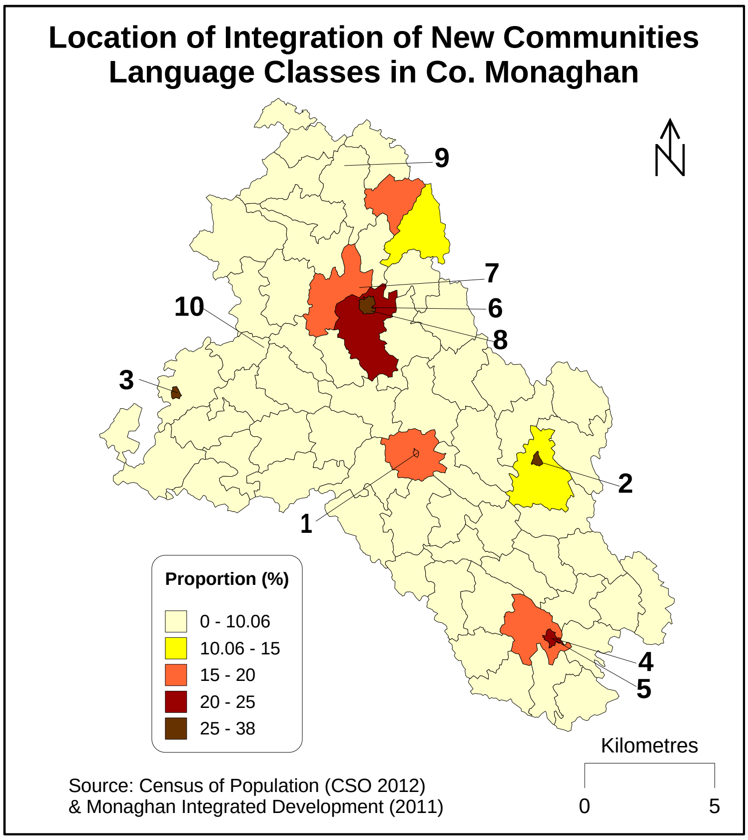
> *'In this town as in all Ireland, there are a lot of people of different nationalities and as a result the government has provided English language classes. They are very beneficial and one meets people from many countries'* (Household Questionnaire no. 254).

[85] The English conversation classes were funded through the PEACE III Programme.

The importance of securing a good standard of education was seen as a vital requirement for one respondent, thereby assisting the future employment prospects for her daughter:

> *'I can get a good education and improve my English. My daughter will have a good choice of professions. She will get a good education'* (Household Questionnaire no. 271).

Map 5.2: Spatial Analysis of Integration of New Communities (PEACE III Project) Language Classes in Co. Monaghan



Key	
1 Ballybay Wetlands Centre	6 Monaghan Methodist Church
2 Castleblayney Parish Centre	7 Mullaghmatt Family Resource Centre
3 Cassandra Hand Centre, Clones	8 Monaghan Elim Pentecostal
4 Carrickmacross Baptist Church	9 Lifelong Learning Centre, Truagh
5 St. Joseph's Carrickmacross	10 Smithborough Presbyterian Church

5.6.2 Education: Pre-School

The childcare and pre-school sectors within Co. Monaghan have acknowledged the changing ethnic profile of the county. A manger of a childcare facility in Co. Monaghan highlighted the extent of the change insofar as there were:

> *'No foreign national children were enrolled in 2010. However, this year (2011) a quarter of the places have been filled by foreign national children and it will be repeated again next year'* (Business Questionnaire no. 33).

In response to the increasing levels of multiculturalism within the childcare sector, an innovative anti-discrimination and equality training programme, *Play for All Diversity and Equality*, has been initiated by Monaghan Communities Parenting Together. This training programme was funded through the European Union Development Fund – PEACE III. The main purpose of this training programme was to introduce *'equality and diversity awareness to childcare staff and children in early childhood education from different backgrounds'*, thereby allowing for children to integrate more successfully into schools and within the community (Monaghan County Childcare Committee, 2010, p. 7). The *Play for All* training programme focused on equality, awareness, racism, sectarianism and prejudice issues.

- *Play for All Diversity and Equality* commenced in September 2010 and ceased in June 2011.
- In 2011, a total of 303 childcare workers have attended equality and diversity training workshops. This is inclusive of both pre-school staff and child-minders.
- 45 childcare services from Co. Monaghan were represented at the *Play for All* training workshops.
- The educational tools designed by Monaghan Communities Parenting Together include five ethnic dolls (representing India, Eastern Europe, Africa, China and Ireland) along with story boards outlining the important aspects of these cultures (Photograph 5.5)
- Childcare services in Co. Monaghan identified a need for a similar training programme for refugee, asylum seeker and non-Irish parents. A two hour diversity raising awareness training seminar was incorporated into the *Play for All* programme as a means of *'promoting the integration of immigrant parents into the Irish culture'* (Monaghan County Childcare Committee, 2011, p. 12).

- Currently, the Monaghan Childcare Committee is working in collaboration with Early Years Northern Ireland[86] with regards to the provision of Respecting Difference training workshops with 10 childcare service providers in Co. Monaghan. This project aims to promote positive attitudes to physical, social, cultural differences within contemporary society amongst children, parents and childcare personnel.

Photograph 5.5: Diversity and Equality Educational Tools developed by Monaghan Childcare Committee

(Source: Monaghan County Childcare Committee, 2011 p. 12)

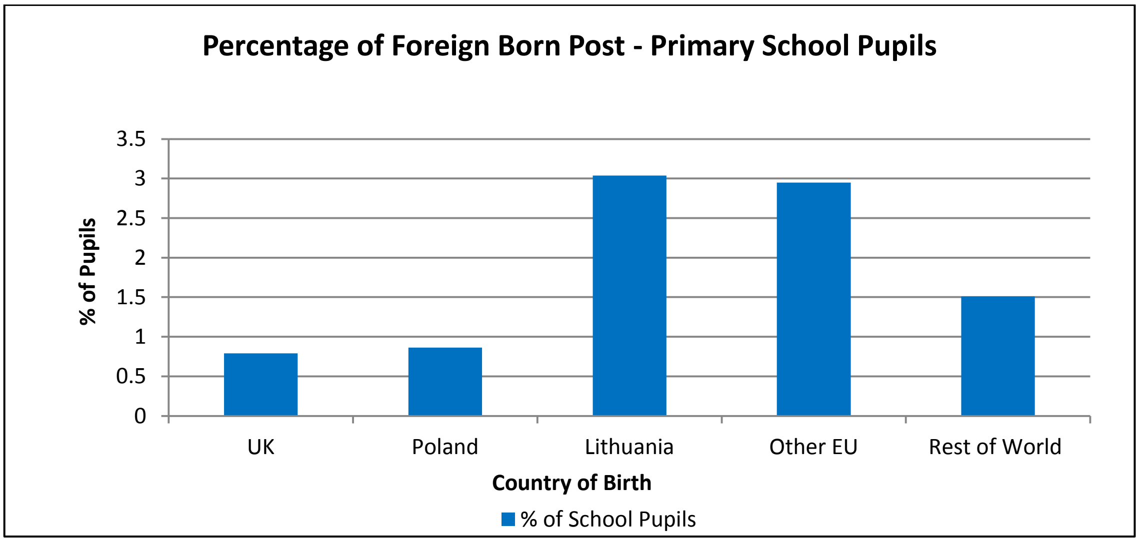
5.6.3 Education: Primary & Secondary School Education

The formal education system in Co. Monaghan, incorporating both primary and post-primary levels, has had to adjust to the inward flows of economic migrants. The most recent figures for the post-primary education sector indicate that approximately 10% of pupils were born outside of Ireland, with Lithuania (3%) being the most prominent location (Figure 5.18). However, the concentration of foreign born pupils varies substantially between secondary schools. For instance, in the 2009 / 2010 academic year, approximately 82% of pupils in Beech Hill, Monaghan Town were Irish born whilst the proportion was considerable higher (97%) in the Patrician High School, Carrickmacross and the Irish speaking Coláiste Oireall, Monaghan Town (Appendix 8). The additional new pupils into the education system have an indirect economic impact

[86] This is an organisation for children in Northern Ireland (formerly known as NIPPA).

due to the retention or creation of additional teaching posts. Furthermore, non-native English speakers have been provided with additional tuition through ESOL classes.

Figure 5.18: Percentage of Foreign Born Pupils Attending Post-Primary School in Co. Monaghan



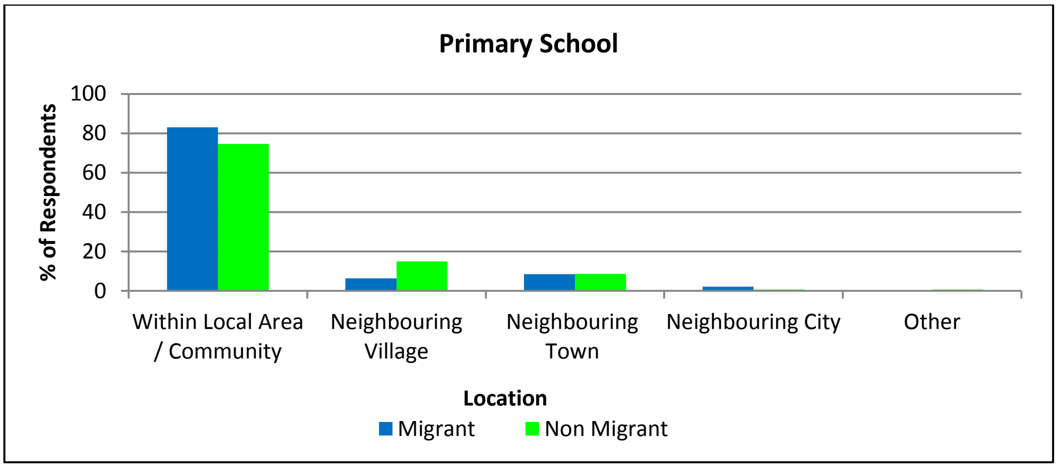
Source: Data for this figure has been collated from Appendix 4 in *Youth Work: Diversity Audit Co. Monaghan* (McCabe, et al., 2011, pp. 78 - 81)

Through the PEACE III initiative, various organisations co-ordinated projects which had an educational remit that specifically targeted migrant youth. Monaghan VEC devised the *You, Me & Diversity* toolkit. The purpose of this resource pack was to enable young people to *'work together, to develop communication skills, and to support inclusion'*, thereby addressing *'issues of identity, belonging, diversity, conflict, racism and sectarianism'* (Ryan, 2011, p. 1).

5.6.4 Access to Services

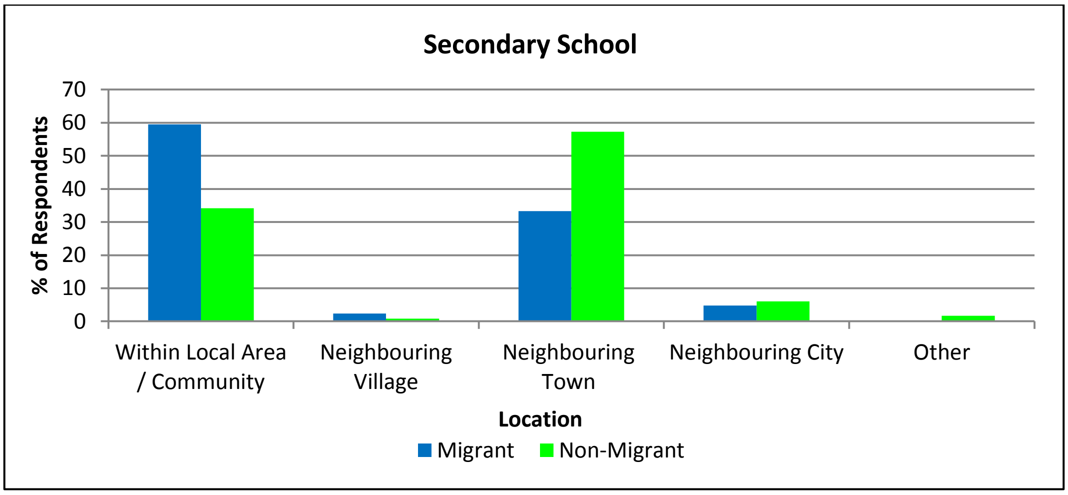
Migrants are making a valuable indirect contribution to the local economy through the purchase of local goods and services. By accessing goods and services within the local area / community, migrants are coming into regular contact with the indigenous population. This enables the forging of positive community relations between the two cohorts. Both migrants and non-migrants frequently acquire educational services within close proximity to their place of residence. For instance, the vast majority of primary school children are enrolled in a school within the locality (Figure 5.19). There is a subtle difference with respect to secondary school children as migrants are more likely to be enrolled in a post-primary school within the locality / community whilst non-migrant children go to a neighbouring town (Figure 5.20).

Figure 5.19: Location where Primary School is accessed in Co. Monaghan



Distance to primary school: p = .001, Cramer’s V = .296

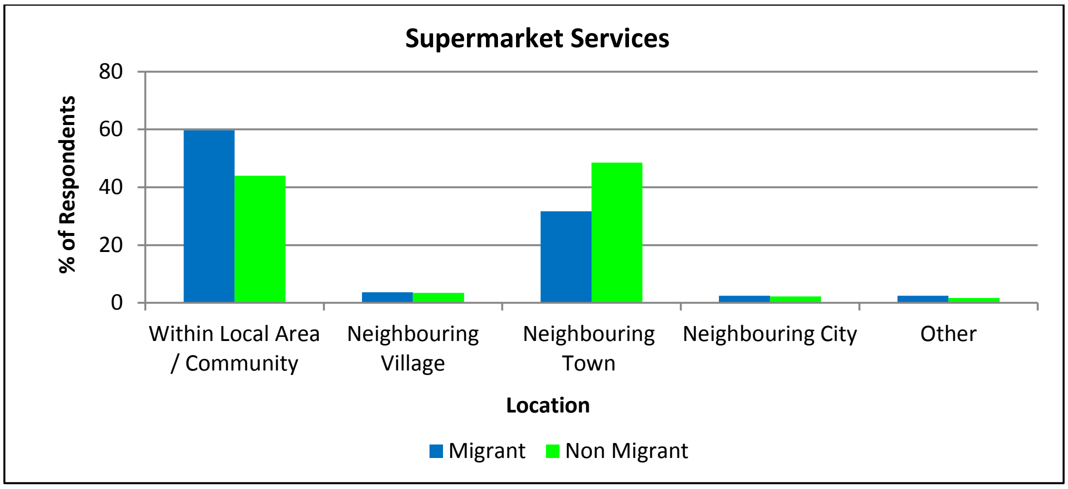
Figure 5.20: Location where Secondary School is accessed in Co. Monaghan



Distance to secondary school: p = <.1, Cramer’s V = .344

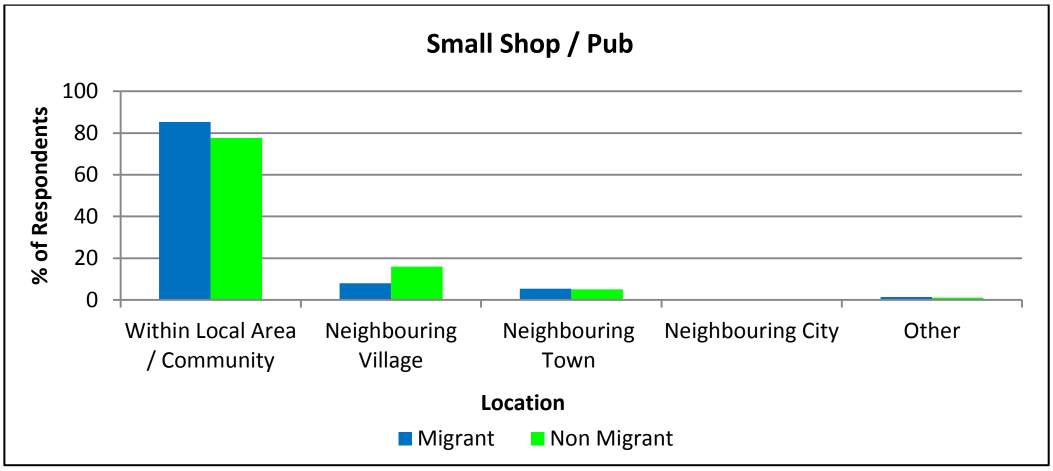
The local retail sector has benefited from the recent immigration into Co. Monaghan. Migrants are more likely to purchase goods in a supermarket within the locality / community than non-migrants. Non-migrants show a stronger preference to travel to supermarkets in neighbouring towns (Figure 5.21). This may include towns in Northern Ireland, where goods could be purchased at lower prices due to currency fluctuations. A very small minority purchase groceries in villages or cities. Consequently, the mean distance travelled by migrants (8.25Km) to the supermarket is shorter than non-migrants (11.31Km) However, both migrants and non-migrants show an overwhelming preference for accessing small shops / convenience stores and pubs within the local area or community (Figure 5.22), with the mean distance travelled by both cohorts being equal[87]. By accessing local retail outlets, employment is being generated within the community. Furthermore, the daily contact between migrants and non-migrants enables an awareness of and tolerance towards integration.

Figure 5.21: Location where Supermarket Services are accessed in Co. Monaghan



Distance to supermarket: p = .28, Cramer's V = .216

Figure 5.22: Location where Small Shop / Pub is accessed in Co. Monaghan



Distance to small shop / pub: p = .001, Cramer's V = .279

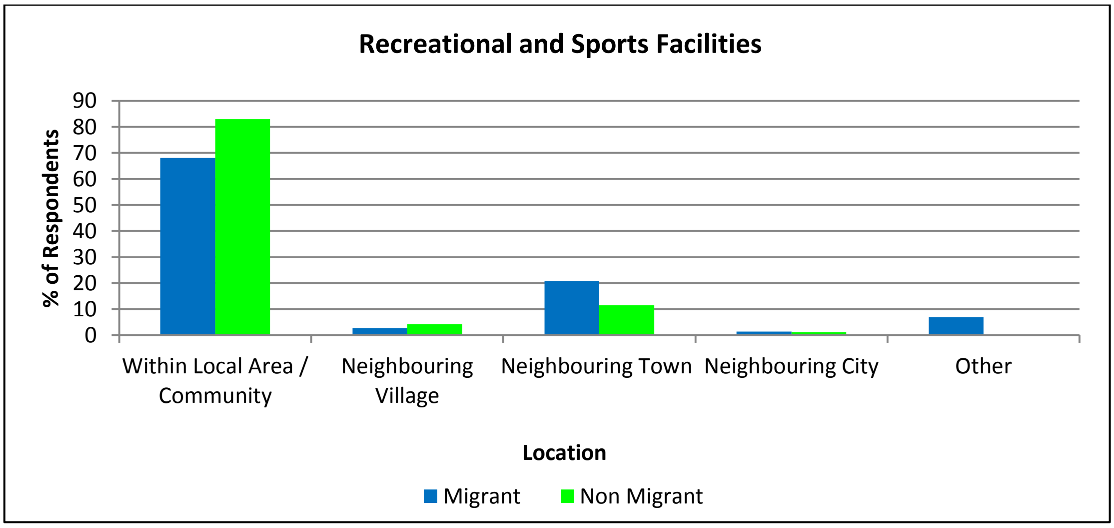
The participation of migrants in sporting and recreational activities is a key means by which migrants can integrate into the local community. A wide variety of sporting facilities is available throughout the county, including playing pitches, equestrian centres; leisure centres; swimming pools; golf / pitch and putt courses; and angling lakes. These facilities provide a stimulus for the local economy, through direct

[87] On average, migrants travel 3.48Km to access a small shop / pub whilst non-migrants travel 3.49Km

employment and indirectly through the sourcing of business services for the maintenance and / or operational costs of the facilities. An example includes the provision of multi-lingual signage displaying pike and coarse fishing bye-laws at specific locations throughout the county (Photograph 5.6)[88]. The majority of migrants and non-migrants utilise recreational / sports facilities in close proximity to their place of residence (Figure 5.23).

Photograph 5.6: Angling Bye-Laws Notice Board in Truagh, Co. Monaghan

Figure 5.23: Location where Recreational and Sports Facilities are accessed in Co. Monaghan



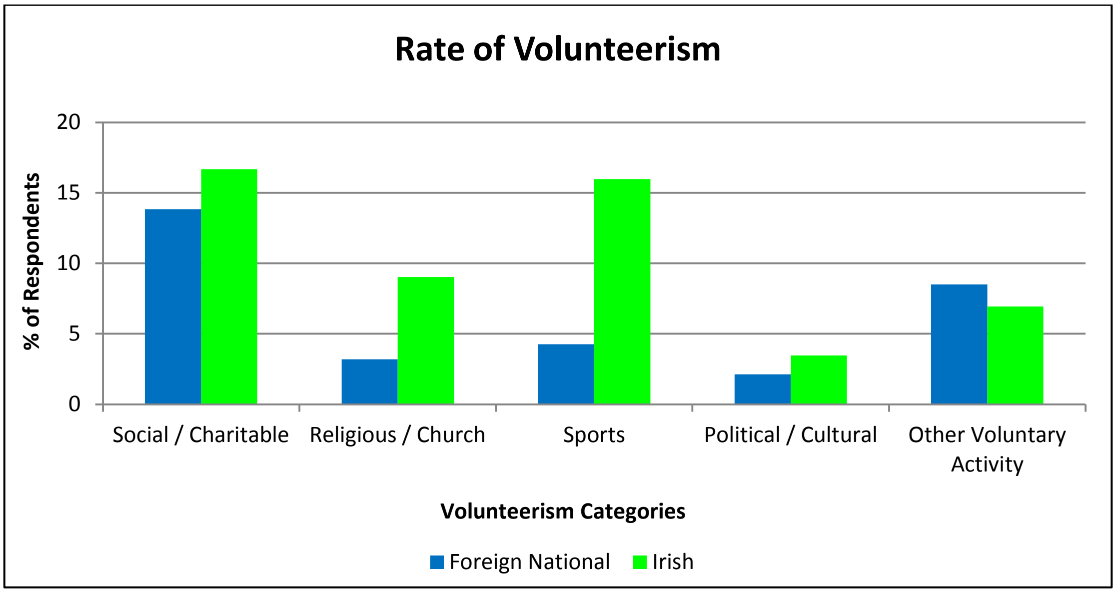
Distance to recreational facilities; p = <.1, Cramer's V = .300

[88] In recent years, there have been allegations / anecdotal evidence of over-fishing and poaching by East European migrants. Consequently, multi-lingual signage has been erected outlining the bye-laws / laws with respect to angling in Ireland.

5.6.5 Volunteerism

Voluntary activity within the local community is an effective means by which migrants can become more socially involved. A wide spectrum of voluntary and community groups exists in Co. Monaghan, ranging from social, charitable, sporting, religious and political organisations. All respondents who had moved to the current address since 1990 were required to indicate whether any voluntary activities were undertaken in the past four weeks prior to completing the household questionnaire. These activities included helping or volunteering with social or charitable organisations; religious group or church; sports organisations; political or cultural organisations; and other activities. Figure 5.24 indicates a more pro-activeness on the part of Irish residents to become more involved in civic and social structures than migrants. The only category which differs from this trend is the other voluntary activity category, which is marginally higher for migrants. There is a striking difference with regard to the rate of volunteerism of migrants to Irish nationals in sports organisations ($p = <.01$, Cramer's $V = .358$) and religious / church groups ($p = < .1$, Cramer's $V = .336$). The Irish nationals appear to be considerably more engaged in these voluntary activities. However, the difference is less acute for social and charitable activities, with 14% of migrants and 17% of non-migrants voluntarily participating or assisting with these activities. Political and cultural voluntary activity is minimal for both cohorts Co. Monaghan. The lower levels of volunteerism amongst migrants could be explained by a lack of integration into the indigenous community; some racism on the part of the non-migrants; a lack of proficiency in the English language; and possibly a lack of knowledge pertaining to local social and sporting activities.

Figure 5.24: Percentage of Respondents Engaged in Volunteering Activities in Co. Monaghan



5.7 Future Intentions of Migrants

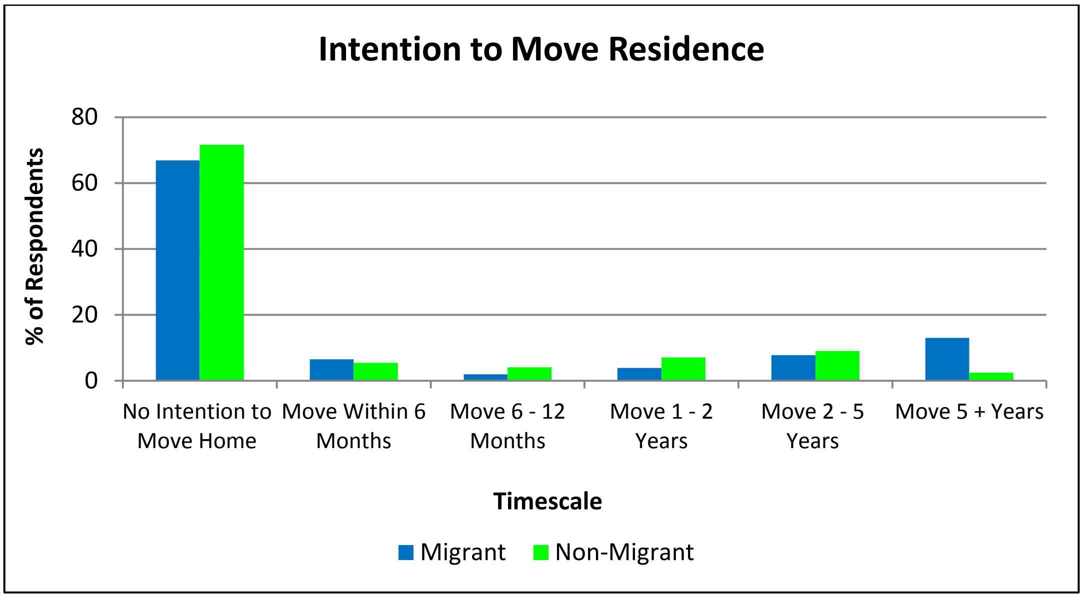
5.7.1 Intention to Move Residence

All respondents of the household questionnaire were required to identify whether any member of the household (aged over 18 years of age) had any intention of moving residence. Both migrants and non-migrants show a considerable degree of similarity with respect to their responses to this question (Figure 5.25). The vast majority of both migrants (67%) and non-migrants (72%) have no intention of moving address. This lack of immobility typically demonstrates a high level of satisfaction with regards to living at the current abode. In light of the current severe economic downturn, some households could be prevented from moving due to the residence being in negative equity and / or inability to sell the residence. However, 13% of migrants and 2.5% of non-migrants have intentions of moving residence within 5 or more years. This percentage is significant for the migrant cohort, but this movement may not happen as a consequence of migrants growing strong ties to the local community. Typically, those who intend to move within 6 months to 2 years are more likely to act on this intention. Migrants (6.5%) show a slightly higher preference to move within 6 months than non-migrants (5.5%), whilst a dissimilar trend is apparent for migrants and non-migrants who desire to move within 6 – 12 months; 1 – 2 years; and 2 – 5 years (Figure 5.25).

The semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders suggested a significant proportion of migrants left Co. Monaghan with the onset of the economic downturn. However, there still remains a significant migrant population, particularly from Eastern Europe. As one interviewee stated:

> *'We would have seen a lot of foreign national people going away in the last two or three years but there is quite a lot who stayed, they would tell you, that they're making their home here'* (Interviewee No. 5).

Figure 5.25: Intentions of Migrants and Non-Migrants Resident in Co. Monaghan to Change Home Location



Even though a minority of respondents have a desire to move residence, the most important reasons impacting on this decision are outlined in Figure 5.26. Both migrants (30%) and non-migrants (21%) indicate family considerations as the principal reason influencing their intentions to move household or not. However, there is a significant divergence between migrants and non-migrants with respect to other determinants. Education, housing, quality of life are important decision making factors for non-migrants, while employment, retirement and other reasons are more prominent determinants for migrants (Figure 5.26).

The future destinations of those wishing to move residence show very little conformity between migrants and non-migrants (Figure 5.27). Migrants show a strong preference to return to 'other European' countries (41%) or elsewhere in the world (18%). No migrants showed any inclination to travel to any part of the UK. In contrast, non-migrants (57%) are more likely to move to another location within Co. Monaghan than migrants (27%). However, the difference is minimal between migrants and non-migrants seeking to relocate to other parts of Ireland and to countries outside of the European Union (Figure 5.27).

Figure 5.26: Principal Reason for Future Move of Residence for Migrants and Non-Migrants in Co. Monaghan

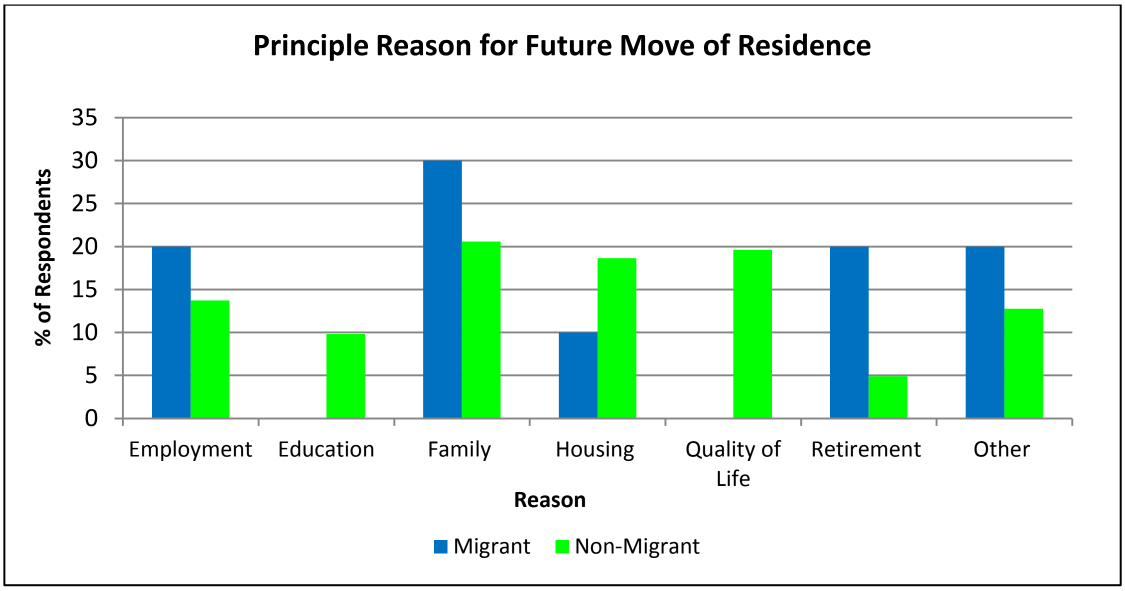
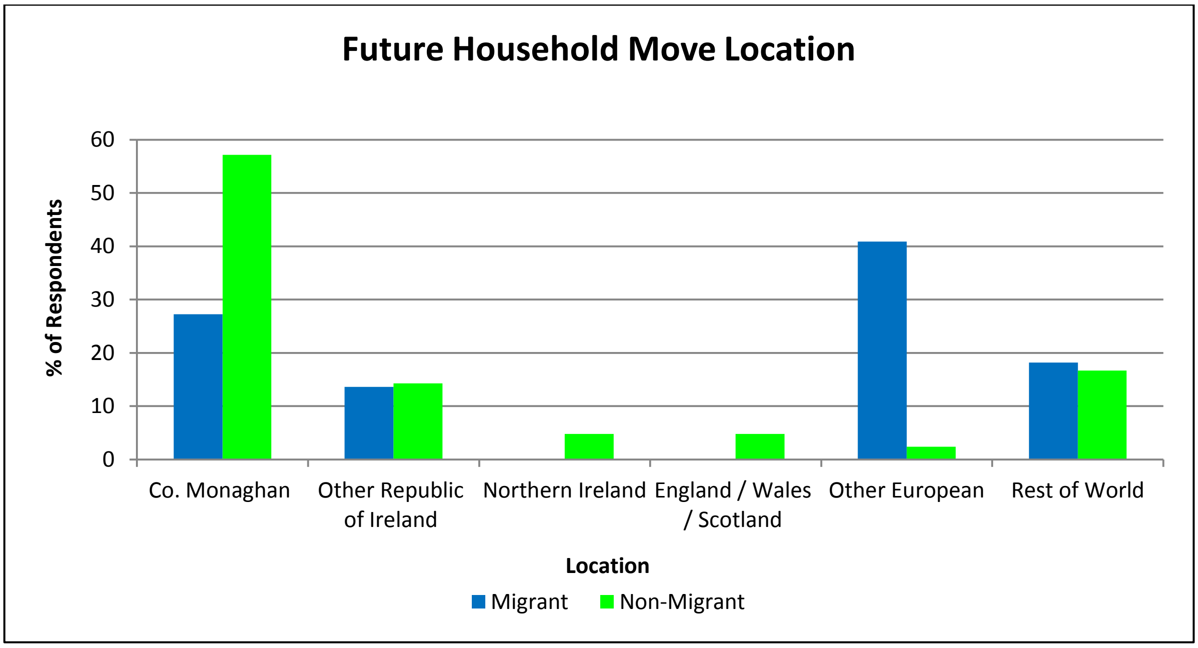


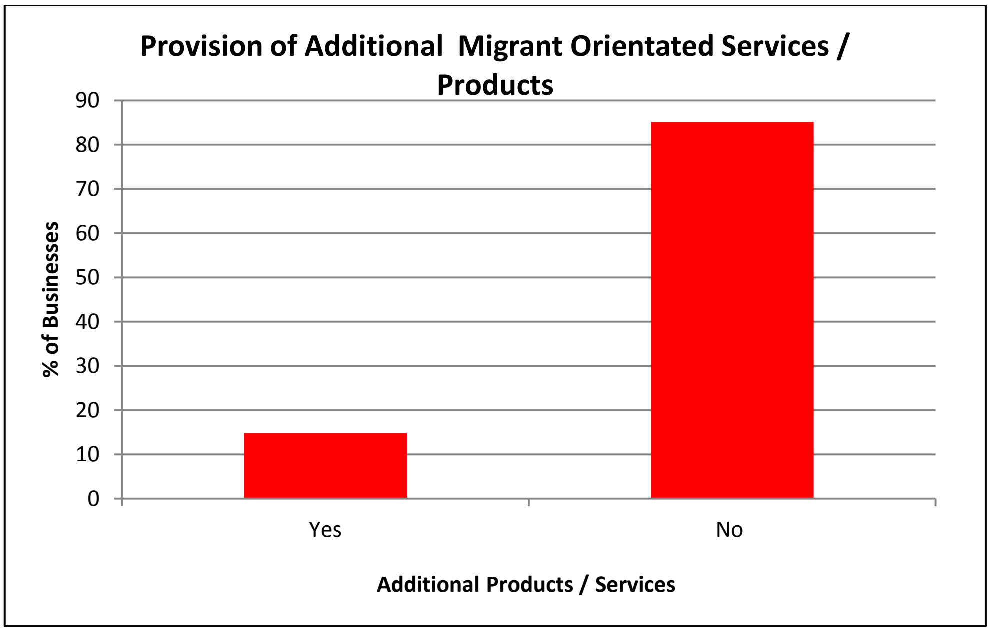
Figure 5.27: Location of Future Residence for Migrants and Non-Migrants in Co. Monaghan



5.7.2 Additional Products / Services

The vast majority of retail outlets have no intention of providing additional products and / or services to migrant customers. This suggests the retail demands / requirements of migrant customers are currently being catered for by businesses in Co. Monaghan. According to the most recent census results (2011), there continues to be a growth in the number of migrants to Co. Monaghan, so the demand for migrant orientated goods / services should continue to flourish. According to 15% of businesses, additional products / services would be provided to migrant customers (Figure 5.28). This is dependent on customer demand and product availability from wholesale suppliers.

Figure 5.28: Provision of Additional Migrant Orientated Products / Services by Retail Outlets in Co. Monaghan



5.7.3 Information Service

In recent years, various community organisations have provided an information service for migrant clients. This is in addition to the services provided by the Citizens Information Office. At the onset of the economic downturn, there was a substantial demand for an information service orientated towards foreign nationals. One office was receiving 30 to 40 new clients each week. Information was sought on employment terms and conditions; and social welfare entitlements. In recent years, there has been a decline in demand for the service as:

'Some people have gone, issues have gone, people have now settled onto social welfare' (Interviewee No. 20).

The information services provided by local community organisations for migrants are crucially important, as migrants have a higher risk of being a socio-economically marginalised and excluded group. Many of the organisations currently providing an information service will continue on such activities whilst there is a demand for the service.

5.8 Conclusion

The restructuring of the rural economic base, in Co. Monaghan, associated with rationalisation and diversification activities, has acted as a catalyst for the immigration of East European economic migrants. Therefore, it is essential to recapitulate on the patterns of rural restructuring; and to clarify the impact migrants have had in stimulating the processes of rural restructuring within specific economic sectors.

The agricultural sector is of significant importance to the rural economy in Co. Monaghan. The vast majority of farms concentrate on the rearing of bovines, but the agricultural sector has diversified significantly in recent years, with the cultivation of mushrooms and the rearing of poultry becoming prominent agricultural activities. The adoption of diversification activities is a means to generate additional income in response to the poor land quality –'stony grey soil' – and small size of land holdings within the county. The mushroom and poultry sectors are considerably more labour intensive than bovine production, thereby enabling the generation of additional employment. During the economic boom, migrants were sought from Eastern Europe to fill the employment vacancies on mushroom and poultry farms.

The industrial sector has been traditionally reliant on food processing and furniture manufacturing. The latter industry is now in severe decline due changing consumer trends and strong competition from global multi-nationals. However, the food-processing sector is very strong in Co. Monaghan with numerous processing plants located throughout the county. Agricultural diversification has enabled the expansion of the food-processing sector, with companies specialising in the processing of mushrooms and poultry. During the past decade, food processing plants in Co. Monaghan have become heavily reliant on migrant labour. Numerous interviewees and respondents to the business questionnaires stated that the food-processing sector would not have survived without migrant labour.

The retail sector in Co. Monaghan has been strongly influenced by the processes of globalisation. In recent years, the streetscapes of the major settlements, Monaghan Town and Carrickmacross, have witnessed the opening of transnational grocery stores and ethnic restaurants. The retail sector in Co. Monaghan is very completive due to its close proximity to Northern Ireland. This poses challenges with respect to differences in currency and taxation rates. The recent immigration of East Europeans has had an impact on the retail landscape with the opening of East European shops in Monaghan Town, Carrickmacross, Castleblayney and Clones. Furthermore, a significant proportion of retail outlets provide migrant goods and / or services.

The development of a ‘knowledge economy’, with a strong focus on research and innovation is a key policy objective of the Irish government. Recent investment in ICT infrastructure, particularly in Project Kelvin and other broadband infrastructure will stimulate the growth of knowledge economy enterprises in Co. Monaghan into the future. The tourism sector is not particularly strong in Co. Monaghan, even though significant investment has occurred in developing walking and driving trails; festivals; and upgrading of tourism amenities. Currently, there are ambitious plans to re-open the Ulster Canal to Clones and to develop an international angling centre in Castleblayney. The recent in-migration of migrants from Eastern Europe has had minimal impact on both the ICT / knowledge economy and tourism sectors. However, there is a higher proportion of migrants than non-migrants employed in the accommodation and food service sector.

Since the commencement of the Northern Ireland peace process in the mid-1990s, Co. Monaghan has benefited economically through significant investment in physical and social infrastructure by the European Union (PEACE and INTERREG programmes) and successive Irish governments. This funding has benefited economic migrants in Co. Monaghan through the development of migrant orientated initiatives by non-statutory and statutory agencies in Co. Monaghan. These initiatives promoted migrant integration into both the social and economic communities of Co. Monaghan, primarily through providing bespoke citizens information service for migrants, networking trips and the provision of English language classes. The provision of these services has generated employment within a diverse range of economic sectors within the county. Furthermore, the organisation of events to celebrate migrants' culture, language and traditions also provides a mechanism to increase racial and ethnic tolerance towards migrants within rural communities.

Overall, the direct employment multiplier effect on net in-migration within Co. Monaghan is minimal, with migrant households having a jobs multiplier effect of 0.16 in comparison to 0.59 for non-migrant households. Migrants are more likely to be employees rather than employers. Furthermore, the unemployment rate for migrants is considerably higher than for non-migrants (Figure 5.15). This has a negative impact on the local rural economy, thereby cancelling out the economic benefits associated with the minimal employment generation multiplier effect. In light of the severe economic downturn, migrants still show a strong desire to retain their residency within the county. Rural restructuring has not alone changed the economic base of Co. Monaghan, but it has also transformed the ethnic composition of the county, whereby migrant labour is a necessary conduit for viability of specific economic activities.

Chapter 6: Co. Limerick Results

6.1 Introduction

Since 2000, Co. Limerick (excluding Limerick City and its environs) has experienced one of the lowest levels of inward migration in proportion to its population of any county in Ireland. The low levels of inward migration within Co. Limerick are attributable to its close proximity to Limerick City. There is a very high concentration of migrants in Limerick City centre (specifically the EDs of Custom House, Dock B, Glentworth A, Market and Shannon A) (McCafferty & O'Keeffe, 2009). Migrants settled in these locations due to the availability of cheap rental properties; close proximity to employment and retail services; and accessibility to public transportation. Furthermore, Limerick City and County have been severely affected by the economic downturn, with numerous companies undergoing a process of rationalisation and restructuring, whilst several large employers have ceased trade. The rising unemployment rate, particularly amongst the younger working age cohort, has led to emigration. This has had detrimental effects on local communities. As one non-migrant household questionnaire respondent stated:

> *'It is a shame that so many young people have had to migrate. There are NO young people left. Therefore, every local business in the area suffers'* (Household Questionnaire No. 343).

Furthermore, another non-migrant household questionnaire respondent also shared these sentiments:

> *'Many people in their twenties have migrated, we are conscious of the loneliness of their families and the reality that they may not return. Local sporting clubs find it difficult to make full teams due to the absence of young people. There is a loss of business to local shops'* (Household Questionnaire No. 354).

Therefore, emigration appears to be a more pertinent demographic feature rather than immigration. Furthermore, rural Co. Limerick provides a control case study location for this research project as the socio-economic effects associated with in-migration have been mitigated due to the relatively low number of foreign nationals within Co. Limerick. Non-migrant respondents from the household questionnaire have testified to the absence of economic migrants within their respective localities, thereby distinguishing the County Limerick experience from that of County Monaghan. As one household questionnaire respondent commented:

> *There isn't a lot of migration in the locality in respect to foreign nationals and I am sure that the migration from within the country or elsewhere would be helpful in respect to school and sports locally'* (Household Questionnaire No. 438).

Newcastle West is the only settlement within Co. Limerick to experience substantial inward migration. One household questionnaire respondent observes that the change in the ethnic profile of the town is a relatively recent phenomenon:

> *'Migration has impacted this locality as only about 5 years ago it was only Irish people, but now you have English, Polish, Russian, Brazilian, African, Latvian, Indian, Pakistani, Chinese all living in Newcastle West, Co. Limerick'* (Household Questionnaire No. 321).

This chapter will identify the underlying processes by which the economic base has been restructured in Co. Limerick, thereby resulting in the manifestation of new economic sectors. However, changes in these economic sectors have not enabled significant job creation, thereby limiting inward migration and its associated effects on the local economy. This chapter also seeks to quantify the labour market (job generation) multiplier effects associated with net inward migration. It is hypothesised that the effect will be minimal due to the low absolute number of economic migrants residing within the county. This is reflected through the limited number of migrant-orientated businesses situated on the streetscapes of the villages / towns throughout Co. Limerick, with the exception of Chinese restaurants. It is also important to outline the entrepreneurial supports available to migrants and to determine whether or not any obstacles / challenges are encountered by migrants in accessing these services from statutory and non-statutory agencies.

The integration of foreign nationals, incorporating economic migrants, refugees / persons with leave to remain, asylum seekers and international students, into a society where all residents have the ability *'to live in and maintain a peaceful co-existence in a diversified, open and just Limerick, based on the principle of equal opportunities for everyone'* has been sphere-headed by the Limerick City and County Integration Working Group (Limerick Integration Working Group, 2010, p. 6). This umbrella organisation incorporates statutory and non-statutory agencies that come into daily contact with migrants. The various migrant orientated initiatives implemented by these statutory and non-statutory organisations within rural Limerick will also be identified but these agencies face considerable financial pressures in delivering diversity awareness raising programmes and in providing support services due to the economic downturn.

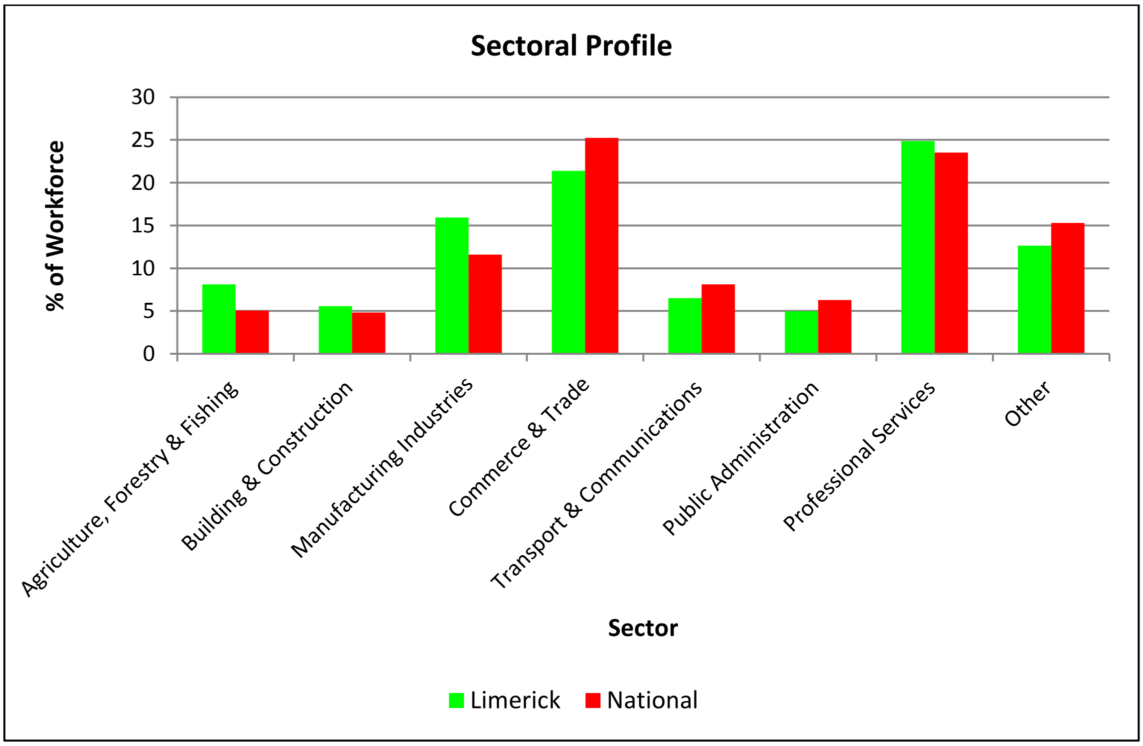
The final section of the chapter will determine the future intentions of economic migrants resident in Co. Limerick. The 2011 Census of Population has identified a continuing trend of a lower than average spatial concentration and distribution of foreign nationals within Co. Limerick. Hence, economic migration is likely to have an intangible effect on the local economy and therefore, it is imperative to test this hypothesis and to explore the reasons for the lower than average concentration of migrants in situ within rural areas in Co. Limerick

6.2 Rural Restructuring of the Economic Base

County Limerick has been severely affected by the current economic downturn, resulting in a dramatic increase in the level of unemployment. According to the 2011 Census of Population, the proportion of unemployed persons within the labour force in Co. Limerick has increased by 10.82%, whilst the national figure witnessed a broadly similar increase (10.52%) (CSO, 2012g). A historically strong reliance on agriculture and manufacturing activities in Co. Limerick has posed serious challenges, with even Limerick County Council (2011) acknowledging the existence of underlying vulnerabilities that have negatively impacted on the economic base. These include: a higher reliance on manufacturing than the national average; a high percentage of the workforce employed in construction; and the rationalisation of the agricultural sector over previous decades. The primary causes of these vulnerabilities are closely aligned with both globalisation and rural restructuring. Furthermore, the diversification and restructuring of the rural economic base in Co. Limerick, incorporating the agricultural; manufacturing; retail; ICT and knowledge economy; and tourism sectors has not necessitated the recruitment of a significant low-skilled and low-paid workforce.

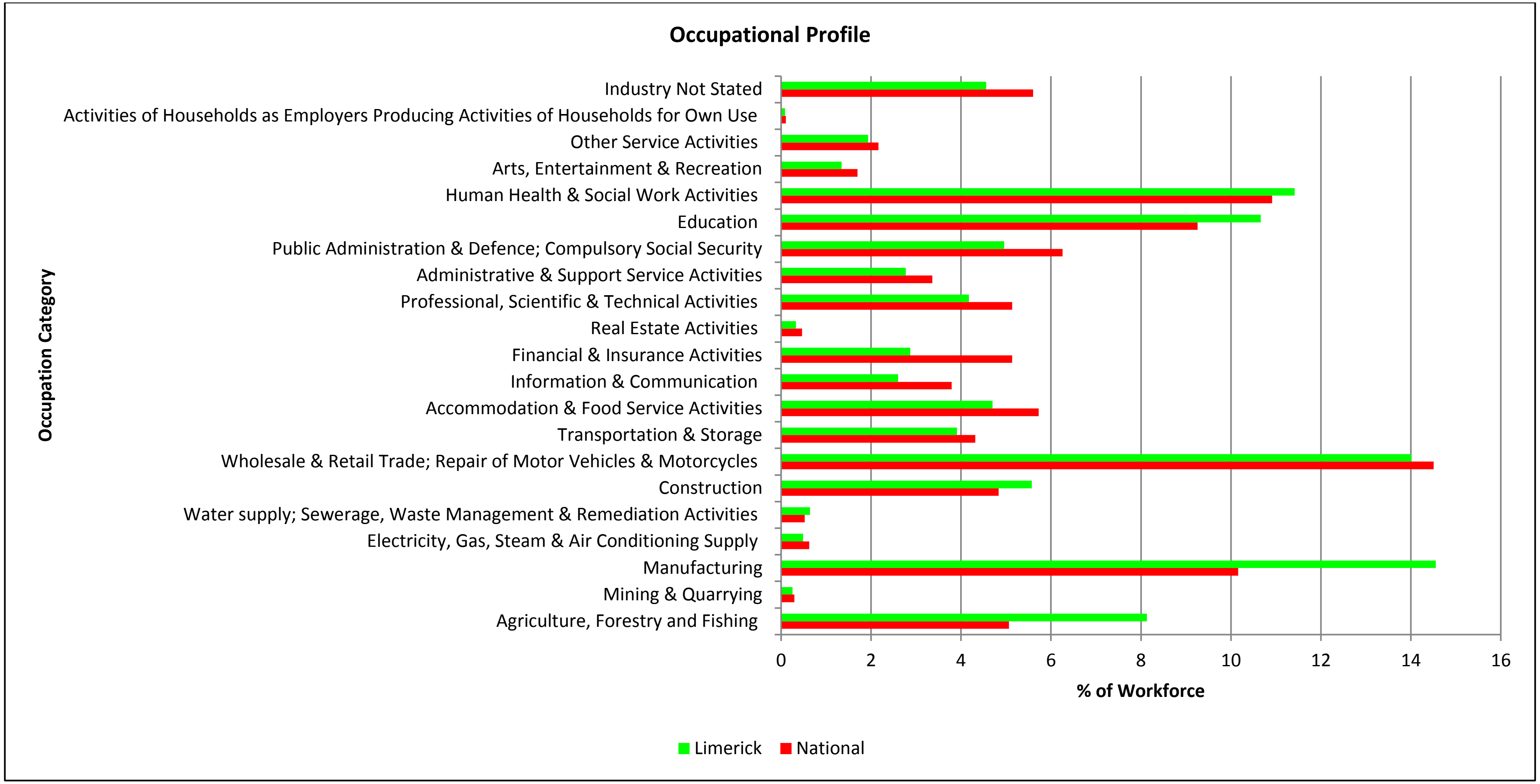
According to the 2011 Census of Population, the sectoral profiles of Ireland and Co. Limerick are broadly similar (Figure 6.1). However, the agricultural, forestry and food; and manufacturing sectors are more dominant in Co. Limerick than the national average. Conversely, the commerce and trade sector is less significant in Co. Limerick. This may stem from Co. Limerick’s close proximity to Limerick City and suburbs, a location with a high density of retail outlets (particularly in large shopping centres and business parks). There is a variation between Co. Limerick's and Ireland's occupational profile (Figure 6.2). For instance, there is a higher reliance on manufacturing, agricultural, construction and public sector (human health and education) employment in Co. Limerick than the national average. The higher public sector employment is attributable to the county's workforce being located within commuting distance (inclusive of Limerick City and County) to several hospitals and Third Level institutions[89]. In Co. Limerick, there is a smaller proportion of the workforce employed in accommodation and food service; finance and insurance; information and communication; and public administration and defence activities relative to the national average.

Figure 6.1: Comparative Sectoral Profiles of Co. Limerick and Ireland



[89] A number of these public sector employers are actually located in Co. Limerick. These include the University of Limerick, University Hospital Limerick and Croom Orthopaedic Hospital.

Figure 6.2: Comparative Occupational Profiles of Co. Limerick and Ireland



6.2.1 Rural Restructuring – Patterns in Agriculture

According to the 2011 Census of Population, 8.13% of the workforce in Co. Limerick was employed in agriculture, forestry and fishing. As a proportion of the workforce, this represents a 1.23% increase from the 2006 Census of Population. This is very significant as the proportion of the workforce engaged in primary sector activities had been in decline for several decades. The extent of the restructuring is evident within the Ballyhoura region alone, with 1,200 job losses in the agri-food sector; a reduction in the number of milk suppliers to co-operatives by 620; and the cessation of porcine, poultry and sugar processing between 2000 to 2008 (Ballyhoura Development, 2008). Table 6.1 provides an overview of the agricultural base in the county. There is a strong reliance on the rearing of bovines, with dairy and beef production being higher than the national average. The rearing of bovines is less labour intensive than other types of agricultural production. Typically, the farm holding is maintained by one individual with the assistance of other family members. Tillage farming is nearly non-existent in Co. Limerick. This is partly due to the quality of the land as 44.5% of the land area in the County classified as:

> *'being agriculturally disadvantaged, with approximately 69,960 hectares classified as less severely disadvantaged and 49,636 hectares as more severely disadvantaged'* (Limerick County Council, 2011, p. 5.24).

According to the current County Limerick Development Plan (2011), small scale on-farm diversification, as outlined under the CAP Rural Development Programme 2007 – 2013 will be essential for the future vitality of rural communities. Farm diversification activities supported by LEADER area partnerships[90] include: the provision of tourism facilities; exploitation of niche markets; and development of farm shops selling locally-grown and manufactured produce. The promotion of on-farm diversification is off-setting the job losses that already occurred within the agricultural sector during the last decade. However, the diversification activities undertaken by the agricultural sector in Co. Limerick do not provide employment opportunities for economic migrants.

[90] The LEADER area partnerships in Co. Limerick include Ballyhoura Development and West Limerick Resources.

Table 6.1: Comparative Overview of Principal Farming Activities between Co. Limerick and Ireland

Farm Type	Number of Farms in Co. Limerick	% of Farms in Co. Limerick	Number of Farms in Ireland	% of Farms in Ireland
Specialist Tillage	*24*	0.39	*4,376*	3.34
Specialist Dairy	*2,311*	37.31	*26,292*	18.57
Specialist Beef Production	*3,198*	51.63	*72,141*	50.97
Specialist Sheep	*56*	0.90	*12,233*	8.64
Mixed Grazing Livestock	*508*	8.2	*20,729*	14.64
Mixed Crops & Livestock	*23*	0.37	*3,644*	2.54
Other	*74*	1.19	*1,752*	1.23
Total	*6,194*	100	*141,527*	100

Source: 2000 *Census of Agriculture* (2002c)

6.2.2 Rural Restructuring – Patterns in Industry

Rural typologies of Co. Limerick indicate a significant spatial variation in the structure of the economic base, with a West – East split (McHugh, 2001; ESPON, 2004;Walsh, et al., 2007). The Western portion of the county is structurally weak, albeit with a number of EDs in the hinterland of Newcastle West being classified as diversifying areas of urban employment. East Limerick has a more varied economic profile with EDs being categorised as peri-urban areas; areas of economic diversification; or areas of diversifying urban employment. Furthermore, a number of peripheral EDs, located adjacent to the North Cork border, are classified as marginal areas. The declining influence of the agricultural sector on the structure of the economic base is illustrated through the relatively few EDs being categorised as strong agricultural areas. The spatial divergence between West and East Limerick is also evident through the distribution of employment by industrial groups (Walsh, et al., 2007). There is a high concentration of manufacturing employment in West Limerick and in the EDs adjacent to the towns of Charleville and Mitchelstown in Co. Cork. In contrast, East Limerick has a varied employment profile, with the EDs on the periphery of Limerick City being orientated towards commerce and transport; and professional service and public administration, whilst the remainder of EDs are reliant on agricultural and construction sectors. The transformation of the economic base is also occurring at a regional basis, with the manufacturing, construction and agricultural sectors in the Mid-West recoding proportional declines in both employment (Ginnity, 2012) and Gross Value Added (GVA) (Mid-West Regional Authority, 2012).

As denoted by the rural typologies of Limerick, the majority of manufacturing jobs are located in West Limerick, with Kostal[91], Aughnish Alumina[92], Pallas Foods[93], and Pfizer Ireland Pharmaceuticals[94] being the most significant employers. The bulk of ICT related manufacturing activities have tended to concentrate within the main industrial estates in Raheen and Castletroy.[95] The closure of the Dell computer assembly plant in 2009 and associated companies has had a detrimental economic effect on both the city and county through significant job losses (Collins, 2011). The EDs adjacent to Charleville (North Co. Cork) also have a large proportion of manufacturing employees. This stems from the presence of a large food-processing plant, Kerry Ingredients Plc. (with a workforce over 600 employees), and several light engineering plants.

The vast majority (90%) of manufacturing plants and service firms are located in industrial estates constructed by Shannon Development[96]. This regional development agency utilises its property portfolio as a 'development and promotional vehicle' to attract indigenous and foreign enterprises into the Mid-West region, thereby enhancing economic growth (Shannon Development, 2010). The economic infrastructure of Co. Limerick has recently been further strengthened through the construction of five enterprise centres. These enterprise centres have been funded by Limerick County Council; Limerick County Enterprise Board; and Enterprise Ireland. Three of the enterprise centres (Broadford, Kilmallock and Kantoher) are currently open with *'businesses starting up, occupying them and employing local people'* (E-mail correspondence). To date, two enterprise centres, situated in Croom and Ballylanders, have not commenced operations

[91] Kostal produces car components for the car industry. The company is situated in Abbeyfeale and it has a workforce of approximately 450 employees.
[92] Aughnish Alumina is located on Aughnish Island on the River Shannon. This is one of the most significant industrial plants in the Mid-West Region, with a workforce of approximately 600 employees.
[93] Pallas Foods is a food processing plant in Newcastle West with 550 employees.
[94] Pfizer Ireland Pharmaceuticals is one of the largest infant formula processing plants in the globe. The manufacturing plant is located in Askeaton with a workforce of approximately 550 individuals.
[95] These locations are technically in Co. Limerick but form part of Limerick metropolitan area.
[96] Shannon Development is a regional development agency in the Shannon region incorporating Clare, Limerick, North Tipperary, South Offaly and North Kerry.

6.2.3 Rural Restructuring – Patterns in the Retail Sector

During the past 20 years, there has been a decline in retail trade within the smaller towns throughout the county. This transformation in the retail base has been influenced by changing consumer habits and improved road infrastructure, thereby allowing customers to travel to Limerick City and suburbs, particularly the Crescent Shopping Centre[97] in Dooradoyle to purchase high order goods.

> *'The small towns in the Mid-West do not have big enough catchment areas to sustain higher order comparison goods shopping and have to re-invent themselves as 'daily shopping' venues encompassing uses such as convenience, speciality and retail services'* (Colliers CRE, 2009, p. 29).

The Mid-West Retail Strategy envisages several towns (Newcastle West, Kilmallock, Askeaton and Abbeyfeale) in Co. Limerick acting as 'daily shopping' venues, whereby the basic retail needs for the local community are met conveniently by a variety of retail outlets. These include: fresh food shops; pharmacies; supermarkets; florists; bookshops; wine shops; newsagents; dry cleaners; coffee shops; bars; restaurants; and tourist shops. Furthermore, the retail strategy appears to be in favour of localisation rather than globalisation, insofar as ethnic restaurants should be replaced with more traditional eateries.

> *'Typical of the upgrading would be the disappearance of a surfeit of chip shops and Chinese takeaways to be replaced by coffee shops, tea rooms and local style restaurants'* (Colliers CRE, 2009, p. 30).

The economic downturn has physically impacted the physical appearance of the streetscape of the principal towns (Newcastle West, Kilmallock, Rathkeale, Abbeyfeale), with an increase in the number of retail premises becoming and remaining vacant. This has negatively affected the diversity of retail outlets located within rural market towns.

6.2.4 Rural Restructuring – Patterns in ICT and the Knowledge Economy

To date, the rural economy in Co. Limerick has not diversified into the ICT sector. This is reflected through a lower proportion of the Co. Limerick population within the

[97] The Crescent Shopping Centre is one of the largest shopping centres outside of Dublin City, thereby providing a significant source of income through commercial rates for Limerick County Council (Colliers CRE, 2009).

workforce being employed in both the information and communication[98]; and professional, scientific and technical activities[99] sectors in comparison to the national average. Currently, research and innovation initiatives in Co. Limerick are mostly occurring within the food-processing sector. The rural economy will possibly benefit from the enhancement of ICT infrastructure, whereby it will be feasible for enterprises in the 'knowledge economy' to establish a base within rural areas. The establishment of firms within the information & communications and administration and support service sectors will invariably diversify the industrial base, thereby enabling a continuance of the rural restructuring process.

The establishment of Shannon Broadband Ltd[100] has enhanced the broadband infrastructure within the county. Newcastle West and Abbeyfeale are the only settlements in the county to have a Metropolitan Area Network (Shannon Broadband, 2006). This network consists of a specialist fibre optic cable that is capable of transmitting large volumes of broadband material at very high speeds. The provision of this physical infrastructure is crucial for constructing a knowledge based economy.

6.2.5 Rural Restructuring – Patterns in Tourism & Amenities

There is a growing appreciation of the role tourism can play in stimulating the rural economy. Tourism is now becoming a more prominent sector within the rural economy. According to the most recent figures from Fáilte Ireland (2011b), three of the most visited tourism attractions in the Shannon region are located in Co. Limerick[101]. The development of key tourism projects has been crucial in generating added-value. For instance, the picturesque village of Adare, with its many notable historical buildings and attractive natural environment, attracts thousands of tourists each year. According to the Adare Business Association, approximately 80,000 to 90,000 people visit the heritage centre situated in the village each year. The heritage centre brings added value to the village's tourism sector as it enables tourists to gain an in-depth knowledge of history /

[98] In Co. Limerick 2.6% of the population were employed in the information and communications sector whilst the national average was 3.79%.
[99] In Co. Limerick, 4.17% of the population were employed in the professional, scientific and technical activities sector whilst the national average was 5.13%.
[100] This company was established by Shannon Development, Limerick City and County, Clare County, North Tipperary Borough; and Offaly County Councils in 2003.
[101] The attractions include Curraghchase Forest Park; Ballyhoura Mountain Bike Trails; and the Foynes Flying Boat Museum.

heritage, whilst encouraging tourists to visit the main historical and cultural sites within its vicinity. As one interviewee commented:

> *'This centre gives a base to the tourist, to come in, browse and have a cup of coffee. It gives the buses a base, which are a huge mainstay of the sector. Otherwise, they (tourists) were really pulling up, taking a photograph and driving onto Bunratty or Galway'* (Interviewee No. 15).

The significant number of tourists visiting the village has enabled the development of a thriving accommodation and food service activities sector.

> *'The town is well provided with visitor accommodation, including three hotels, self-catering cottages and guesthouses. There is also a large number of pubs and restaurants, and two golf-courses'* (Limerick County Council, 2009, p. 14).

Furthermore, specialist shops (gift shops and craft outlets) for the tourism market are located in the vicinity of the thatched cottages. The quality and quantity of tourism attractions within this village has generated considerable direct and indirect employment.

Ballyhoura Development has been very proactive in the promotion of tourism activities as a means of strengthening and diversifying the economic base of East Limerick (Robinson & O'Connor, 2013). This has been facilitated through the establishment of Ballyhoura Fáilte, a company dedicated to devising and promoting a diverse range of tourism products within the Ballyhoura region. Examples include:

- The Ballyhoura Mountain Bike Centre[102], situated in South-East Limerick, provides 97 Kilometres of mountain biking trails in the Greenwood Forest. This amenity has had a very positive impact on the local economy with over 40,000 visitors to the centre in 2011, with 650 cyclists from overseas participating in the Single Speed World Championships (Ballyhoura Development, 2011). In 2014, the Elite European Championships will be hosted at this venue. The construction of this centre has enabled the establishment of a mountain bike club and four mountain bike tutor and rental companies within the locality.

[102] The Ballyhoura Mountain Bike Centre was built in collaboration with Ballyhoura Development; Ballyhoura Fáilte; Cork & Limerick County Councils; Shannon Development and Fáilte Ireland.

- The development of numerous walking routes[103], catering for levels of ability, throughout the Ballyhoura region. The Ballyhoura International Walking Festival is held annually in May and it is the most prolific walking / rambling orientated tourism activity.
- The development of the Ballyhoura Heritage Trails through North Cork and East Limerick, consisting of the Golden Vale, Slí Finn and Ballyhoura Drives, showcases the heritage, culture and archaeology of the region. These scenic drive trails cater for the historical and cultural tourism market, as locally prominent historical monuments and sites are located on the routes.
- The Lough Gur visitor centre chronicling the 5,500 years of human habitation within the vicinity of the lake. Numerous historical monuments are located at this site. These include: stone circles; megalithic tombs; crannogs and ruins of castles. (Limerick Tourist Office, 2010).

According to Murphy (2006), the provision of recreational amenities at forest sites, with a high propensity in the Ballyhoura region, has had a very positive effect in stimulating local economic activity in Ireland[104]. However, the tourism sector within the county is a localised phenomenon, whereby only locations with notable historical and architectural heritage and / or attractive natural environment having the capacity to cater for both the domestic and foreign tourism market (Photograph 6.1). Therefore, tourism cannot be considered a panacea for revitalising the rural economic base throughout the county.

[103] The walking routes include: Darby's Bed Walk; Ballyhoura Way; Darragh Hills Loop Walk; Ballinaboola Woods Loop Walk; Black Rock Loop Walk; Clare Glens Loop Walk; Glenstal Woods; Keale River Walk; Ballyhourigan Woods Loop Walk; and Paradise Hill Loop Walk.

[104] Irish visitors to several forest sites (including the Greenwood, Ardpatrick, Co. Limerick) were surveyed, with 34% of respondents purchasing food in local establishments (average spend €22); 11% of respondents frequenting local pubs (average spend €12); and 5% of respondents staying overnight in local accommodation (average spend €64).

Photograph 6.1: Scenic View of the Galtee Mountains from Castle Gale in the Ballyhoura Hills

6.3 Links between Rural Restructuring and Rural In-Migration

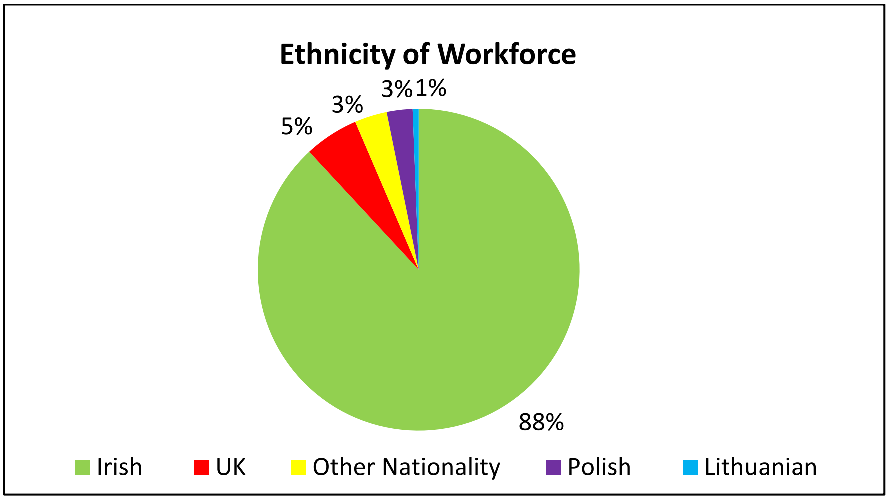
The restructuring of the economic base in Co. Limerick has not provided significant opportunities for low-skilled employment, thereby mitigating the need for economic migrants. For instance, agricultural workers are generally not required on beef and / or dairy holdings as these sectors engage in highly mechanised production systems. Hence, these agricultural sectors are not labour intensive. The majority of foreign nationals within the Mid-West Region reside in Limerick City[105], but Co. Limerick has not been entirely immune from economic migration with specific locations, most notably Newcastle West and its hinterland, having a higher concentration the national average. Therefore, it is imperative to establish the rationale for this localised phenomenon within the county.

The lack of economic migrants from Eastern Europe in Co. Limerick is further epitomised through the ethnic composition of the workforce. From the businesses

[105] The availability of employment and affordable accommodation has led to a high spatial concentration of foreign nationals in the city centre. Furthermore, chain migration has also been a pull factor, insofar as migrants have moved to this location to be near family members and friends.

sampled in Co. Limerick, approximately 12% of the workforce originated outside of Ireland (Figure 6.3). This proportion is lower than the national average (as recoded in the 2011 Census of Population) with migrants accounting for 15.1% of the workforce. In Co. Limerick, UK nationals represent 5% of the total workforce, whilst East Europeans, particularly Poles (3%) and Lithuanians (1%), are a smaller proportion of the total workforce[106]. This ethnic profile adheres to the spatial concentration and distribution of foreign nationals within Co. Limerick.

Figure 6.3: Nationality of Workforce in Co. Limerick (2011)



6.3.1 Rationale for Migrant Labour

During the economic boom, job vacancies could not be filled due to full employment. Difficulties were most acute in low and semi-skilled sectors. Therefore, a statutory agency had to organise recruitment fairs throughout Europe at the behest of Irish companies in the Mid-West region. As one interviewee stated:

> *'There was a shortage of labour so we assisted Irish employers to go abroad, particularly to Poland' and 'I was specifically involved with an Irish company in Co. Limerick, a customer service company called X. X was looking for staff in all of their places around Ireland, but their main office was here in Limerick. They went to Poland many times, recruiting staff and we also went to the old countries, like Spain and Portugal, but specifically because there was no restrictions on (migrant workers from) the new EU accession countries coming to Ireland'* (Interviewee No. 16).

According to this interviewee from this statutory agency, it was primarily construction firms, customer service providers, and retail outlets that participated in these

[106] According to the 2011 Census of Population, UK, Polish and Lithuanian nationals account for 2.66%, 3.94% and 1.12% of the national workforce respectively.

recruitment fairs. It was mostly Polish, Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian nationals who took up these employment opportunities. Furthermore, the interviewee stated that Ireland, Estonia and Poland are clustered together within the EURES[107] (European Employment Services) network. During the economic boom, citizens from these East European EU member states were targeted to fill employment vacancies in Ireland. The main activities undertaken by the EURES network include:

> *'Exchange of labour market information between member states; sharing vacancies between member states; and developing living and working information on every region in Europe to assist mobile workers in their choice of destination'* (FÁS, 2010, p. 1).

An interviewee from a local development company stated that recruitment agencies played a pivotal role in attracting migrants to Co. Limerick initially, but chain migration became more prominent as migrants informed family and friends of good employment prospects in Ireland during the economic boom.

> *'Agencies were actually going out to Slovakia at the time and they were recruiting out there but then of course an awful lot of it was word of mouth as well. If you got a job here, then you'd tell your friends, because Irish people wouldn't work in the meat factory at that time. They just wouldn't'* (Interviewee No. 17).

A minority of employers in Co. Limerick show a preference towards hiring economic migrants as they are considered very good workers, being both flexible and diligent. According to one respondent to the business questionnaire, this has enabled the business to remain solvent:

> *'My foreign staff are most flexible in the current economic climate – it helps keep the door open'* (Business Questionnaire No. 137).

Furthermore, another respondent also commented favourably towards the strong work ethic amongst migrants in comparison to non-migrants, but the owner was also critical of the indigenous population's reluctance to seek employment within either the retail and / or hospitality sectors in Ireland.

> *'Irish people have lost the knowledge of a good work ethic! If Irish people were to go to Australia, they have no problems working in bars or shops, but not on their own doorstep. I find foreign nationals great workers, great attitude and easy to deal with'* (Business Questionnaire No. 106).

[107] The national employment service agency from each EU and EAA member state comprise the membership of the EURES network.

Therefore, one can discern contradictory attitudes / perceptions towards economic migrants with one group of employers perceiving migrants as 'good workers' to those employers who believe migrants are displacing the indigenous Irish workforce. Consensus does not exist with regard to the hiring of economic migrants as there is a perception amongst some non-migrants that displacement is occurring within the labour market in Co. Limerick. As one household questionnaire respondent stated:

> *'Too many local jobs have been occupied by non-local / non-Irish people and it's wrong. Locals should be given first opportunity of these vacancies'* (Household Questionnaire No. 355).

The rate of displacement of the indigenous workforce with economic migrants has to be regarded as minimal in Co. Limerick due to the low concentration and absolute number of foreign nationals resident in Co. Limerick. However, a number of migrant respondents to the household questionnaire, especially those located in Newcastle West, stated that there is a lack of employment opportunities in the locality. Newcastle West has the largest migrant population in Co. Limerick and some migrants stated in the household questionnaires that the high level of immigration into this town is acting as a barrier to gaining employment.

> *'Small place, a lot of immigrants and little work'* (Household Questionnaire No. 541).
>
> *'Small town and little work'* (Household Questionnaire No. 538).
>
> *'I think in my area they are too many immigrants'* (Household Questionnaire No. 540).

6.3.2 Occupational Profile

Migrants and non-migrants have contrasting occupational profiles in Co. Limerick. Migrants are more likely to be employed in manufacturing; construction; accommodation and food service activities; and professional, scientific services; and other industries[108] (Figure 6.4). A higher percentage of migrants employed within the professional, scientific and technical services sector than non-migrants is unusual relative to the rest of Ireland. However, a significant number of British economic migrants securing positions within this employment sector account for this anomaly. In

[108] At a national level, the migrant workforce is most dominant within the following industrial sectors: wholesale and retail trade; accommodation and food service activities; manufacturing; and human health and social service activities.

comparison to other migrant cohorts, UK nationals can secure employment in high-skilled sectors more easily than other migrant cohorts due to being native English speakers. The household questionnaire has indicated that no migrants are employed in agriculture, forestry and fishing; financial, insurance and real estate activities; and public administration and defence. The absence of migrants within the agricultural sector is indicative of the highly mechanised and low labour intensity production methods associated with pastoral farming in Co. Limerick, as opposed to the high labour intensive activities in County Monaghan. Furthermore, migrants are less likely to be employed in education and administration and support service activities than are non-migrants. The principal causation for the difference in the occupational profiles of migrants and non-migrants centres on educational attainment (Figure 6.5). There is a tendency for migrants to have attained a more technically orientated education in comparison to non-migrants. A larger proportion of migrants have secured postgraduate qualification than non-migrants, thereby correlating with the higher proportion of migrants employed within the professional, scientific and technical services sector. The tendency of employers not to recognise or need the Third Level qualifications obtained by migrants from East European institutions and the lack of proficiency in the English language on the part of some migrants are also contributory factors for the differences in the occupational profiles between the two population cohorts.

Figure 6.4: Employment by Industry for Migrants and Non-Migrants in Co. Limerick

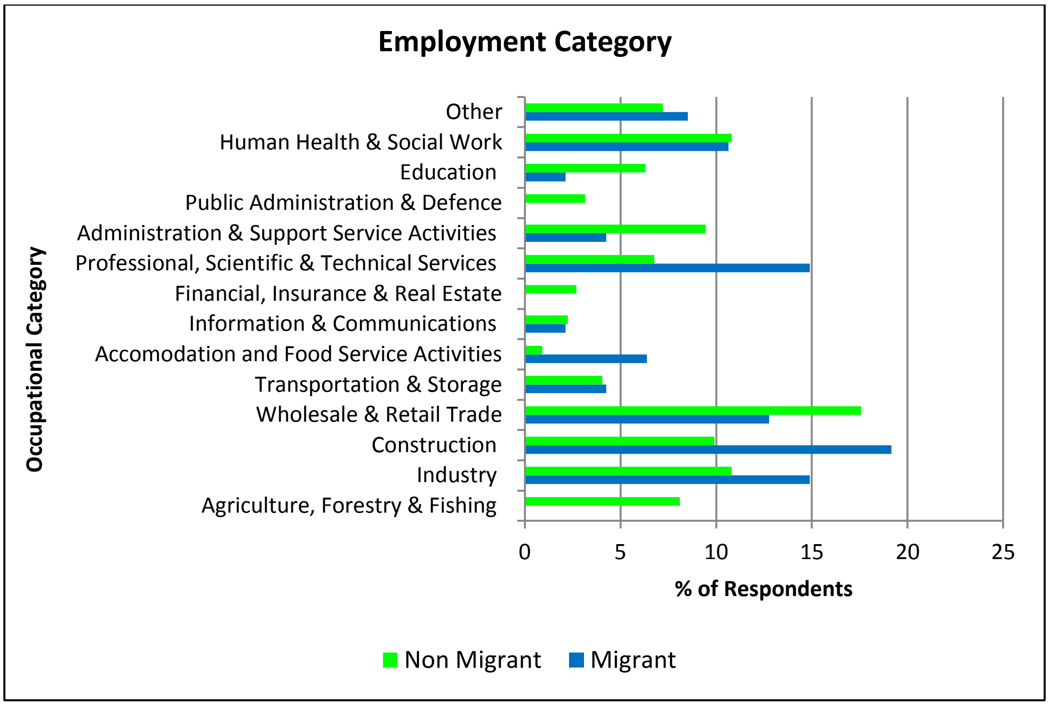
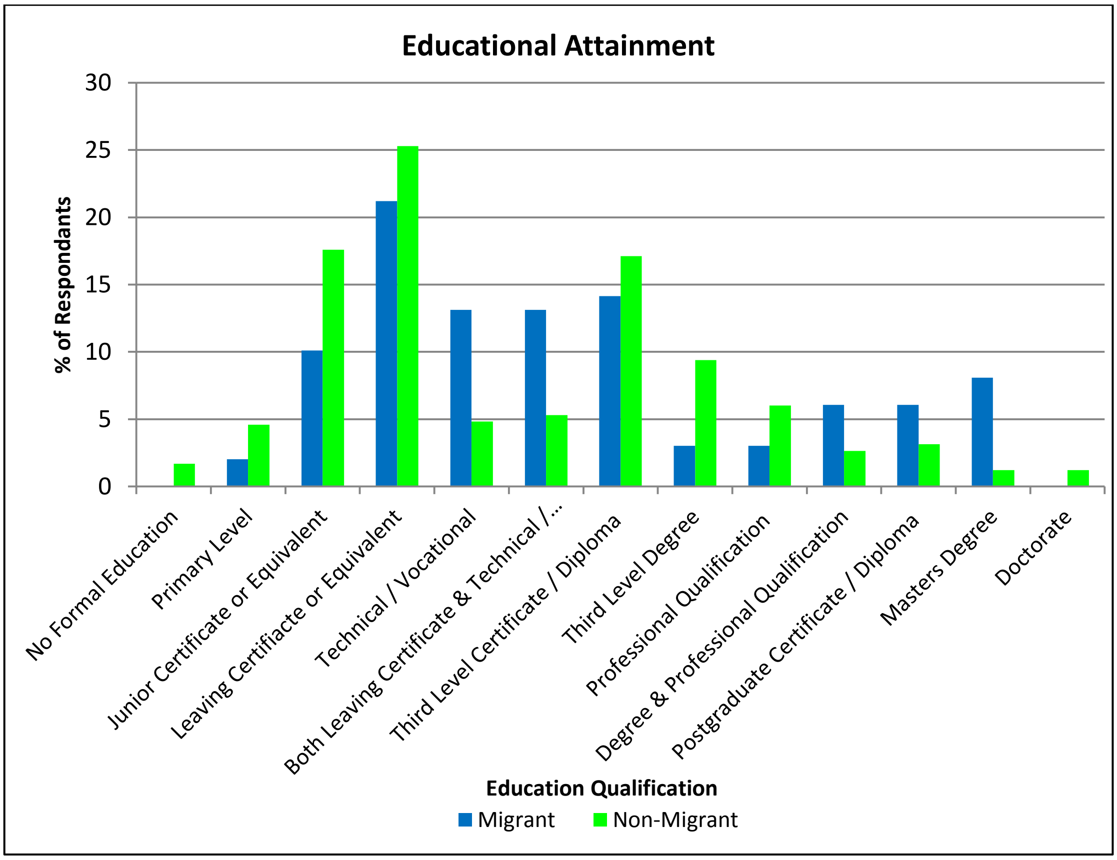


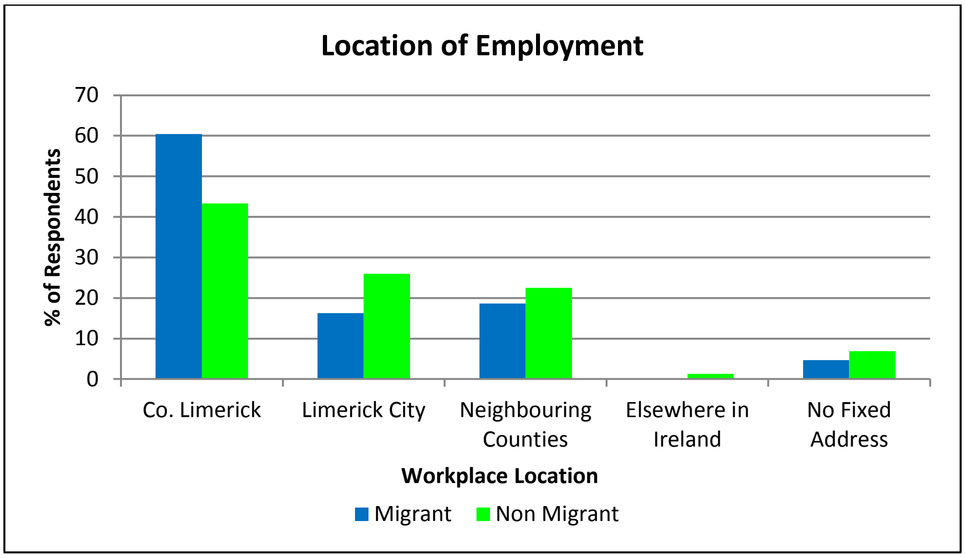
Figure 6.5: Education Attainments of Migrants and Non-Migrants in Co. Limerick



6.3.3 Location of Employment

The location of employment with respect to one's place of residence differs significantly between migrants and non-migrants (Figure 6.6). Migrants (60.5%) are more likely to secure employment within Co. Limerick than non-migrants (43.3%), whilst a larger proportion of non-migrants (26%) commute to Limerick City for employment than migrants (16.3%). A similar spatial pattern was observed in Co. Monaghan, whereby migrants tend to reside in close proximity to their place of employment. This is not an unique phenomenon, with academic literature highlighting case studies of ethnic minorities having lower levels of long-distance commuting in the Netherlands (Engbersen, et al., 2010), Sweden (Aslund, et al., 2010), and the UK (Thomas, 1998; Owen & Green, 2000).

Figure 6.6: Location of Employment for Migrants and Non-Migrants in Co. Limerick



6.4 The Influence of Migrants within the Socio-Economic Restructuring of Rural Areas

Economic migrants have a minimal influence on the socio-economic restructuring of the economic base in Co. Limerick. This is attributable to the very low spatial concentration and distribution of migrants throughout the county. Therefore, migrants' economic contribution through the purchase of goods and services within the local economy is limited. By the same token, the amount of money leaving the area through remittances would also be considerably less in comparison to locations with high in-migration.

Even though in-migration of economic migrants has not been significant in Co. Limerick, there is a strong perception amongst business owners that migrants have a negative impact (40.8%) on the local labour force (Table 6.2). Examples include: migrants seeking / accepting lower pay than the indigenous workforce; perceived high rates of unemployment; and segregation of the labour market, with the indigenous population shunning low-paid and low-skilled employment. This is not the only negative perception by business owners towards migrants as other business owners indicated the payment of remittances (2%) and the dependence of migrants on the state as having a negative impact on the economy (4.1%). In contrast, there was a perception amongst some business owners that migrants have been very beneficial for local enterprise, specifically through their custom within retail outlets (10.2%); and good work ethic (18.7%). Furthermore, a minority of businesses expressed the limited role migrants play within the local economy due to either non-existent or dwindling trade from migrant customers. A small minority of business owners reported there is simply '*no contact with foreign nationals'* (Business Questionnaire No. 105) and / or '*they (migrants) have come and gone*' (Business Questionnaire No. 130).

Table 6.2: Business Owners Perceptions towards the Economic Impact of Foreign Nationals in Co. Limerick[109]

Economic Impact	% of Respondents
Good business from foreign national customers	10.2
No trade or little trade from foreign national customers	4.1
Foreign national remittances	2.0
Foreign nationals are financially dependent on the state	4.1
Number of foreign national customers has been in decline	8.2
Foreign nationals have a good work ethic	18.7
Foreign nationals have a negative impact on local labour force	40.8
Other	12.2

N = 49

[109] Respondents were required to make an open comment on the economic impact of immigration within their locality. Subsequently, the data was analysed by grouping the responses into specific categories (as denoted in Table 2).

6.4.1 Migrants' Spending Power

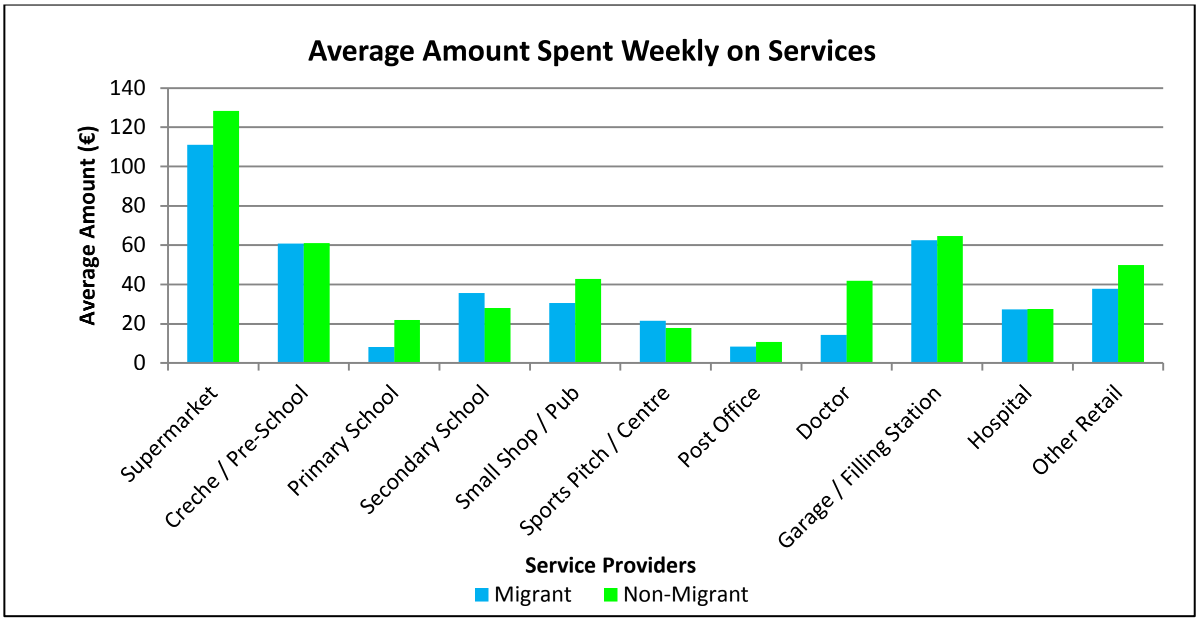
The previous chapter documented the indirect economic benefits of migrants' spending power within the local economy; these benefits are not manifest in Co. Limerick due to the low concentration of immigrants. The ethnic profile of the county has to be considered while interpreting the average amount of money spent weekly by migrants on goods and services (Figure 6.7). Even though Figure 6.7 implies that migrants and non-migrants have similar spending patterns on goods and services, the positive effect is reduced considerably due to the low absolute numbers of migrants residing within Co. Limerick.

Migrants typically spend marginally less money on goods and services than non-migrants, with the exception of sports and recreation; and secondary school expenses. However, the monetary difference between the two cohorts varies substantially for doctor fees. A number of reasons may exist for this anomaly. Migrants are more likely to qualify for a full and / or doctor only medical cards due to a high proportion of migrants being either unemployed or engaged in low remunerated employment. Economic migrants are typically younger than the indigenous population[110] and therefore, more unlikely to be require medical services. Furthermore, migrants (especially from Eastern Europe) may opt to travel to their native homeland in order to avail of cheaper medical / dentistry services. The highest amounts of money are spent at supermarkets; crèche / pre-schools; and garages / filling stations.

Migrants and non-migrants travel similar distances to access household and recreational services (Figure 6.8). The majority of services are accessed, where possible, within close proximity of the residence. All households have to travel considerable distances (approximately 35 Km) to access hospital and other retail services.

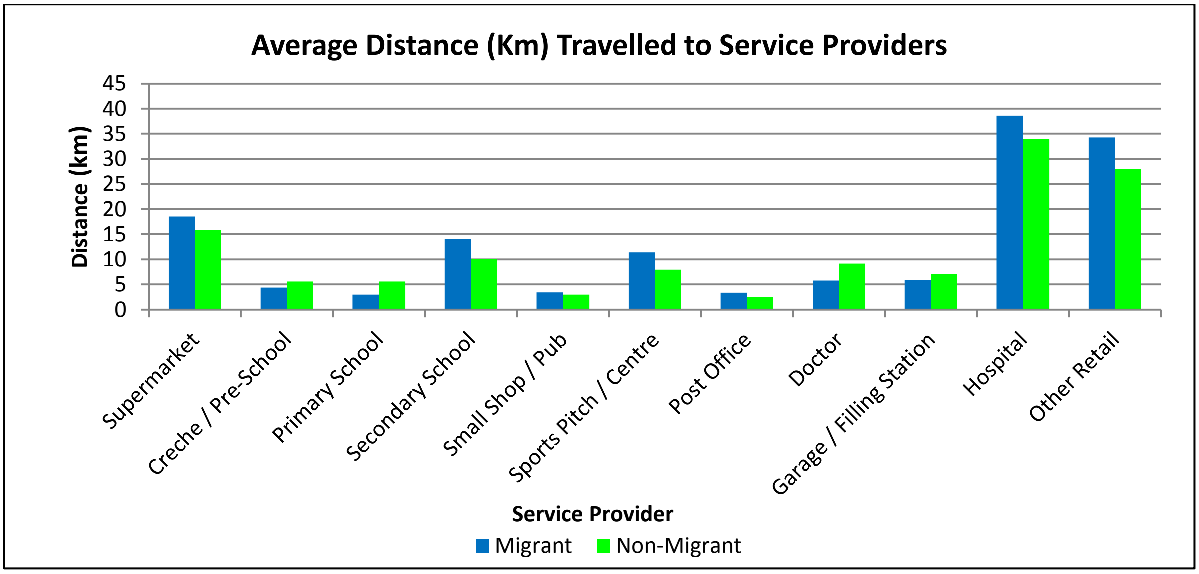
[110] The average age for foreign nationals in Ireland is 32.6 whilst it is 36.7 for Irish nationals (CSO, 2012)

Figure 6.7: Average Amount of Money (€) Spent Weekly on Services in Co. Limerick



Amount spent in secondary school: p = 0.033, Cramer's V = .302
Amount spent at sports pitch / centre: p = 0.039, Cramer's V = .364
Amount spent on hospital services: p = .006, Cramer's V = .285

Figure 6.8: Average Distance (Km) Travelled to Service Providers in Co. Limerick



Distance to secondary school: p = 0.165; Cramer's V = 0.311
Distance to small shops / pub: p = 0.073; Cramer's V = 0.264
Distance to recreational centre/ sports pitch: p = 0.251; Cramer's V = 0.281
Distance to doctor: p = 0.280; Cramer's V = 0.277
Distance to legal / financial services: p = 0.220; Cramer's V = 0.269
Distance to hospital: p = 0.018; Cramer's V = 0.349
Distance other retail: p = 0.112; Cramer's V = 0.384

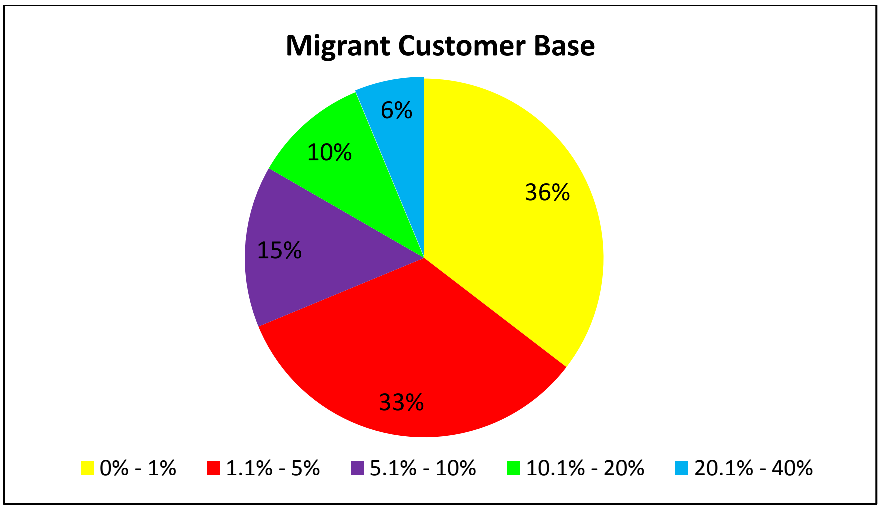
6.4.2 Migrant Customer Base

The migrant customer base is relatively small in Co. Limerick. A significant percentage of businesses (36%) have very few or no migrant customers on a weekly basis, whilst a further 33% of businesses surveyed indicated a low customer base with migrant customers representing 1.1% to 5% of weekly customers (Figure 6.9). However, the remaining businesses indicated a higher migrant customer base, with migrants accounting for between 20.1% and 40% of customers in 6% of retail outlets in Co. Limerick. The affordability of products and services is one reason for the uneven distribution migrant customers. One retail owner stated that the local economy has not benefited to any great extent due to in-migration but:

> *'This business gets a lot of trade from East Europeans, possibly due to the low prices charged for products. We cater for the lower end of the market'* (Business Questionnaire No. 124).

However, foreign nationals residing in Co. Limerick are spatially concentrated within specific locations (predominantly in Newcastle West). Therefore, retail outlets located in areas with a low migrant population have a corresponding low migrant customer base. This also explains the uneven distribution of the migrant customer base.

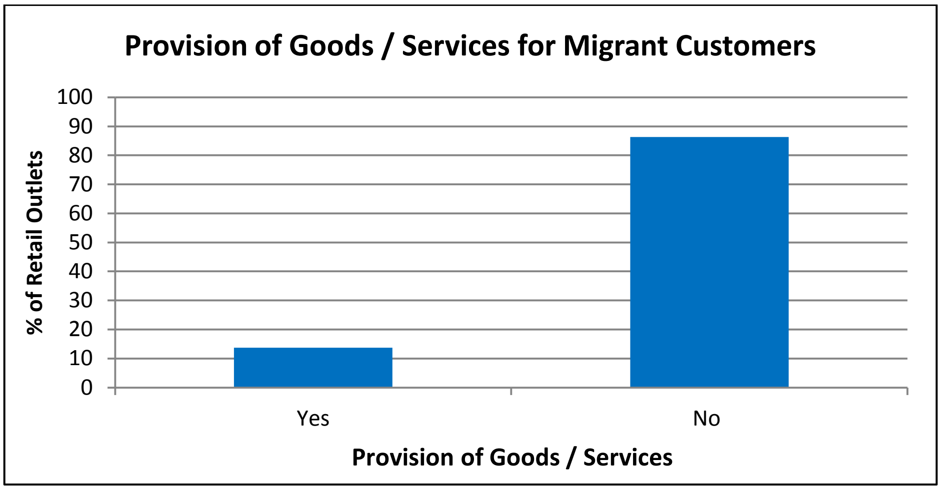
Figure 6.9: Percentage of Migrant Weekly Customers in Retail Outlets within Co. Limerick



6.4.3 Availability of Migrant Orientated Products and Services

Only a small minority (13.7%) of businesses in Co. Limerick provide products / services specifically orientated towards the migrant customer base (Figure 6.10). The businesses which provide migrant orientated products / services tend to be located in the larger settlements of Newcastle West, Abbeyfeale and Kilmallock, as there is a migrant customer base within these towns. The migrant orientated products sold by these companies include East European food and beverages; and international calling cards [111]

Figure 6.10: Provision of Products / Services by Retail Outlets for Migrant Customers in Co. Limerick

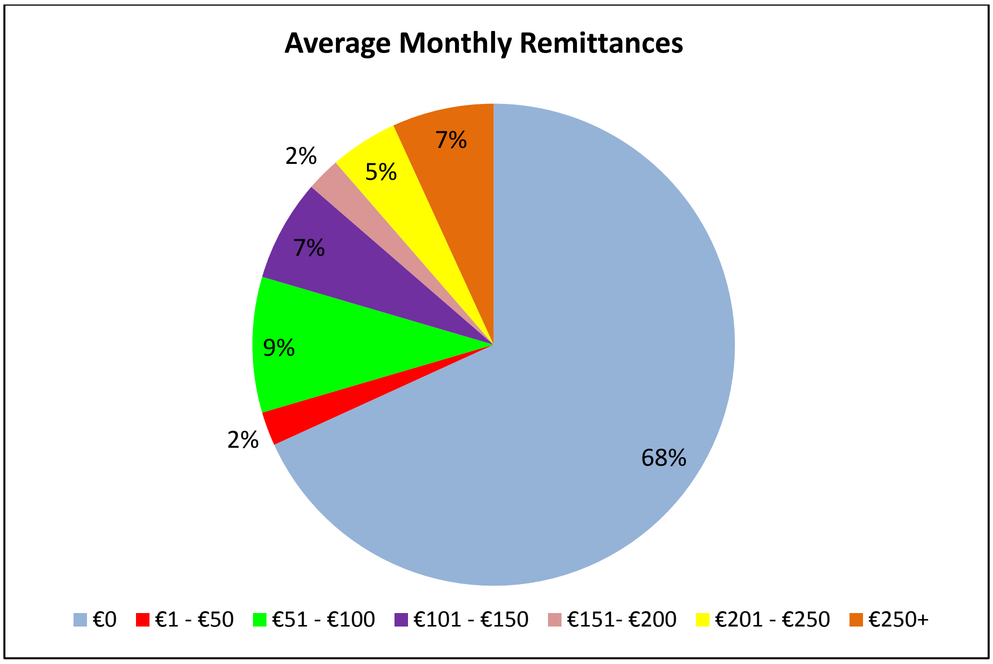


6.4.4 Remittances

The effect of remittances is hypothesised to be minimal on the sending economy due to the low spatial concentration and distribution of foreign nationals throughout Co. Limerick (Figure 6.11). Furthermore, the effect of remittances on the sending economy is further diluted by the relatively small amounts of money sent abroad on a monthly basis. The vast majority of migrant respondents to the household questionnaire sent either no remittances (68%) or relatively low amounts of money, ranging from €1 to €100 per month (11%), to their respective homeland. Only a small minority of migrants (7%) spend over €250 per month on remittances.

[111] East European groceries account for 71% of migrant orientated goods being merchandised by Co. Limerick businesses, with the remainder being international calling cards.

Figure 6.11: Average Monthly Remittances by Migrants in Co. Limerick



6.5 Labour Market Multiplier Effect

Economic migrants have played an insignificant role in the restructuring of the rural economic base in Co. Limerick. This is evidenced through the lack of migrant orientated services and products provided by businesses; and through the relatively low spending power of migrants within the local community. A migrant even remarked on the minimal impact of immigration within his / her locality:

> *'Not really noticed much impact, but have noticed increasingly number of British people in the local village, working in the supermarket'* (Household Questionnaire No. 533).

The existence of a labour market multiplier effect associated with net in-migration would be very beneficial for the local rural economy in Co Limerick. One of the business questionnaires identified a migrant business providing administrative and support service activities in a market town in Co. Limerick. It was established by a Danish and British couple who identified '*a gap to be filled in relation to administration services in West Limerick'* (Business Questionnaire No. 132). However, ethnic entrepreneurship is not prolific in Co. Limerick as a consequence of the low concentration of foreign nationals. The only exceptions tend to be ethnic food restaurants, with the most notable example being Chinese take-away restaurants.

The methodology for calculating the labour market multiplier effect associated with net in-migration within Co. Limerick is identical to that applied to Co. Monaghan (as outlined in the previous chapter). In total, 67.8% and 70.6% of migrant and non-migrant households did not employ anyone. The percentage of households occupied by at least one employer (Figure 6.12) is low for non-migrant households (11.4%), whilst it is lower for migrant households (6.8%). In absolute terms, migrant households collectively employ 17 individuals in contrast to 196 individuals for non-migrant households surveyed (Figure 6.13). Therefore, the direct jobs multiplier effect for migrant households is 0.29 whilst non-migrant households recorded a higher job generation multiplier effect of 0.93. This equates to:

- 29 direct jobs being generated for every 100 migrant households.
- 93 direct jobs being generated for every 100 non-migrant households.

There is a large difference between migrant and non-migrant households with respect to the creation of direct employment. This implies the existence of a relatively small labour market (job generation) multiplier effect associated with net in-migration to Co. Limerick

Figure 6.12: Percentage of Households Occupied by at Least 1 Employer in Co. Limerick

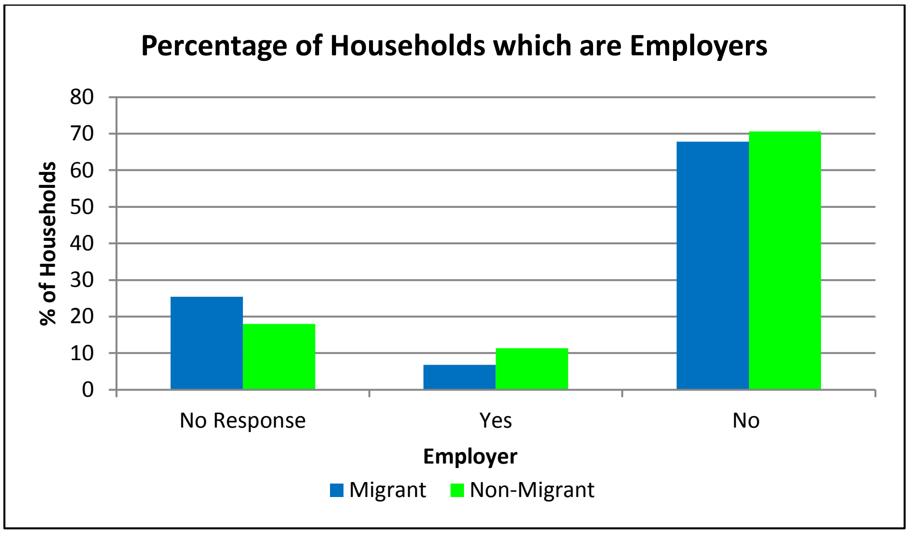
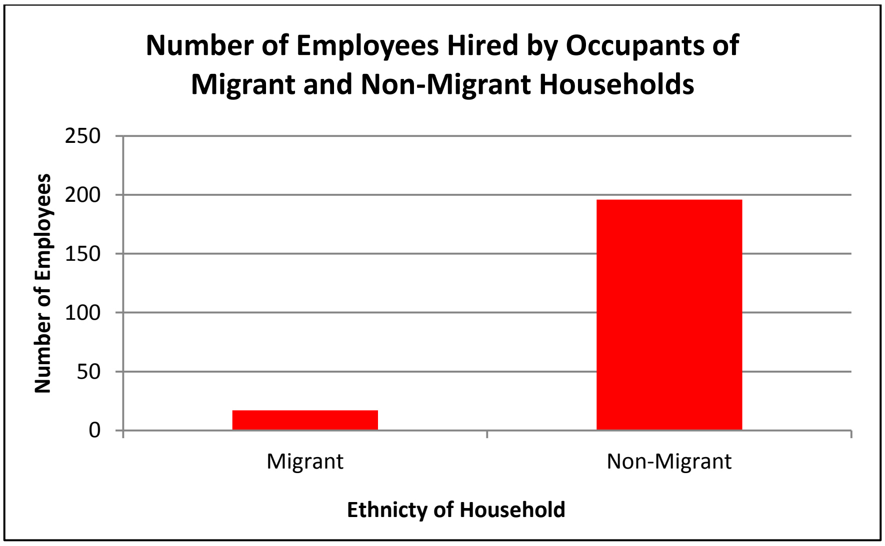


Figure 6.13: Number of Employees Hired by Entrepreneurial Households in Co. Limerick



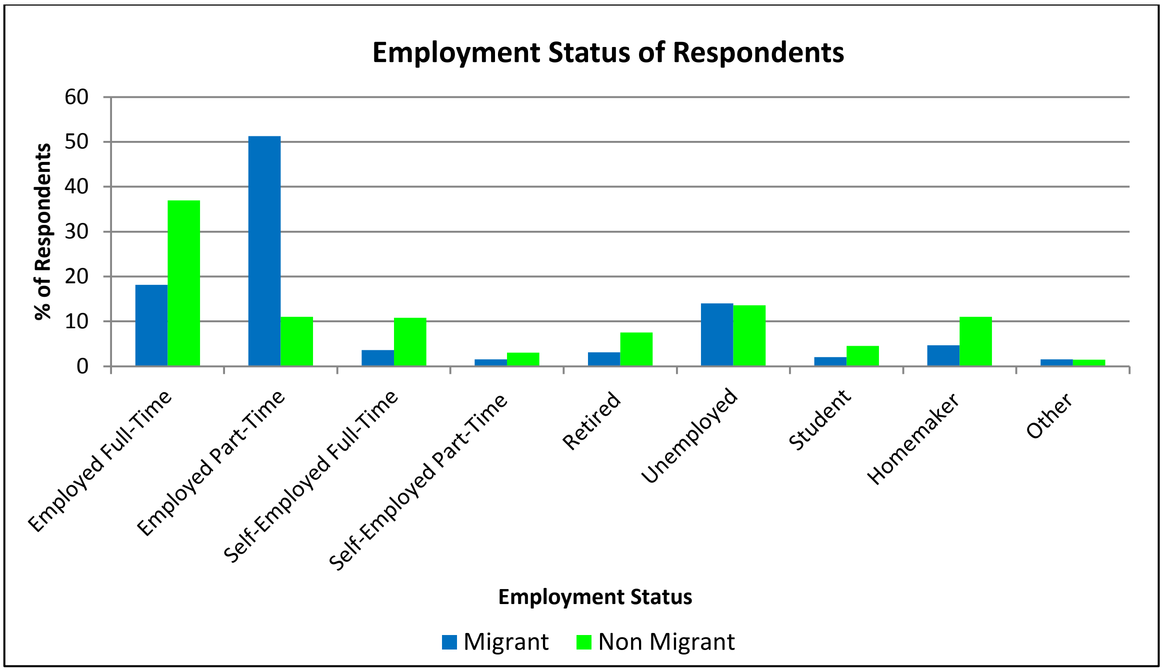
6.5.1 Employment Status

There is a marked difference with respect to the employment status of non-migrants to migrants in Co. Limerick (Figure 6.14). Migrants appear to be heavily reliant on part-time employment (51.3%) in comparison to non-migrants (11%) and vice-versa for full-time employment. Migrants (18.1%) are less likely to be in full-time employment than non-migrants (36.7%). An explanation for the high proportion of part-time employment amongst migrants was provided by an interviewee from a statutory agency, who stated that specific companies had difficulty in recruiting employees from the indigenous workforce to fill short term / seasonal labour vacancies. Therefore these companies became reliant on economic migrants and an example was provided by this interviewee with respect to a:

> *'Special project that brought people from Estonia to (a food ingredients manufacturing plant) specifically for seasonal work. It would be only a month's work, sometimes the jobs which Irish people would not necessarily do, but mightn't be available to do'* (Interviewee No. 16).

Since the commencement of the economic downturn, this employment agency is no longer reliant on recruiting economic migrants to fill seasonal / short-term vacancies.

Figure 6.14: Employment Status of Respondents in Co. Limerick



Furthermore, there is a considerable difference in the percentage of full-time and part-time self-employment amongst migrants (4.2%) and non-migrants (13.8%). Migrants are more likely to be employees than entrepreneurs. However, one interviewee from a rural development agency indicated a steady increase in the number of unemployed migrants becoming self-employed in West Limerick:

> *'In more recent years, there tends to be a lot more migrants becoming self-employed. When the work was there, they were employed and working in construction, retail, service industry. Now that work isn't there, they are creating it for themselves by becoming self-employed. That's a lot more noticeable over the past three years'* (Interviewee No. 18).

The percentage of unemployed persons shows very little variation between migrants (14%) and non-migrants (13.6%). Even though, the unemployment rate amongst all respondents is consistent with the overall national average, the unemployment rate amongst migrants is lower than the national average in Co. Limerick. The migrant population has a higher labour force participation rate (89.1%) than non-migrants (77%). This difference is attributable to economic migrants being less likely to be categorised as retirees, students and / or homemakers.

6.5.2 Entrepreneurial Supports

There are very limited ethnic entrepreneurial supports available for migrants in Co. Limerick. Examples include:

- Three ethnic entrepreneurship courses provided by Doras Luimní in collaboration with Limerick City Chamber of Commerce and local development agencies.
- Start Your Own Business Courses for Polish nationals organised by Limerick County Enterprise Board in 2008; and West Limerick Resources in 2011.

The Start Your Own Business course, organised by West Limerick Resources was confined to Polish nationals due to a low concentration of other nationalities in West Limerick and more importantly, due to financial constraints associated with translating all of the documentation into various other languages and employing interpreters. Furthermore, this was a very successful initiative due to level of demand for this innovative entrepreneurial course. As one interviewee stated:

> *'It was a full house….Everybody found it hugely beneficial and I think it is something I will do again going forward'* (Interviewee No. 18).

However, migrants are also eligible to access entrepreneurial supports provided by statutory and non-statutory agencies to the indigenous population. A wide variety of entrepreneurial services are available throughout Co. Limerick. A non-statutory agency in Co. Limerick provides a mentoring service to social welfare claimants who have a desire to become self-employed. This service is available to both migrants and non-migrants. In recent years, there been a steady increase in the number of migrants seeking to become self-employed (Table 6.3) and for 2011, migrants accounted for approximately 10% of the client base. Interestingly, a trend can be discerned on the basis of nationality and employment category with respect to self-employment:

> *'Polish nationals are predominantly in construction related trade; Lithuanians are into cars, like window tinting, signs for the windows; Latvians tend to be more mechanical based'* (Interviewee No. 18).

Furthermore, according to the interviewee the British clients would be less likely to adhere to specific trends in comparison to the East European clients.

Table 6.3: Number of Migrant Social Welfare Clients Seeking Self-Employment Mentoring Assistance from West Limerick Resources

Year	British	Polish	Lithuanian	Other	Total
2009	1	0	0	0	1
2010	6	3	4	1	14
2011*	2	7	2	3	14

* 2011 figures to 30 September

Ballyhoura Development has initiated a rural enterprise service, with the primary focus being '*to proactively change the economic outlook for long-term unemployed clients, by building their capacity and including them in the entrepreneurial opportunities in the local economy'* (Ballyhoura Development, 2011, p. 3). According to the most recent figures, 11 migrants received support in business planning; mentoring; and business compliance in 2011 (Limerick Integration Working Group, 2012). The rural enterprise service assisted the transition from long term unemployment to self-employment through the provision of advice, mentoring, finance and networking opportunities.

The Limerick County Enterprise Board is a statutory agency that provides a '*range of financial supports designed to assist with the establishment and / or growth of small scale businesses employing up to ten people'* (Limerick County Enterprise Board, 2011a, p. 2). Entrepreneurial supports provided by the Limerick County Enterprise Board include financial support through grants and loans; education and training; professional advice / mentoring; and networking opportunities. Following the closure of the Dell manufacturing plant in Raheen, Co. Limerick, the Limerick County Enterprise Board was tasked with administering the European Globalisation Fund[112] (EGF) for former employees of Dell and associated companies. This fund was accessed by some migrant workers, but statistics have not been collated on the basis of nationality – '*We do not have any concrete statistics on the amount of migrant workers who took up the fund'* (E-mail Correspondence). However, the 2010 annual report from Limerick County Enterprise Board, *Investing in your Future – Supporting the Creation & Development of Local Enterprise* (2011b), does clearly identify the distribution of EGF aid to migrant orientated companies. These enterprises primarily received priming grants and are involved in a wide range of economic activities (second hand car

[112]Limerick County Enterprise Board supported 166 client businesses over the fifteen month period duration of the fund. The total amount paid out was €1,925,226.79.

exporter; cleaning, decorating and maintenance services; car custom audio solutions; exporting car parts; information website for migrants; data centre; on-line shop; pc repairs; mobile valeting services; wholesale and retail wood and wood products; Polish cosmetics and skincare; web-business for African community in Ireland; and car parts exporter to Sierra Leon). Unfortunately, the report does not state the geographical location of these migrant enterprises.

6.5.3 Migrant Businesses

There are very few migrant owned and / or migrant orientated businesses in Co. Limerick. This stems from the very low spatial distribution of foreign nationals throughout Co. Limerick. Even though, statutory and non-statutory agencies have provided several Start Your Own Business courses for ethnic entrepreneurs, it is difficult to discern whether any of these companies were established within Co. Limerick. Migrant owned businesses in Co. Limerick include: a kitchen production plant and Hungarian dentist surgery in Ballylanders; and an ethnic food shop in Newcastle West. Furthermore, numerous interviewees mentioned the existence of self-employed entrepreneurs, mostly engaged in construction and motor trade industries. However, no specific locations were given for these businesses.

The Hungarian dentist surgery in Ballylanders, Co. Limerick is not a truly ethnic enterprise (Photograph 6.2). The surgery was founded in 2011 by the late Mr John Gallahue, a local business person and community activist in collaboration with the Ballylanders Development Committee (Barrett, 2011). The twinning of Ballylanders with the village of Ersekcsanad in Hungary was pivotal in providing the necessary networking opportunities for the establishment of this business. One interviewee commented:

> *'It was X's idea that the dentist would come to Ballylanders. They were toing and froing (to Hungary). They finally got permission from the Dental Council in Dublin…Then we came home from Hungary, we brought a dentist with us'* (Interviewee No. 19).

This business venture provides an example of European integration and transnational co-operation, whereby rural villages can forge strong cultural and trade links with each other. The establishment of the dental clinic is also a prime example of rural economic diversification in Co. Limerick. Furthermore, ethnic restaurants, particularly Chinese take-away restaurants, are to be found in the majority of towns and villages in Co. Limerick. The growing demand for ethnic cuisine is linked to globalisation and internationalisation, whereby consumers wish to consume diverse food products from across the globe. This phenomenon transcends both urban and rural locations (Reed, et al., 2003; Honohan & Rougier, 2010).

Photograph 6.2: Hungarian Dentist Surgery, Ballylanders, Co. Limerick

6.6 Integration of Migrant and Non-Migrant Communities

The spatial distribution of migrants is very uneven in the Mid-West Region of Ireland, with Co. Limerick having a very low concentration whilst the reverse is true for Limerick City. Even though there is a divergence between the two locations with respect to the spatial distribution of migrants, the Social Measures Committees of Limerick County and Limerick City Councils established the Limerick Integration Working Group[113] in 2010. This group is tasked with enhancing integration into host communities in Limerick and the promotion of inter-culturalism. The Limerick Integration Working Group defines integration as:

[113] The members of the Limerick Integration Working Group include; An Garda Síochana; Ballyhoura Development Ltd; Citizens Information Board; City of Limerick VEC; County Limerick VEC; City Community and Voluntary Forum; Department of Social Protection; Doras Luimní; FÁS; Health Service Executive; Integrating Centre; Jesuit Refugee Service Ireland; Limerick County Council; Limerick City Council; Limerick Filipino Community; Limerick Latvian Activity Centre; New Communities Partnership; PAUL Partnership; University of Limerick; and West Limerick Resources.

'A long-term multidimensional and dynamic process starting from the moment of arrival in Limerick. It aims at ensuring respect for diversity and equal opportunities for the participation of all residents of Limerick irrespective of cultural or religious background, age, gender or nationality. Integration takes place through the interaction of people and implies mutual understanding as well as shared rights and responsibility' (Limerick Integration Working Group, 2010, p. 5).

The Limerick City and County Integration Plan 2010 – 2012 has seven strategic themes. These include education and language; information and training; supporting communities; employment; health and welfare; non-discrimination and justice; and arts, sport, interfaith and inclusion. Each strategic theme within the action plan has identifiable action points and indicators to be acted upon by specific organisations within the working group. All of the outputs relating to the integration of migrants and host communities within Co. Limerick, based on the strategic themes, are outlined in detail within yearly progress reports (Limerick Integration Working Group, 2011; 2012). For example, the non-discrimination and justice theme has strengthened links between An Garda Siochána and representatives of ethnic minority communities in Limerick County and City (15 Garda liaison officers with representatives from 24 ethnic communities through the Connect Communities initiative) and participation in the Garda reserve (In 2012, approximately 10% of the Garda Reserve in the Limerick Division are from a migrant background). Furthermore, this theme sought to combat racism through enhanced reporting mechanisms (Doras Luimní in collaboration with European Network Against Racism offered an on-line mechanism for the anonymous reporting of racism by victims); educational campaigns (FAI development officers provided presentations on challenging racism through sport and participation of *Show Racism the Red Card* within Limerick schools) and policy formulation (Jesuit Refugee Service assisted in the development of an anti-racism policy and provided relevant training for a primary school in Limerick). The structures of the Integration Working Group provide a best practice approach for the implementation of integration activities as all statutory and non-statutory organisations (including community groups) are represented on the committee.

As discussed in the methodology and Co. Monaghan chapters, migrants and non-migrants were asked to outline their opinions and perceptions relating to in-migration within their locality. Migrants are more negative towards their counterparts (immigrants) than are non-migrants[114]. A competitive labour market combined with a high concentration of migrants within specific locations is probably responsible for this perception. Conversely, non-migrants are more likely than migrants to have positive opinions towards immigrants (Figure 6.15). The majority of migrant attitudinal responses referred to economic and language / cultural issues whilst non-migrant attitudinal responses related to social integration and economic issues (Figure 6.16).

Figure 6.15: Attitudes of Migrants and Non-Migrants towards Immigrants

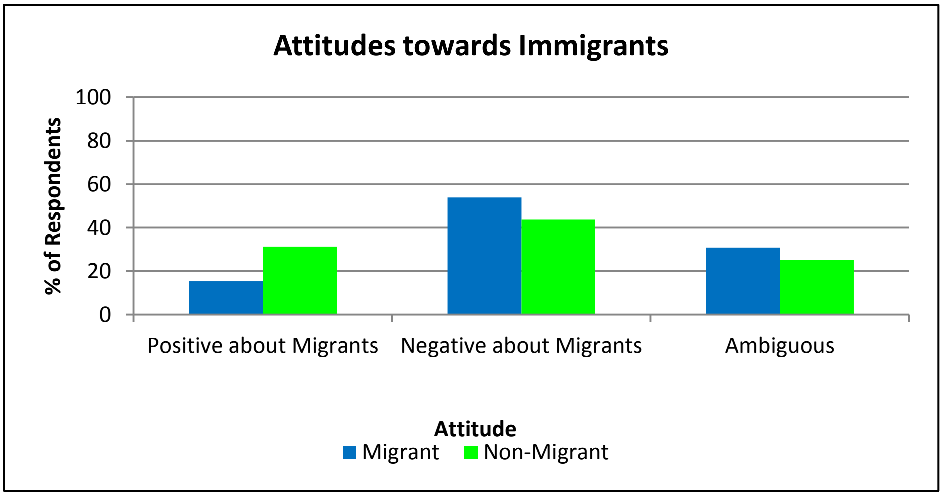
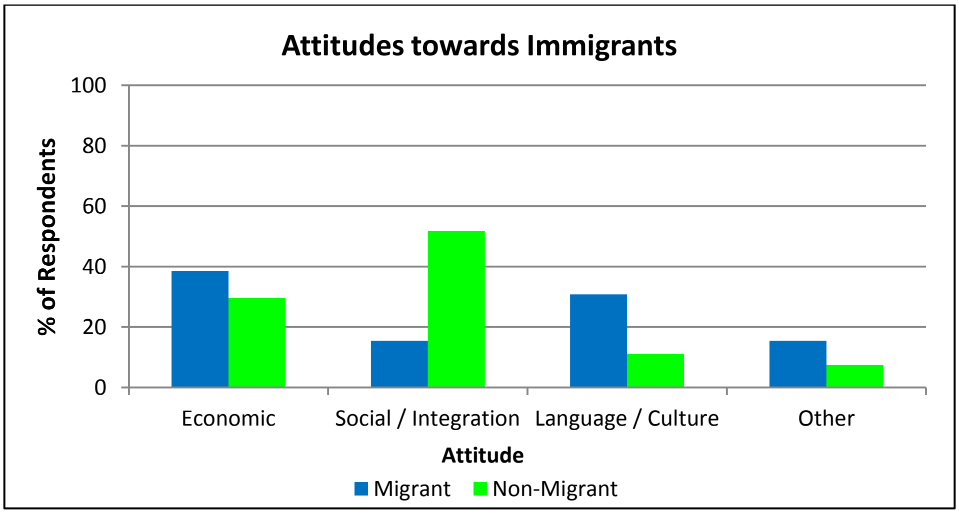


Figure 6.16: Categorisation of Attitudes towards Immigrants



[114] Academic literature provides evidence of migrants exhibiting negative attitudes towards fellow migrants. Historical rivalries and competition for employment are the main sources for the inter-migrant xenophobia (McDowell, et al., 2009; Friberg, 2012; Parutis, 2011; Svasek, 2009; Roudometof, 2010)

The indigenous population within Newcastle West and its hinterland tends to have mixed attitudes towards the economic migrants who have recently settled in the locality. A number of respondents to the household questionnaire have lauded the enhanced ethnic diversity within Newcastle West. One non-migrant household questionnaire respondent commented:

> *'Migration is very beneficial to the area. It brings a lot of diverse people from different backgrounds together.'* (Household Questionnaire No. 308).

These sentiments were also shared by a respondent from another indigenous household:

> *'People from different countries bring diversity to our community'* (Household Questionnaire No. 375).

Migrant households in Co. Limerick, particularly in Newcastle West, have commented favourably towards the enhanced ethnic diversity of the population base. A diverse ethnic base has had positive social and economic impacts for local communities. One non-migrant household respondent acknowledged the acceptance of a multi-cultural society in his / her community.

> *'We meet people from different nationalities – tolerance of different nationalities here'* (Household Questionnaire No. 474).

Furthermore, one migrant respondent acknowledged the economic benefits of in-migration for the local community:

> *'In my opinion, migration into Newcastle West has had a huge impact, both in culture and in the economic field. I mean the huge number of rented houses and by the number of people making everyday purchases and involved in leisure activities'* (Household Questionnaire No. 543).

A proportion of the indigenous population also has negative attitudes towards the migrants who have settled in Co. Limerick during the past decade. In Co. Monaghan there was a strong perception that migrants are only availing of social welfare benefits and not positively contributing to the local economy. This attitude did not appear to be prevalent in Co. Limerick. The indigenous population is most critical of the lack of proficiency of the English language amongst some migrants and the difficulties this poses during everyday transactions in retail outlets. As one respondent commented:

> *'Too many speak in their own language and work in shops, so when you ask a question, they don't understand you'* (Household Questionnaire No. 334).

Furthermore, one respondent makes reference to the lack of integration of migrants and non-migrants within the community:

> *'Overpopulation in village. Language barrier and loss of localised jobs. Safety factor – nobody knows background of people from other countries that move into a village'* (Household Questionnaire No. 480).

This can ultimately lead to a sense of mistrust and / or anxiety between the two communities and ultimately to a degree of segregation[115]. Other respondents have alluded to this loss of community, with one respondent making specific reference to the transitory nature of migrants due to their preference to seek rental accommodation:

> *'Sometimes it leads to a lesser sense of community with people from different areas and countries'* (Household Questionnaire 329).

The negative effects associated with a high concentration of rental properties in a specific location were highlighted by one respondent:

> *'Rental sector – 25% of housing stock in private rentals results in significant transitory activity'* (Household Questionnaire No. 300).

6.6.1 Education: English language

Limerick County Vocational Education Committee (V.E.C.) is tasked with providing English as a Second Other Language (E.S.O.L) classes to migrants not proficient in the English language. English language classes are held predominantly in Newcastle West and Kilmallock. In the past, there was also a necessity to provide ESOL classes in Ballylanders, Hospital, Caherconlish, Glin, Foynes and Adare. The greatest concentration of ESOL students is in Newcastle West, with approximately 160 students enrolled in English language classes. In 2011, 400 ESOL students were enrolled in Co. Limerick VEC courses, with a 100 of the students being educated in Doras Luimní (Limerick Integration Working Group, 2012). All constituent members of the Limerick Integration Working Group refer migrants with a poor proficiency of the English language to either the County or City VECs. These classes are vital for the social and economic integration of migrants into the host community, as an inability to speak English proficiently has been identified as a significant barrier with respect to accessing crucial services. As one interviewee stated:

[115] During the collection of the household questionnaires, it was observed that the majority of East European migrants tended to be residing in housing developments constructed during the economic boom. This was most evident in Newcastle West.

'They would indicate a lack of (English) language as being a barrier, a big, big barrier. That's the primary barrier. It's not just a barrier to employment but it is a barrier to engaging with social welfare, with medical services. It's a barrier to potential employment opportunities' (Interviewee No. 20).

Even though there is a low concentration of migrants in Co. Limerick, there is still a strong demand for the ESOL classes. During the economic boom, a number of migrants did not avail of the classes as it was deemed not necessary:

'In the past, there was so much work around, you didn't need to be able to speak English to mix cement on a building site and if you did, there would have been 10 guys on the building site who could speak English and translate for the others' (Interviewee No. 20).

Furthermore, the lack of social interaction between migrants and non-migrants has also been identified as a potential reason for the low rates of English language acquisition. One interviewee commented that:

'Even today, there is still a lot of people who have not just recently come to this country but might have been here 2, 3 or 4 years, who still have a major language problem and that would be due, I would say to mixing only within their own community. Now that's not all of them but it is quite a number of them' (Interviewee No. 21).

6.6.2 Employment Services

In recent years, the primary motivation for migration amongst foreign nationals is the pursuit of employment. Even though, there are currently limited employment prospects in Co. Limerick, all of the statutory and non-statutory agencies that cater for job-seekers have provided a range of services for migrant clients. Furthermore, a wide range of employment services is available to both migrants and non-migrants. Several organisations in Co. Limerick assist the unemployed in trying to secure gainful employment. These employment supports are crucial for migrants with respect to the provision of information and advice relating employment rights and entitlements; and the process of securing employment in Ireland.

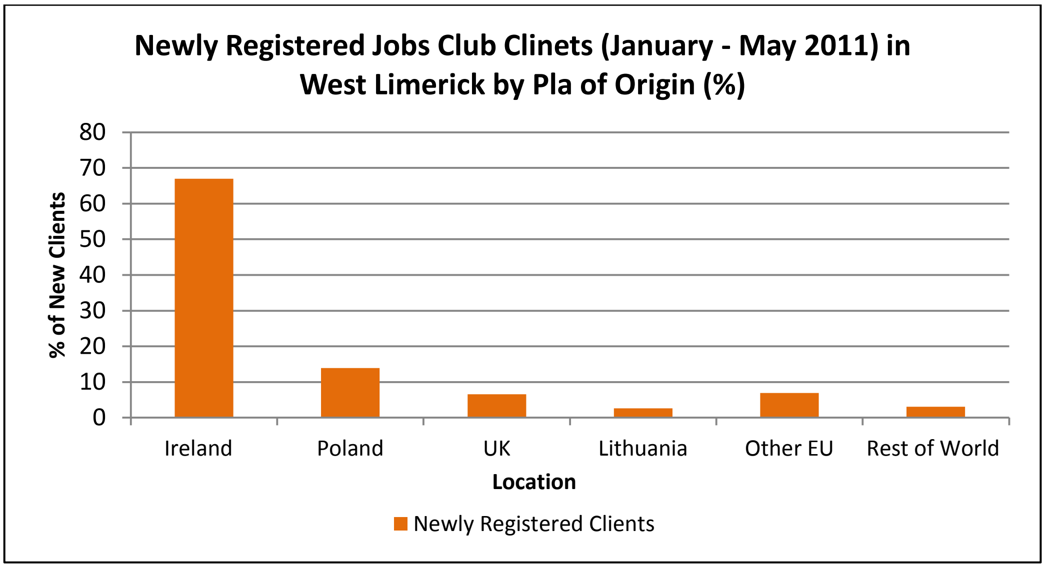
FÁS, an Irish semi-state agency provides training courses suited to the needs of jobseekers currently seeking employment and to assist employers fill job vacancies. As stated, there is a large proportion of the migrant workforce currently unemployed in Co. Limerick. Therefore, FÁS personnel come into contact with migrants in their offices throughout the county. Specific services have had to be provided to migrant clients due to a lack of fluency in the English language. These included:

- A language interpretation service via telephone at the customer desk at any FÁS office.
- The publication of information leaflets in 13 languages, detailing employment and training opportunities; usage of the self-services facilities; and career information relating to the Irish labour market.

The two LEADER partnerships in Co. Limerick, Ballyhoura Development and West Limerick Resources assist job-seekers through the Job Clubs and rural employment service clinics. These employment services offer support to job-seekers with CV preparation; interview techniques; referral to relevant organisations; information provision on education and training; and one-to-one mentoring. In 2011, 125 migrants accessed the Jobs Club within West Limerick, whilst 111 migrants accessed similar services in the Ballyhoura area (Limerick Integration Working Group, 2012). A sample[116] of newly-registered Jobs Club clients in West Limerick highlights an array of nationalities residing within the partnership's catchment area. These include: Slovakians; Lithuanians; Poles; British; Dutch; Latvians; Russians; Spaniards; Chinese; Congolese; Croatians; Pakistanis; New Zealanders; Romanians; Nigerians and Estonians. Indeed, 32% of the newly registered clients with the West Limerick Jobs Club were economic migrants (Figure 6.17). This suggests migrants are more vulnerable to becoming unemployed than non-migrants and / or newly arrived economic migrants are continuingly arriving into the county in search of employment. It also suggests that as a result of the outreach work done by partnerships and service provides, migrants are becoming more forthcoming in accessing services.

[116] The sample consists of 154 non-migrants and 76 migrants who were registered with the West Limerick Jobs Club from 1 January to 30 May 2011.

Figure 6.17: Sample of Newly Registered Jobs Club Clients (January – May 2011) in West Limerick by Place of Origin (%)



6.6.3 Access to Services

Migrants have made a very limited contribution to the local economy due to the low numbers of migrants throughout the county, with the only exception being Newcastle West. Therefore, the purchasing power and utilisation of services by migrants would be insignificant. However, it still important to identify the locations at which migrants and non-migrants procure goods and access services. In locations where there is a large immigrant population, it is necessary to determine whether migrants are positively integrating into the community. Some communities have benefited immensely as a consequence of in-migration through the utilisation of local services. One respondent to the household questionnaire stated that:

> *'A lot of young families have moved to the area, which has benefited the locality; sports clubs, businesses and people in general. It has provided a much needed multi-cultural society for this small knit area also, which broadens people's mind-set and horizons. Some older people have settled here lately and this has given us a better sense of community and caring for others. The infrastructure in place has coped well with the influx of people to the area'* (Household Questionnaire No. 354).

Figure 6.18 indicated that the vast majority of primary school pupils from migrant and native households are attending a school within the local area / community. There is a divergence in location with respect to the access of post-primary education. Migrants and non-migrants generally travel to the nearest post-primary school, with it being located within the local area / community; neighbouring village and / or neighbouring town. Interestingly, 10% of migrant post-primary students travel to Limerick City in contrast to 3% of the indigenous population (Figure 6.19).

Figure 6.18: Location where Primary School is accessed in Co. Limerick

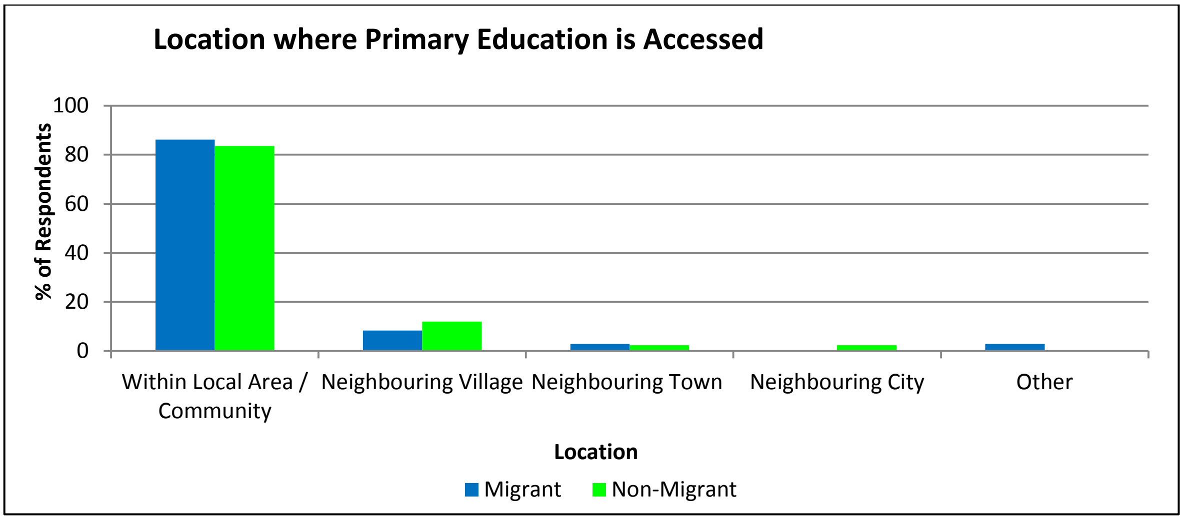
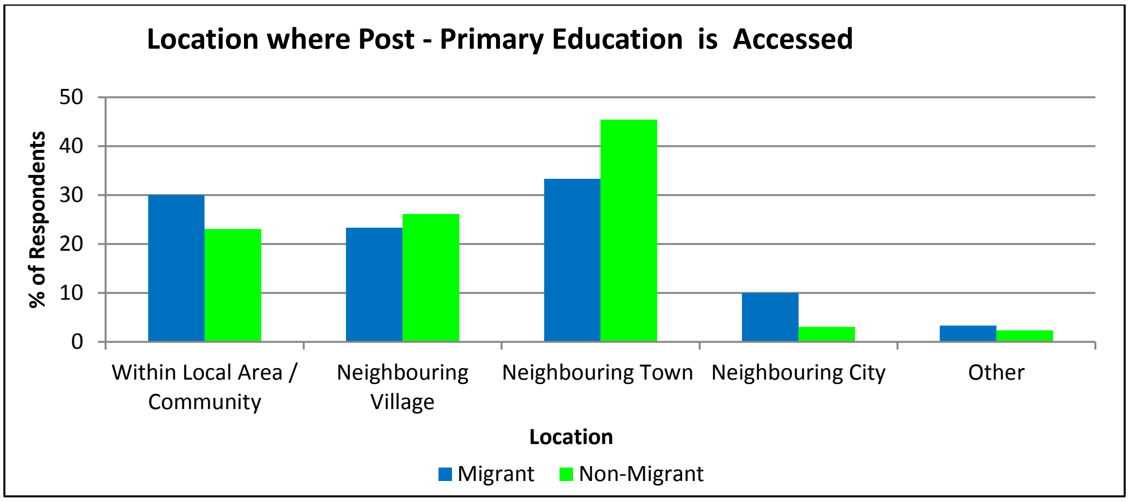


Figure 6.19: Location where Secondary School is accessed in Co. Limerick

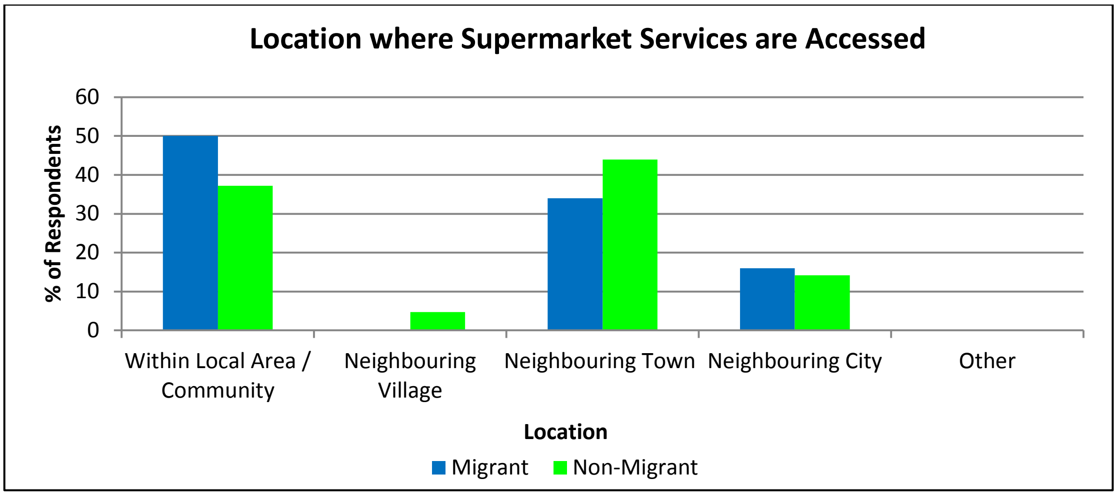


Distance to post-primary school: p = 0.194; Cramer's V = 0.188

The retail sector has not benefited economically from migration in Co. Limerick due to the sparse concentration of foreign nationals throughout the county. The average distance travelled by migrants (18.54 Km) to the supermarket is slightly longer than non-migrants (15.85 Km). However, the modal value differs significantly between migrants (1Km) and non-migrants (15Km). This is possibly attributable to a small proportion of migrants residing in peripheral locations travelling to Limerick City in order to purchase ethnic orientated groceries (Figure 6.20). Figure 6.21 suggests both migrants and non-migrants show a distinct preference for accessing small shop /

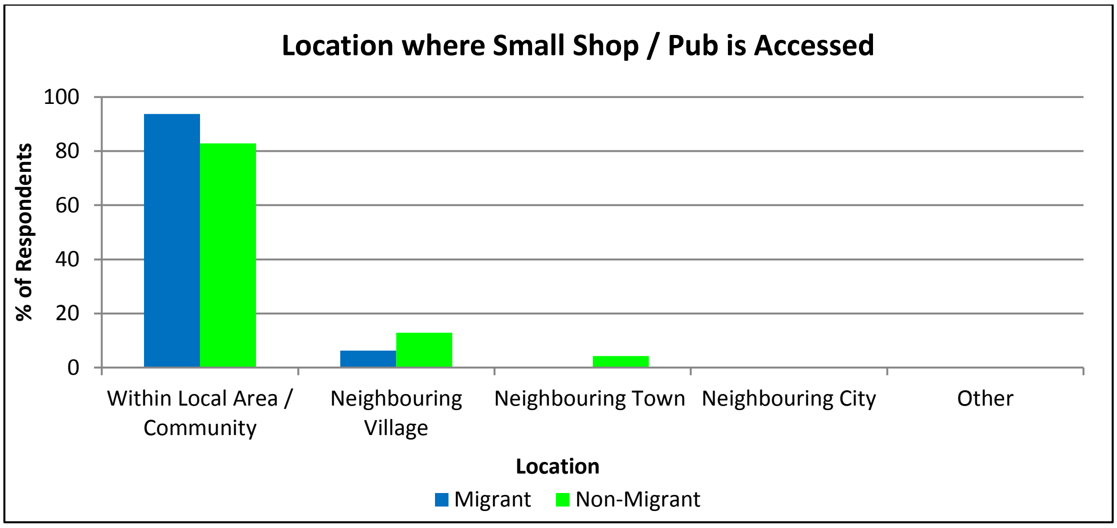
convenience stores and pubs within the local area or community. The purchasing power of migrants is a localised phenomenon insofar as it occurs at locations where migrant population is most prominent. Therefore, only a small number of retailers are benefiting from the custom of migrants.

Figure 6.20: Location where Supermarket Services are accessed in Co. Limerick



Distance to supermarket: p = 0.169; Cramer's V = 0.162

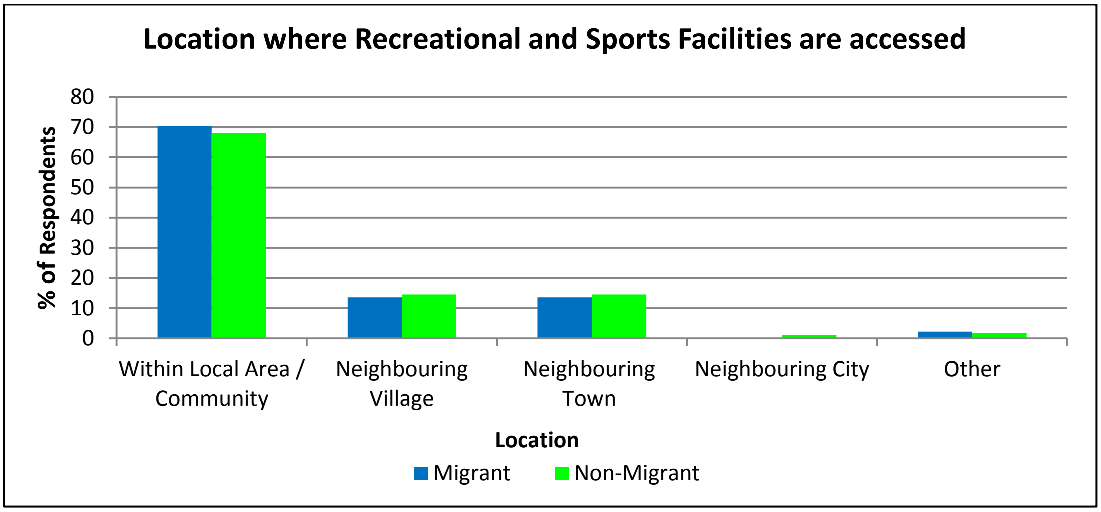
Figure 6.21: Location where Small Shop / Pub is accessed in Co. Limerick



Distance to small shop / pub: p = <0.1; Cramer's V = 0.195

The integration of migrants can be enhanced through active participation in sporting activities. County Limerick has a strong 'sporting culture' with an array of facilities available throughout the county; including G.A.A., rugby and soccer playing pitches; mountain biking trail; equestrian centres; leisure centres; golf courses, hill-walking trails; boxing clubs; and cycling clubs. An overwhelming majority of migrants and non-migrants access recreational and sporting facilities within the local area / community (Figure 6.22).

Figure 6.22: Location where Recreational and Sports Facilities are accessed in Co. Limerick

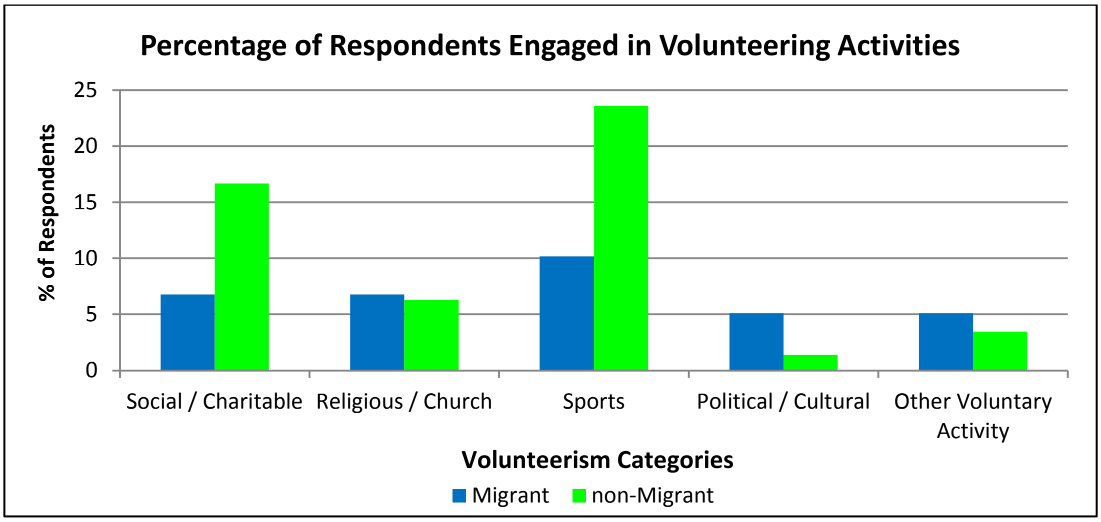


Distance to recreational centre/ sports pitch: $p = 0.295$; Cramer's $V = 0.172$

6.6.4 Volunteerism

Volunteerism is an effective means by which migrants can become more socially active within the community. Figure 6.23 indicates a much stronger participation in voluntary activity amongst the Irish nationals than among foreign nationals. The lower rates of volunteerism (most acute in social / charitable and sporting activities) amongst the migrant cohort are similar to those recorded in Co. Monaghan and this may be indicative of a lack of integration between the migrant and indigenous communities. However, there is a marginally higher percentage of migrants than Irish nationals engaged in religious and other voluntary activities, with approximately a 4% difference with respect to political and cultural activities. The higher percentage amongst migrants could be attributable to the religious affiliation of foreign nationals and the efforts of advocacy organisations such as Doras Luimní.

Figure 6.23: Percentage of Respondents Engaged in Volunteering Activities in Co. Limerick



6.7 Future Intentions of Migrants

6.7.1 Intention to Move Residence

Respondents' (both migrants and non-migrants) intention to move residence is presented in Figure 6.24. The vast majority of migrants (63%) and non-migrants (76%) have no intention of moving address. This signifies a high level of satisfaction with the current place of residence, while it may also be indicative of a lack of means or resources to move residence. However, 8% of migrants have intentions of moving residence in 5 or more years (a similar trend is evident in Co. Monaghan – see Figure 5.25). This level of household movement may not occur as migrants become integrated into the local community. This has been exemplified by one interviewee who stated that migrants with children are very reluctant to move residence, even if the parent has become unemployed:

> *'They had actually made Ireland their home, so just because they lost their job, they didn't always pack up and go away, you know, because their children had started school and they were kind of settled here'* (Interviewee No. 22).

However, migrants (7%) show a slightly higher preference to move within 6 months than do non-migrants (6%). Broadly similar levels for both population cohorts are evident for those who wish to move residence between 6 - 12 months; 1 – 2 years; and 2 – 5 years. One interviewee stated that it is not surprising for single economic migrants, especially those who have no commitments or attachments to the local community, to travel extensively in search of employment:

> *'I'd see many construction workers from EU countries coming into the FÁS office, but a lot of young people have gone back to Poland. They've gone to Norway or other countries where there are jobs in construction'* (Interviewee No. 16).

The primary motive for the move of residence and the future destination are insignificant findings as there is a very low concentration of migrants living in Co. Limerick relative to the national average and only a small proportion of the migrants actually residing in Co. Limerick wish to move residence. The most important factors influencing the decision to change place of residence are outlined in Figure 6.25. The principle reason influencing migrants to change address include family considerations (42%) and quality of life (33%). For non-migrants, there is no dominant reason for a proposed household move with quality of life (32%); family (21%); and employment (21%) being the most frequently cited reasons.

Figure 6.24: Intentions of Migrants and Non-Migrants Resident in Co. Limerick to Change Home Location

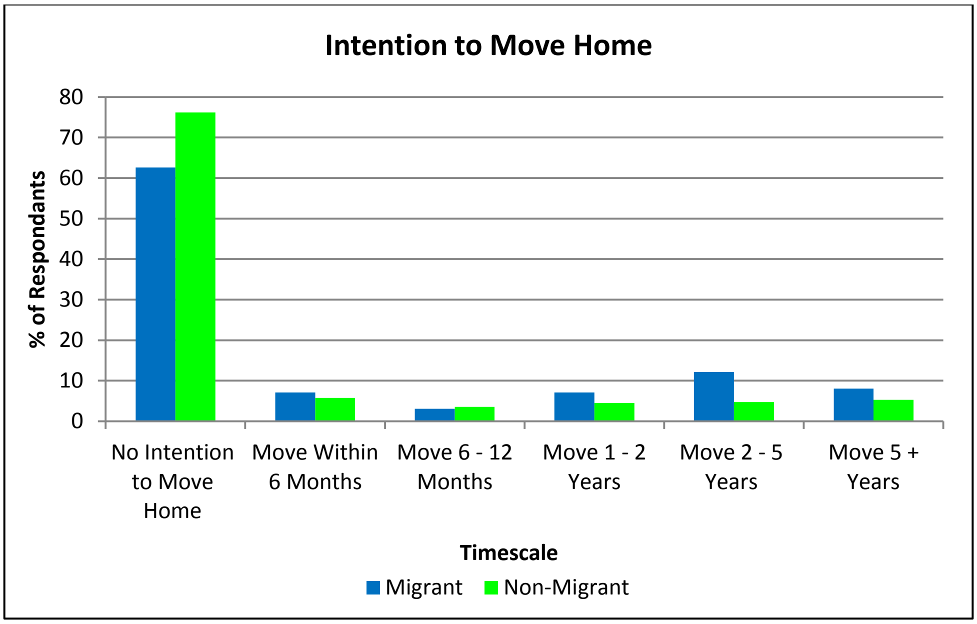
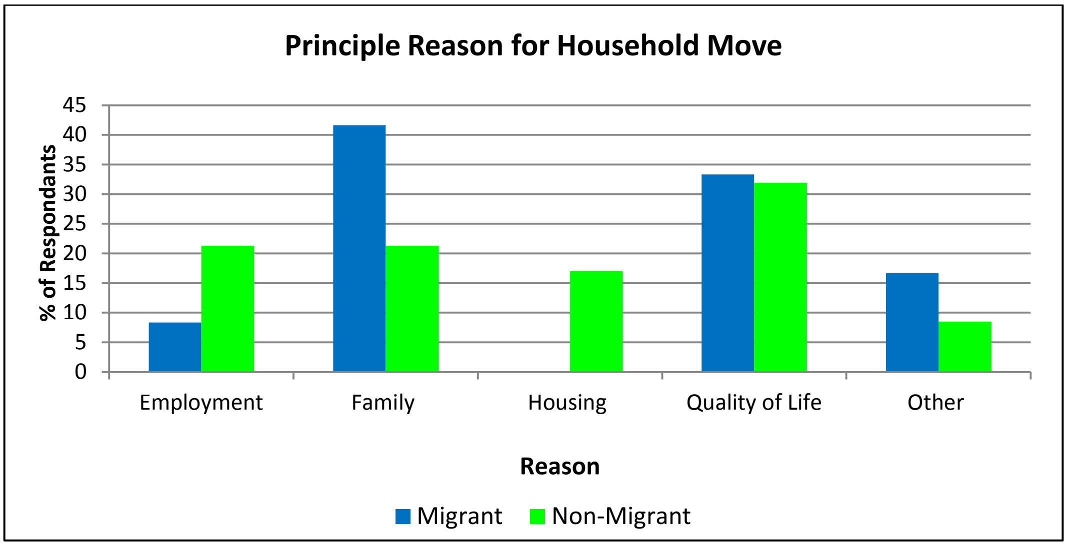
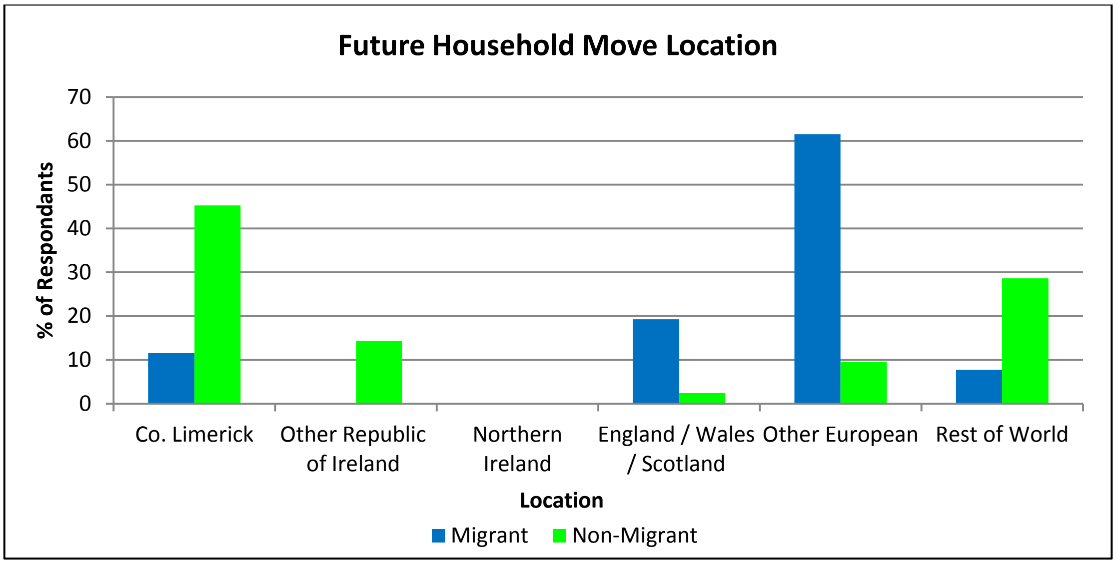


Figure 6.25: Principal Reason for Future Move of Residence for Migrants and Non-Migrants in Co. Limerick



The future destinations of those wishing to move residence is dissimilar between migrants and non-migrants (Figure 6.26). Migrants show a strong preference to travel to 'other European' countries (62%) and The UK[117] (19%). In contrast, non-migrants (45%) are more likely to move to another location within Co. Limerick (12%). However, it is interesting to note the high percentage of non-migrants wishing to emigrate to destinations outside of Europe.

Figure 6.26: Location of Future Residence for Migrants and Non-Migrants in Co. Limerick

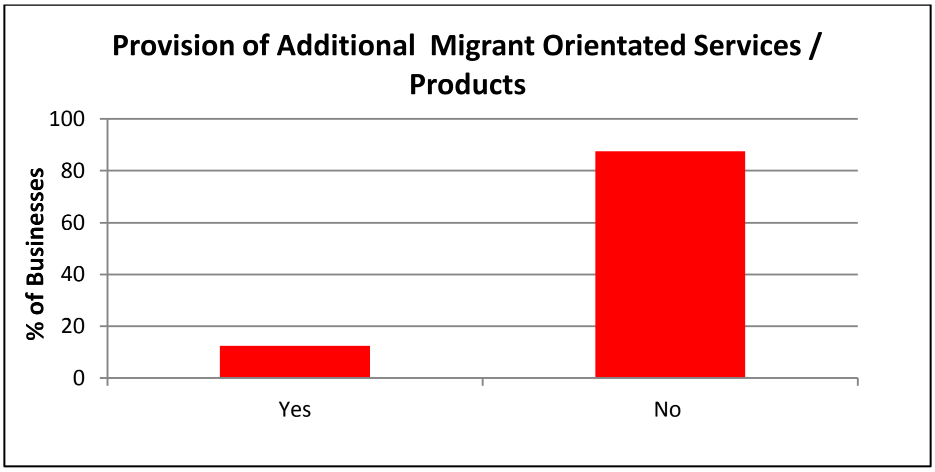


[117] This percentage excludes Northern Ireland.

6.7.2 Additional Products / Services

The vast majority of retail outlets in Co. Limerick have no intention of providing additional products or services to migrant customers. Only one-eighth of businesses are willing to consider the provision of additional products / services to migrant customers (Figure 6.27). This is associated with lower customer demand in most of Co. Limerick, with the exception of Newcastle West.

Figure 6.27: Provision of Additional Migrant Orientated Products / Services by Retail Outlets in Co. Limerick



6.7.3 Migrant Orientated Services

In recent years, there has been a reduction in the services provided to migrants by rural development organisations. In the past, one organisation had the financial means to organise social events (international table quizzes and a Christmas party) but this is no longer the case. As one interviewee commented:

> *'We used to do all that kind of work (social events), but we don't have the money to do it now'* (Interviewee No. 17)

Furthermore, the information service provided by this organisation has funding through the Local Community Development Programme until 2013. Currently, the main aim of the information service is to assist unemployed persons. This is inclusive of both migrants and non-migrants. Therefore there is a shift away from catering solely for migrant clients. Another interviewee from a rural development agency stressed that even though specific funding for migrant orientated initiative has ceased, there is still a requirement to provide information on rights and entitlements; and English language classes:

'There is a reduction in funding and the specific funding for immigrants is gone, but there is a continuing need for things like English language classes and information provision' (Interviewee No. 23).

However, the Limerick Working Group continues to meet on a regular basis to discuss and make progress on issues facing migrants living and working in both the county and city. The current integration strategy for the region ceases at the end of 2012, but a new strategy is currently being drafted by all relevant stakeholders. This organisation will continue to document and to address the challenges faced by migrants, whilst promoting integration between migrant and indigenous communities into the future.

6.8 Conclusion

The restructuring of the economic base in Co. Limerick (excluding the urban environs of Limerick City) has not resulted in a significant immigration from Eastern Europe, with the notable exception of Newcastle West and its hinterland. The diversification and rationalisation of the traditional industries have not resulted in additional labour requirements, thereby mitigating against the need for economic migrants. Furthermore, the workforce in Limerick County and City has reduced significantly as a consequence of the economic downturn, particularly with the closure of Dell computer assembly plant and associated companies. It is essential to restate the patterns of rural restructuring in Co. Limerick; and to establish why the transformation of the economic base has resulted in a lack of inward migration.

During the past two decades, the restructuring of the agricultural sector In Co. Limerick has led to the demise of small unproductive and unsustainable farm holdings, whereby there has been an intense consolidation of farm holdings. Pastoral farming (particularly the rearing of bovines and dairying) is the most prominent agricultural activity in the county. A reliance on beef and dairy production substantially reduces the requirement for farmers to employ agricultural workers. In recent years, economic migrants have tended to gain employment as agricultural workers, particularly in the poultry and mushroom sectors (as discussed in previous chapter). However, these agricultural activities are insignificant in Co. Limerick, thereby reducing the necessity for inward migration of East European to fill these low paid and low skilled positions.

The manufacturing sector is very prominent in West Limerick, with several large multi-national corporations operating within the region. The processes and patterns of globalisation are evident through a strong reliance of importing raw materials and exporting produce to and from overseas markets. There does not seem to be a strong reliance on migrant labour within the manufacturing sector, as many of these factories are long-established firms which have traditionally recruited from the local labour-force. Furthermore, a number of firms require a highly skilled workforce and rural economic migrants do not tend to be recruited to such positions. However, the presence of large food processing plants in Newcastle West has necessitated the inward migration of East European migrants to fill vacancies within these factories during the economic boom.

The proximity of Limerick City has negatively impacted the expansion of the retail and ICT sectors within the county. The transformation of the retail sector has led to consumers commuting into Limerick City and to the large shopping centres on the outskirts of the City, to purchase high order goods. This has inevitably led to a reduction in the diversity of retail outlets on the streetscapes of the principal towns within the county. Furthermore, the majority of ICT industries have tend to be clustered in the technological and industrial parks situated in the suburbs. A lack of employment opportunities within these sectors in Co. Limerick mitigate against the need for economic migrants.

In recent years, tourism has become a more prominent economic activity within Co. Limerick. Ballyhoura Fáilte has been very proactive in developing a diverse tourism product mix within the South-Eastern portion of the county. Furthermore, the historical and scenic village of Adare (10Km from Limerick City) has numerous amenities, including a unique streetscape of thatched cottages and a heritage centre. This village has attracts thousands of tourists each year. However, not all rural areas in Co. Limerick possess high quality amenities and / or scenic landscapes to attract tourists. Therefore, the diversification into tourism activities has had a localised effect on the economy. Economic migrants have gained employment in accommodation and food service activities, particularly in Adare as there is a high concentration of hotels and restaurants.

The low spatial concentration of economic migrants in Co. Limerick has not necessitated the provision of migrant orientated services, apart from the English language classes offered in Newcastle West and Kilmallock. However, it has to be sated that the local rural development agencies have provided some assistance to migrants through the provision of specialist information services. The direct employment multiplier effect associated with net in-migration within Co. Limerick is minimal, with migrant households having jobs multiplier effect of 0.29 in comparison to 0.93 for non-migrant households. Furthermore, any positive effect associated with net in-migration is diluted through the higher rates of unemployment amongst migrants in comparison to non-migrants. Even though there are fewer foreign nationals in Co. Limerick than the national average, migrants show a preference to remain resident in the region, despite the economic downturn. This is especially true for migrants currently employed; and with children in the Irish education system. Rural restructuring has had a profound impact in transforming the economic landscape of Co. Limerick, but it has not provided additional employment opportunities for economic migrants. This is in stark contrast to the patterns of rural restructuring in Co. Monaghan. The next chapter will compare and contrast the case study locations with respect to the socio-economic impacts of in-migration whilst making observations from other rural locations throughout the globe. It will also be important to discuss the role rural restructuring has played in enabling inward migration into some rural area types, whilst having a negligible effect on other rural locations.

Chapter 7: Discussion of Results

7.1 Introduction

The Irish rural landscape is not homogenous, with different locations exhibiting varying topographical features, economic activities, and / or cultural identities. The diversification and restructuring of the economic base has varied across the rural landscape (Whelan, 2011). The previous chapters have identified the differing spatial effects of this economic transformation, with Co. Monaghan witnessing a diversification of its agricultural sector (mushroom cultivation and poultry production); expansion of the agri-processing sector; and promotion of rural tourism whilst in Co. Limerick there has been a heavy reliance on pastoral farming; manufacturing and tourism, particularly concentrated in scenic and high amenity locations. Consequently, the rural economy in Co. Monaghan has provided more opportunities for low-skilled and low-paid employment (especially in food-processing, mushroom cultivation and poultry production) than in Co. Limerick. During the economic boom, employers in Co. Monaghan and to lesser extent in Co. Limerick (most pronounced in Newcastle West) had difficulties in filling job vacancies due to: full-employment and the indigenous population shunning low-skilled and low-paid employment. Economic migrants from Eastern Europe (particularly Lithuanians in Co. Monaghan) filled this labour shortfall.

Migrants have also contributed to the restructuring of the rural economy, especially in Co. Monaghan. Examples include: migrants' spending power within the local economy; migrant entrepreneurship, particularly the opening of ethnic shops and eateries; and the availability of migrant-orientated products within various retail outlets. The adoption of integration initiatives has spawned new employment opportunities. Examples include the provision of English language classes; multiculturalism / diversity training courses; and community outreach services. These initiatives, along with the hosting of cultural events, have acted as a catalyst for forging better community relations between migrants and non-migrants. Overall, migrants resident in rural locations appear to be content in staying situ for the foreseeable future. This is especially evident for migrants who are in employment and whose family and / or friends are living within the locality.

This chapter will initially discuss East European migrants' capacity to generate employment within rural areas. The employment generation multiplier effects, as quantified through this research study, are generally lower for migrants in rural Ireland in comparison to other locations throughout Europe. It is important to decipher the reasons for this lower level of entrepreneurism amongst immigrants resident in Ireland. The second part of this chapter will explore the linkages between rural restructuring and migration. It is important to discuss the positive socio-economic contributions initiated by economic migrants. This includes migrants' purchasing power within the local economy and filling job vacancies. However, it will also be essential to elaborate on the provision of additional supports (language supports, information provision on rights and entitlements, integration events) by statutory and / or non-statutory agencies in order to promote inclusion between the indigenous and migrant communities. This is a very pertinent topic as:

> *'Integration will have 'succeeded' when immigrants and their children have equal opportunities to compete for the same economic outcomes and can participate in social and political life on the same basis as their native counterparts'* (Papademetriou, 2012, p. 5).

The previous chapters have highlighted the various initiatives undertaken by statutory and non-statutory organisations to promote migrant inclusion within the community, but several obstacles, particularly a lack of proficiency in the English language, lack of local knowledge and low rates of volunteerism amongst migrants, are countenancing this aspiration. This study also identified negative attitudes towards migrants from the indigenous population, incorporating both residents and employers.

Within the Irish context, the two case study locations have contrasting proportions and distributions of migrants, with Co. Monaghan having significantly higher concentrations of foreign nationals than Co. Limerick. These patterns are also aligned to the economic typology of EDs, with specific rural area types being more likely to have a higher immigrant population in comparison to others. The final section compares and contrasts migrants' locational preferences for accessing retail, educational, financial and recreational services with respect to rural area type. Furthermore, it important to analyse whether or not local geographical factors are associated with migrants' spending patterns.

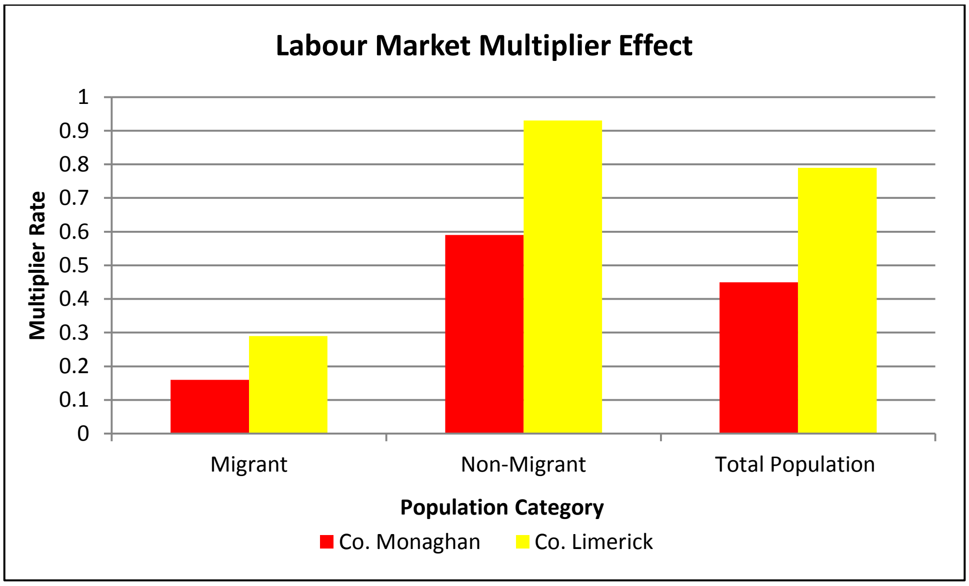
7.2 Economic Multiplier Effects

The positive impact of migrant entrepreneurship on the national and regional economies of EU member states has been acknowledged by policymakers and academics, with entrepreneurs being:

> *'Business partners, tax payers and first of all providers of jobs, for members of ethnic minorities but also for people from the majority'* (Sussmuth, 2007, p. 77).

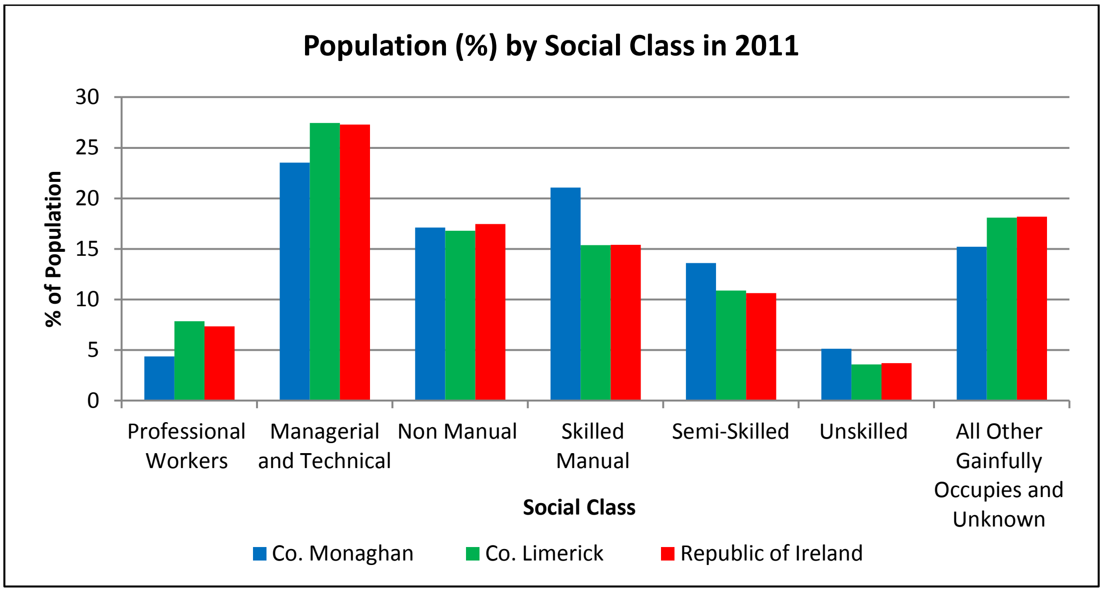
Despite the importance of migrant entrepreneurship, there has been a tendency to neglect the specific contributions that are provided by migrant entrepreneurs resident in rural locations. The fieldwork conducted as part of this research project has identified a number of migrant-owned enterprises operating in rural locations with a high proportion of foreign nationals. However, the previous chapters have identified lower multiplier rates of employment generation amongst migrants relative to non-migrants. It is essential to discuss the possible reasons for the lower entrepreneurial activity amongst migrants, with particular reference to the barriers faced by migrant entrepreneurs in rural Ireland.

Figure 7.1: Labour Market (Job Generation) Multiplier Effect in Selected Case Study Locations



The labour market multiplier effect associated with net in-migration to rural areas is minimal, with a rate of 0.16 and 0.29 being recorded in migrant households in Counties Monaghan and Limerick respectively (Figure 7.1). This equates to 16 direct jobs being created for every 100 migrant households in Co. Monaghan, a location with a high proportion of immigrants, whilst 29 jobs will be created for every 100 migrant households in Co. Limerick, the control case study location. Furthermore, there is also a significant difference in the jobs generation multiplier for non-migrant households between Counties Monaghan (0.59) and Limerick (0.93). The perception that Co. Monaghan is one of the most entrepreneurial locations in the country has to be challenged as considerably more jobs are being created by households (as measured through the jobs generation multiplier rate) in Co. Limerick (0.79) than in Co. Monaghan (0.45). Additionally, there are indirect multiplier effects as migrants are utilising demand-led services (notably health, social services and education), thereby generating / sustaining employment within locations of significant in-migration. The Pobal Hasse-Pratschke Deprivation Index indicates higher levels of deprivation in Co. Monaghan (-11.1) than in Co. Limerick (-6.1)[118], suggesting that businesses in Co. Limerick have a stronger local customer base. Figure 7.2 also indicates a higher proportion of skilled manual; semi-skilled and unskilled workers in Co. Monaghan in comparison to the national average. Furthermore, Co. Limerick has a higher proportion of professional; and managerial & technical workers than Co. Monaghan.

Figure 7.2: Population (%) by Social Class in 2011



[118] Co. Monaghan is the seventh most deprived local authority region in the country whilst Co. Limerick is the eighth most affluent local authority region.

Mestres (2010) estimated that self-employed migrants in Ireland created between 0.9 and 1.4 additional jobs, with the OECD average ranging between 1.4 to 2.1 additional jobs being generated by migrant entrepreneurs. The number of additional jobs being generated by native self-employed entrepreneurs is very similar in Ireland (1.0 to 1.5 additional jobs) to the migrant figure. It has to be noted that the employment generation multiplier effects for Counties Monaghan and Limerick were calculated for each household whilst Mestres' (2010) study calculated the multiplier effects for each individual migrant. Furthermore, Mestres calculated the multiplier effects from the Eurostat Labour Force Survey 1998 – 2008, with his dataset predating the current economic downturn, thereby possibly leading to an overestimation of the current job generation multiplier effects. Similar to the observations in rural Monaghan and Limerick, there is a tendency for migrants to create fewer jobs but there are exceptions. These include: Czech Republic (1.9 – 3.1); Hungary (1.8 – 2.6), Slovak Republic (1.3 – 1.7) and the United Kingdom (1.5 – 2.6).[119] Despite the higher migrant employment generation multiplier rate in Co. Limerick than in Co. Monaghan, it cannot be viewed as more significant within an Irish context due to the lower spatial distribution and concentration of foreign nationals throughout the county. The only notable exception is Newcastle West where 21.22% of the population are non-migrants[120]. In absolute terms, there is the potential for more employment to be created by migrants in Co. Monaghan than in Co. Limerick due to the difference in the size of the foreign national population between both locations.

The migrant jobs generation multiplier effect recorded through this research project appears to be considerably lower in comparison to other academic research studies. Findlay et al (2000) observed an employment generation multiplier effect of 0.77 for migrant households in selected rural locations in Scotland. However, there is a critical difference between Findlay et al.'s and this research project's methodology, with respect to the definition of a migrant household; Findlay et al (2000) classified a migrant household as having moved a distance of at least 15 KM from their previous residence to the current rural location, thereby incorporating both indigenous and

[119] The relative average number of jobs ratios (%) between foreign born and native born in Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovak Republic and United Kingdom are 146%, 108%, 112% and 120% respectively.

[120] According to the 2011 Census of Population, there were 338 and 1,152 foreign nationals residing in Newcastle West Rural and Newcastle West Urban respectively.

foreign born migrants. This research project focused on migrants born outside of Ireland, particularly from Eastern Europe. Inevitably, this has led to a considerably lower jobs generation multiplier effect in the selected rural location in Ireland than in Scotland. Despite this methodological difference, entrepreneurship is not particularly strong amongst migrants with 6.8% and 4.08% of migrant households in Counties Limerick and Monaghan respectively having at least one member of the household being classified as an employer. This is in contrast with other locations in Europe, as 12% of ethnic minority male and 34% of ethnic minority female householders resident in Scotland were employed in family businesses in 1991 (Netto, et al., 2001). Migrant owned businesses are an essential component of the Swedish economy with approximately 70,000 businesses owned by a person with a migrant background, and employing over 250,000 individuals. Furthermore, every fifth business in Sweden is being founded by a migrant entrepreneur (IFS, 2013). In Germany, 750,000 jobs have been created by enterprises founded and managed by migrants (King, 2012).

Even though, there is extensive commentary contained within academic literature and policy documents with respect to the importance of migrant entrepreneurship, there tends to be a strong focus on national-level and urban-based case studies, whilst there is a dearth of knowledge on the importance of ethnic entrepreneurship within rural locations. However, strong inferences can be drawn from the literature to suggest the potential challenges encountered by migrant entrepreneurs in rural locations. These include: a lack of proficiency in the vernacular language of the host country; inadequate educational attainments; failure to recognise professional / Third Level qualifications; a lack of specialist expertise for migrant entrepreneurs; administrative / bureaucratic barriers of entry; and a lack of access to financial resources (Netto, et al., 2001; European Commission, 2013). Furthermore, rural Ireland has not had a long history of inward migration in comparison to other European countries. It takes time to build a culture of migrant / ethnic entrepreneurship and this has not emerged yet in rural Ireland. The lack of proficiency in the English language was cited by several interviewees as being a barrier for migrants, particularly from Eastern Europe, with respect to integrating into the social and economic communities in Ireland. Indeed one interviewee commented:

‘*We found that a very high level of those people had little or no English, yet they were in the country 7 or 8 years, so this indicates a lack of engagement with Irish people’* (Monaghan Interviewee No. 11).

Furthermore, one interviewee commented that migrants are at a greater risk of becoming isolated in the community due to a lack of proficiency in English:

> *‘Migrants are isolated within the community. Language in itself is a big isolating barrier. If you don’t speak the language in the place you are living in, it’s harder to access services within the community’* (Monaghan Interviewee No. 24).

Consequently, economic migrants with poor levels of English face significant obstacles with respect to establishing a business due to communicating with customers and dealing with administrative requirements. According to NASC, migrant entrepreneurs in Ireland have to abandon their aspirations for establishing a business within the country due to ‘*a lack of collateral; their recent arrival in the state; and a lack of awareness on how to negotiate through the financial institutions’* (NASC - The Irish Immigrant Support Centre, 2008, p. 67). These challenges have also been encountered by migrants in the selected case study locations, thereby hindering the establishment of enterprises and ultimately, employment generation. In recent years, several organisations (West Limerick Resources, Doras Luimní and Culture Link Ltd.) have provided Start Your Own Business courses for prospective migrant entrepreneurs. The success of these courses highlighted a desire amongst migrants to establish their own businesses. However, one interviewee from a rural development organisation stated that there was a desire amongst migrants to seek employment in economic sectors which were beneath their educational attainment level. There is no strong desire amongst the economic migrants to become entrepreneurs or self-employed. Indeed this interviewee stated:

> *‘What I have found here actually was that a lot of very qualified people were coming into the country and didn’t actually expect to use their qualifications and fully expected to work in semi or unskilled employment and were quite happy to do that’* (Limerick Interviewee No. 21).

Despite the existence of a relatively low job generation multiplier effect associated with inward migration of foreign nationals into Counties Monaghan and Limerick, this does not necessarily equate to additional jobs being created within the economy as the rate of unemployment is not considered in the calculation of employment multiplier effect. The relatively small proportion of direct employment being generated by migrant households is being offset by a higher rate of unemployment amongst migrants than the indigenous population[121]. The difference in rates of unemployment between these cohorts is not a unique phenomenon to rural Ireland. In France, the migrant unemployment rate is approximately double the rate of the indigenous population (Sussmuth, 2007). The higher rates of migrant unemployment can be attributed to the failure of employers to recognise qualifications from the migrants' homeland; inadequate educational attainments; a lack of employment opportunities; and/ or discrimination / prejudice of employers (Cantle, 2002). Consequently, some migrants have resorted to becoming self-employed in low-paid low-skilled employment (Guidoum, et al., 2008). Examples include construction related jobs, takeaways (particularly amongst Chinese migrants); and taxi drivers.[122] In Co. Monaghan, there is evidence of chain migration, especially amongst Lithuanian nationals. In recent years, Lithuanian migrants have moved to Co. Monaghan in order to reunite with family and friends; and to secure a better standard of living. The high rate of unemployment in Ireland has not deterred Lithuanian migrants as it is higher in their homeland. Therefore, the reunification of family members and friends has acted as a significant centripetal force in Co. Monaghan. Conversely, Poland has recorded lower rates of unemployment and this may have resulted in a lower concentration of Polish nationals within the selected case study locations[123]. Consequently, the more recently arrived migrants may find it more difficult to secure employment, but there remain in situ due to the presence of family and friends living and working within the region.

According to the results of the household questionnaire, migrants in rural Ireland have a tendency not to pursue full-time self-employment with 2.59% and 3.62% of respondents in Counties Monaghan and Limerick respectively coming within this employment category. The economic migrants who came to rural Ireland during the economic boom

[121] The fieldwork has shown that 21.42% and 14% of migrants are unemployed in Counties Monaghan and Limerick respectively. In contrast the rates of unemployment for non-migrants are 12.22% and 13.6% in Counties Monaghan and Limerick respectively. In comparison, the 2011 Census of Population recorded unemployment rates of 20.63% and17.47% in Counties Monaghan and Limerick respectively. According to the *Quarterly Household Survey Quarter 4 2012* (CSO, 2013c), the seasonally adjusted unemployment rate for Ireland is 14.2%

[122] Interviewee No. 18 in Co. Limerick stated that there is a tendency for migrants from a particular country to be more prominent in particular professions i.e. Poles are more likely to be in construction related activities; Latvian are more likely to be in mechanically orientated activities; Lithuanians are more likely to be involved with the sale and installation of car accessories and signage.

[123] The rates of unemployment in 2011 for Ireland, Lithuania and Poland were 14.4%, 15.4% and 9.7% respectively (Eurostat, 2013).

acquired employment in semi-skilled and low-paid labour in the construction, retail and food-processing sectors. These migrants expressed a strong desire to be employees rather than employers. Therefore, migrants do not have the knowledge or experience to establish their own enterprise. A similar finding has been observed Diguet (2010), whereby migrants in Switzerland (no dissimilarity between urban and rural locations) are less likely to be self-employed than persons born in Switzerland. Inevitably, these economic migrants are prone to becoming more reliant on social welfare assistance if the employment ceases. A similar scenario has occurred in Ireland due to the current shortage of employment opportunities, with migrants being stereotyped by the native population as either being reliant on social welfare assistance or seizing job opportunities from the indigenous workforce. These negative sentiments were clearly expressed in comments recorded in the household questionnaires within both case study locations. A non-migrant respondent from Co. Monaghan stated:

> *We have a lot of migrant workers here who are on jobseekers allowance. This is unsustainable. Irish people here also can't get work. Preference given to some foreign nationals* (Household Questionnaire No. 80).

Furthermore, a non-migrant respondent from Co. Limerick pointed out that:

> *There are a lot of foreign nationals living in the area. Foreign nationals are more likely to get jobs than the Irish in small shops and hotels* (Household Questionnaire No. 312).

This juxtaposes the belief that migrants should be self-sufficient[124], whereby immigrants should be capable of providing their own basic needs through direct employment or entrepreneurship, whereby migrants are not a burden on the state (Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs Czech Republic, 2006).

Despite the low levels of entrepreneurship amongst migrants, with respect to the low rates of self-employment and job creation, the streetscapes of specific rural villages and market towns have changed as a consequence of significant East European immigration. The changes have manifested themselves through the opening of businesses catering specifically for migrant customers, specifically grocery shops; ethnic orientated restaurants / takeaways; and hair / beauty salons. These enterprises tend to provide low-skilled employment. The concentration and distribution of migrant owned businesses

[124]Migrant economic self-efficiency is an integration policy of the Czech Republic.

within rural areas varies in accordance with the size of the migrant population. Locations with a high concentration of foreign nationals (Co. Monaghan) have a correspondingly higher number of migrant owned businesses than locations with a low proportion of foreign nationals (Co. Limerick). Starnawska (2012, p. 16) has identified that self-employed / entrepreneurial migrants in Aberdeen, Scotland show a strong tendency to rely on fellow migrants for forging alliances and networks; as '*these dyads in micro social networks are extremely strong and work as a basis for business activity operation and development'*. This networking phenomenon is evident in both Counties Monaghan and Limerick, as migrant businesses have a tendency to rely on fellow migrants, especially from their native homeland, for the majority of their trade. For instance, Lithuanians have a tendency to frequent Lithuanian shops whilst Poles have a preference for Polish shops. This has given rise to the various migrant shops operating in the principal towns in Co. Monaghan.

Entrepreneurial supports, incorporating business planning and training; mentoring; and financial grants / loans, are essential for the establishment of a commercial enterprise. Both Counties Monaghan and Limerick, have a number of agencies whose remits include providing the necessary support and advice for prospective entrepreneurs[125]. These agencies have become proactive in reaching out to migrants but it is important for these organisations to also provide bespoke services / supports for migrant clients as there would be differing requirements (language interpretation; procedure for recognition of qualifications) for this cohort. The International Entrepreneur Association in Sweden[126] (IFI – Internationella Foretagarforeningen i Sverige) is one of the most successful agencies for promoting ethnic entrepreneurship in Europe (NASC - The Irish Immigrant Support Centre, 2008). This is a national organisation, whereby the spatial remit encompasses both urban and rural locations. In rural Ireland, localised ad hoc arrangements by non-statutory agencies / individuals have emerged with respect to supporting migrant entrepreneurship. For instance, the Ballylanders Development Association and a deceased local businessman/ politician have been instrumental in the establishment of the Hungarian Dental Clinic in the village of Ballylanders, Co.

[125] These agencies include the County Enterprise Boards; Chambers of Commerce; LEADER Groups: (Co. Limerick);

[126] This organisation has approximately 4,000 clients and it currently has 15 advisory centres located throughout Sweden.

Limerick whilst Blayney Blades International Ltd. in Co. Monaghan has supported the establishment of the Golden Translation Service.

Previous academic studies have demonstrated the potential for migrants to become entrepreneurs, but this only occurs after a significant time-period of residency within the destination country (Mahuteau, et al., 2011; Vershinina & Barrett, 2011). East European migrants have only had unrestricted access to the Irish labour market since 1 May 2004. Therefore, these economic migrants have not had ample time to become acquainted with the Irish legislation and regulations governing the establishment and operation of businesses. According to Diguet's (2010) study on migrant entrepreneurship in Switzerland, the probability (an increase of 1.033 per year) of becoming self-employed rises with age. This scenario occurs due to older entrepreneurs having more human, financial and social capital. In 2011, the Irish government eased visa restrictions for prospective entrepreneurs, thereby recognising the potentiality of migrants generating additional employment within the economy[127]. A liberal visa entry has been in existence in several European member states (including Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal and United Kingdom) since the late 1990s (European Web Site on Integration, 2012), with guest-worker programmes operating since the 1960s in several mainland European countries, particularly Germany (Abadan-Unat, 2011).

The country of origin and length of residency of migrants may also be a factor in determining their abilities to establish businesses (Zubaida, 2011; Light, et al., 2013). Migrants to Switzerland / Germany tended to come from Turkey, Iraq (Kurdistan) and parts of the former Yugoslavia (González-Gómez & Otero Giráldez, 2011). Prior to 2005, migration to the UK has been predominantly from Pakistan and India (Manning & Georgiadis, 2012). All of these countries have had market economies for centuries, while Poland and Lithuania are former communist countries in which the reliance on the state to provide employment was much greater than was the case in most other emigrant countries (von Hirschhausen & Hoi, 1998; Woolfson, 2006). This cultural and economic legacy amongst East European migrants may in part explain the lower levels of entrepreneurship amongst these migrants in comparison to economic migrants from countries where there was a strong culture of sole-trading. However, one cannot dismiss

[127] This resulted in family members of foreign members gaining the right to work in Ireland. The easing of the visa restrictions benefits entrepreneurs born outside of the EU.

the barriers faced by migrant entrepreneurs, including a lack of fluency in English; a lack of knowledge of entrepreneurial supports; and inadequate financial capital. Furthermore, it is predominantly first-generation migrants who are resident in rural Ireland. It takes a considerable length of time for migrants to become embedded within a country and to acquire the requisite knowledge, skills and financial capital in order to become entrepreneurs (Dustmann, et al., 2003). For instance, the Irish who settled in the UK during the 1940s and 1950s tended to secure low-skilled and low-paid employment (predominantly in factories and on construction sites) and therefore, they were not in a position to become entrepreneurs (McDowell, 2008).

The findings from this research project have shown that migrants are under-represented in entrepreneurship, whereby there is a stronger preference to be an employee rather than an employer. The low proportion of self-employed migrants and low number of additional jobs created by migrants (in comparison to non-migrants and migrants resident in other regions/ countries) is testament to this preference. The obstacles and barriers faced by rural migrant entrepreneurs are not dissimilar to those encountered by their counterparts in urban locations. It is essential migrants are provided with appropriate supports and advice as:

> *'Migrants tend to be risk takers and provided a proper environment is created to facilitate the setting up of a business, they offer significant potential as the creators of employment'* (Power & Slovak, 2012, p. 14).

Migrants seem to be disproportionally effected by the current unemployment crisis in Ireland, with this being especially evident in Co. Monaghan. This has also undermined the job generation multiplier effect associated with inward migration. Despite these findings, Co. Monaghan has been impacted by East European immigration to a great extent than Co. Limerick. This is indicated through the diverse range of ethnic orientated shops located throughout the principal towns of Co. Monaghan. However, migrants have provided a more valuable and visible contribution to the existing social and economic communities, with it being most evident in Co. Monaghan.

7.3 Migrants' Economic Contributions

The economic contribution(s) of migrants to rural Ireland is a subject / topic rarely discussed or researched by academics and policymakers. However, the previous chapters provide ample justification for discussing their financial contributions. Migrants' economic outputs and impacts are not simply limited to job generation multiplier effects amongst entrepreneurs / self-employed, but also include: their purchasing power and utilisation of services within the local community; and recruitment into unskilled and low paid employment.

7.3.1 Employment

The transformation of the rural economic base has a varied spatial pattern with some locations having been more exposed to the processes and patterns of economic restructuring than others. For instance, the case study locations of Counties Monaghan and Limerick have had a strong tradition of agricultural production, but in recent decades there has been on-going rationalisation and consolidation within the primary sector. In the interim, a diverse range of economic activities has become evident on the rural landscape, partly spurred on by the processes of globalisation and increased connectivity. The most prominent diversification activities in Co Monaghan, which was traditionally in a dairy-farming area, include mushroom cultivation; poultry production; and the expansion of the food-processing sector by transnational corporations whilst the economy in Co. Limerick has diversified into manufacturing and tourism. This economic transformation has led to employment creation, with economic migrants benefiting from this transition. Indeed one interviewee commented:

> *'Diversification within the local farming community has brought a great deal of employment into the area, with the migrant working population making the most of it'* (Monaghan Interviewee No. 25).

Furthermore, residents in Co. Limerick have become more reliant in securing employment in the Limerick Metropolitan Area, thereby generating a counter-urbanising effect. In tandem with these economic changes, there has been an uneven distribution of foreign nationals throughout rural Ireland, as some industries have become heavily reliant on economic migrants, with the previous chapters indicating a greater preponderance in Co. Monaghan than in Co. Limerick.

During the 'Celtic Tiger' years (especially 2002 – 2007), all of the job vacancies could not be filled by the indigenous workforce and consequently, employers became reliant on migrant labour. Furthermore, there was reluctance on the part of the indigenous workforce to engage in unskilled and low-paid employment. This adheres to previous Irish research findings, insofar as non-Irish nationals are less likely to secure employment in the professional and managerial occupational categories. However, there tends to be no difference in occupational status amongst migrants from English speaking countries (O'Connell & McGinnity, 2008). Non-English speaking migrants could be precluded from high-skilled employment by virtue of their not having proficient in the English language, but as a statutory sector representative stated that a failure to recognise qualifications is another difficulty encountered by migrants. One interviewee highlighted that:

> *'The skills base is there to be tapped into but until their qualifications are recognised, they can't be employed in those areas and that's a big limiting factor for them and for their progression in the economy'* (Monaghan Interviewee No. 2).

The current economic downturn has seen a behavioural and attitudinal shift on the part of the indigenous workforce, as un-skilled and semi-skilled employment is no longer being shunned by Irish people.

Employers through the aegis of statutory and non-statutory recruitment agencies targeted East European EU member states in search of employees. This was the initial catalyst for the significant inflow of immigrants into Ireland during the past decade. Migrants were sought for specific rural industries, specifically agriculture; food processing (including meat rendering); construction; the hospitality sector; and manufacturing. Since the economic downturn, there has been a cessation of recruitment fairs, as the vast majority of job vacancies can be filled by the currently resident population of both Irish and non-Irish nationals. This shift was expressed by a Co. Limerick business association representative within the tourism sector, who stated:

> *'You couldn't get the vacancies filled with Irish people. They didn't seem to be in the tourism sector, but when the boom stopped, we seemed to have a lot more Irish people looking for those jobs now'* (Limerick Interviewee No. 15).

A heavy reliance on economic migrants within low-skilled and low-paid employment is a phenomenon not unique to rural Ireland. In the UK, employers have utilised migrants to fill unskilled, seasonal jobs within rural areas as the indigenous population are reluctant to apply for these positions. In the NINO[128] registration cluster of Lincolnshire, The Wash, Herefordshire and a portion of Yorkshire, 33% of migrants have secured employment in the manufacturing sector; 25% in agriculture and fishing sector; and 20% in the distribution, hotel and retail sector (de Hoyos & Green, 2011). There is a perception that migrants are 'taking' jobs from the local indigenous workforce, but it is difficult to substantiate this assertion as the local labour-force appear to be apprehensive in acquiring employment within unskilled and semi-skilled occupational categories. Chappell et al (2009) argue that the rural economy benefits from migrants taking-up hard-to-fill positions, thereby generating lower levels of unemployment amongst migrants than in the wider labour force. Despite migrants availing of employment opportunities in low-skilled positions (within the selected case study locations), it has not corresponded to lower levels of unemployment amongst migrants. In fact, it has had an opposite effect as, the rate of unemployment amongst migrants is 9.2% higher than non-migrants in Co. Monaghan, a location with high in-migration, whilst there is marginal difference (a 0.42% higher unemployment rate for migrants than non-migrants) in Co. Limerick, a location with low in-migration. However, low-skilled employment is generally perceived as being less secure, thereby resulting in a higher probability of becoming unemployed (Nixon, 2006; Schlitte, 2012). Therefore, economic migrants in low-skilled and low-paid employment are a vulnerable group to cyclical and structural changes to the labour market.

The Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids in 2008 on the Agriprocessors meat factory in Postville, Iowa (a small town with a population of 3,285 in the 2010 US Census) indicate the extent to which economic migrants have become an integral component of the workforce in meat rendering factories (Hamann & Revees, 2012; Sandoval, 2013)[129]. This is primarily due to an insufficient and / or unwilling indigenous labour force to undertake this type of employment. The high levels of migration to the USA are due to its many pull factors, as well as to the fact that it shares a land border with Mexico, which is itself a Less Developed Country (LDC) and a migrant-sending country, as well as a transit country for migrants from other

[128] NINO is the acronym for National Insurance Number. NINO regions have been devised by HM Revenue & Customs in order to assist with tax collection.

[129] In 1997, the small rural community of Postville had no immigrants but by 2008 there were 800 foreign nationals (40% of total population), primarily from Guatemala.

Latin American states. While employers in the USA may not have access to a regularised pool of immigrant labour, the pool is significantly larger than that available to employers in Europe. Recent legislative proposals by US President Obama, will, if implemented enable many undocumented migrants living in the USA to regularise their status (New York Times, 2013; Sanchez, et al., 2012). In the late 1990s / early 2000s, the small rural market town of Gort, in Co. Galway witnessed a significant inflow of Brazilian migrants, particularly from the city of Anápolis and its hinterland and the majority of these migrants initially secured employment in a meat processing plant (Maher, 2010). The case study locations in this research study have similarities with Postville[130] and Gort, due to the reliance of migrant workers in meat rendering and food processing plants. This was highlighted by one interviewee in Clones, Co. Monaghan (location of several meat factories) stating that migrants arrived into the town due to the availability of employment, but these economic migrants from Eastern Europe were more educated and skilled than Latino and Hispanic workers in Postville. As one interviewee commented:

> *'Meat factory jobs would have been regarded as low skilled and low paid so I would go as far as to say and by definition, you had an influx of people (into Clones) who were not necessarily low skilled'* (Monaghan Interviewee No. 1).

According to Grey et al. (2009, p. 143), policymakers have to come to the realisation that the restructuring of the rural economy will necessitate a more liberal immigration policy, insofar as enterprise is not hindered / restricted by labour shortages:

> *'The United States requires significant immigration reform that recognises the new economic realities of globalization, changing demographics, and the need for an international labor pool to keep up with expanded world markets for services and products'.*

An over reliance on migrant labour has also negative consequences; there can be a substantial increase in the rates of poverty, as a significant inflow of migrants into a rural community can reduce wages growth (Artz, et al., 2010). This can lead to income polarisation / income inequality due to the imbalance in the distribution of the labour

[130130] Despite the similarities, Postville is a unique location due to the significant clash in cultures that occurred between the local indigenous population (typically White Lutheran) and the owners of the meat-processing plant (Lubavitchers – ultra Orthodox Hasidic Jewish community). This was prior to the arrival of the Hispanic and Latino economic migrants. Prior to the opening of kosher meat-processing plant, Postville had never experienced multiculturalism. The various ethnic groups remained insular as they did not know how to interact with each other. This has given rise to a degree of mistrust and animosity amongst the various ethnic groups (Bloom, 2001).

force by ethnicity and occupational type. In essence, migrant and indigenous workers undertake different occupational roles, thereby resulting in differing levels of remuneration. In some instances migrants and non-migrants may be doing identical work but with differing pay scales, with migrants earning less than their counterparts. One employer evoked these sentiments in Co. Monaghan by stating *'In general, foreign nationals work for less money'* (Business Questionnaire No. 68). Furthermore, a dramatic inflow of migrants can be fiscally burdensome for statutory agencies as a wide range of bespoke educational and social services have to be provided for the migrant population. This burden can be more acute for rural locations which become new immigrant destinations. For instance:

> *'Postville, Northeast Iowa, and many other rural places can be overwhelmed with trying to provide services to these unique populations in a rapid manner. Timely and efficient provision of social services requires thoughtful and costly assessment, preparation, planning and follow-up, which is difficult to do as the diversification process occurs over a relatively short amount of time. Small communities have too few resources to begin with. They often lack sufficient medical and social services and law-enforcement personnel, and are poorly suited to respond to sudden and unexpected shifts in their population'* (Grey, et al., 2009, p. 147)

This poses as a potential challenge for policymakers in Co. Monaghan due to the significant immigrant population and their predominance within agriculture, forestry and fishing; industry; and the wholesale and retail trade (see Figure 5.4 in Monaghan Chapter).

However, the increased diversity within the workplace has been identified as a means of increasing innovation:

> *'When workers from different backgrounds interact at the workplace, they all bring along their various skills, experiences and problem-solving abilities. This diverse mix of complementary perspective can give rise to substantial synergies, innovative solutions may result that would be absent in culturally more heterogeneous work environments'* (Tranx, et al., 2012, p. 2)

Economic migrants have a more technically-orientated education than the indigenous workforce, thereby enabling innovation to flourish due to the presence of an educationally diverse workforce. A similar observation was expressed by an employer in Co. Monaghan:

'They create revenue for the local economy; they are normally good workers and provide a lot of skills to the place of work' (Business Questionnaire No. 34)

However, the dominance of migrant workers within specific occupational categories, and as employees rather than as entrepreneurs challenges the argument that increased levels of innovation are being generated by migrants in Counties Monaghan and Limerick.

7.3.2 Migrants' Purchasing Power

The recent immigration episode has increased the population in rural Ireland, thereby leading to an additional demand for goods and services. There is a perception that migrants are frugal, whereby their purchasing power is negligible. Previous research studies have shown this perception to be untrue as migrants show a strong desire to secure a standard of living comparable to the indigenous population, thereby emulating a consumerist Western lifestyle (Guarnaccia, et al., 2012; McGhee, et al., 2012). The previous chapters also concur with these research findings. In Co. Monaghan, nationality is a statistically significant factor with respect to the amount of money spent weekly on specific services with migrants spending more than non-migrants on primary school requisites (+ €2.63); sports pitch / recreational centre facilities (+ €9.82); and other retail (+ €15.51). A similar trend is evident in Co. Limerick with migrants spending more money weekly than non-migrants on secondary school requisites (+ €7.64) and sports pitch / recreational centre facilities (+ €3.62). These economic activities are beneficial for the rural economy as an interviewee stated:

'The migrant working population are actually shopping in our shops, they are paying rent to local landlords, they are working with local employers, they are keeping the economy strong' (Monaghan Interviewee No. 25).

Furthermore, there is a statistical demarcation between the distance travelled to acquire specific services and nationality[131]. This is more pronounced in Co. Limerick due to a

[131] In Co. Monaghan the correlation occurs with respect to the distance to: sports centre/ recreational centre (p = 0.31 and Cramer's V = .429); post office (p = 0.059 and Cramer's V = .453); doctor's surgery (p = .104 and Cramer's V = .539); and other retail (p = .131 and Cramer's V = .605) services. In contrast, the correlation occurs in Co. Limerick with respect to the distance to: secondary school (p = 0.165 and Cramer's V = .311); small shop / pub (p = 0.73 and Cramer's V = .264); sports pitch / recreational centre / sports pitch (p = .251 and Cramer's V = .281); doctor (p = .251 and Cramer's V = .281); legal / financial (p = .220 and Cramer's V = .269); hospital (p = 0.018 and Cramer's V = .349);and other retail (p = .112 and Cramer's V = .384) services.

high concentration of migrants at one location, specifically Newcastle West. There is a strong tendency for migrants to acquire consumer, educational, recreational and social services more locally than Irish people do. On average, the vast majority of services, with the exception of acute medical (hospital) and other retail, are accessed within 10Km of the residence foe both migrants and non-migrants.

The availability of East European groceries and beverages in Ireland is a recent phenomenon, with it being closely aligned with the arrival of East European migrants from 2006 onwards (Coakley, 2012). Immigrant destinations throughout the globe (USA (Ariyawardana, et al., 2012), Canada (Cranfield, 2013) and UK (Galasinska, 2010)) have observed a deep emotional attachment between migrants and their native cuisine, thereby leading to significant customer demand for such products. The emergence of ethnic shops on the streetscape of market towns represents a diversification of the retail mix whilst providing an essential social outlet for migrants. The existence of an ethnic shop can *'help promote a feeling of belonging, recreate a feeling of home, empower its customers as citizens and mark ownership of territory'* with the sense of feeling at home originating from the '*shop's position as a place where products, language, people and characteristically Polish design all merge to create an experience which resonates very intimately'* (Rabikowska & Burrell, 2009, p. 220). In recent years, the Lithuanian ethnic-food retail chain, *Lituanica*, has opened shops in Castleblayney, Carrickmacross and Monaghan Town. Furthermore, there is a Lithuanian café in Castleblayney. In addition to these Lithuanian commercial outlets, there are other retail establishments in Co. Monaghan catering for the large immigrant population resident in the region (See Map 5.1 Monaghan Results Chapter). In Co. Limerick, the only East European grocery shop is located in Newcastle West. One has to question the long term sustainability of ethnic shops as they tend to cater solely for migrants whilst generally failing to attract indigenous customers. Furthermore, the major retail grocery outlets in Ireland are exerting strong competition on ethnic shops by stocking migrant oriented food and beverages.

Despite the economic downturn in Ireland, supermarket chains continue to stock a diverse range of groceries for migrant customers, with a particular emphasis placed on Polish products. The economic benefits for retailers in rural Ireland are demonstrated by a prominent grocery wholesale supplier encouraging its clients to stock a range of East European products as it:

> *'Communicates to this significant customer group that we are interested in their business and that the Polish goods we offer will become part of their total shop in the store'* (Musgrave Retail Partners, 2009, p. 1).

In essence, the provision of the migrant orientated products will entice migrant customers to purchase other products within the retail outlet, thereby generating additional business for the retail outlet. Furthermore, the sale of migrant orientated products within retail outlets diversifies the product range and generates a significant profit for retailers throughout Ireland, including those located in rural market towns.

> *'It is recommended that the average SuperValu should allocate at least 2 bays to Polish within ambient grocery'* (*ibid.*, p. 2).

According to Musgrave Retails Partners, the average retail margin for the total East European range is 24.6% (March 2009). However, the spatial distribution of migrant orientated products varies in accordance with the distribution of foreign nationals throughout rural Ireland, whereby there is a greater propensity of retail outlets catering for migrant customers within Co. Monaghan than in Co. Limerick. For instance, there is only one ethnic grocery shop located in rural Co. Limerick (Newcastle West), whilst there is at least one in each of the principal market towns in Co. Monaghan. This spatial imbalance can also be supported empirically, as 21% and 13.75% of retail outlets (predominantly merchandising food and beverage products) sell migrant oriented products in Counties Monaghan and Limerick respectively. However, the distinction is less evident with respect to the provision of additional migrant oriented products, with 15% and 12.5% of retail owners in Counties Monaghan and Limerick respectively considering this a possibility, but subject to customer demand. Therefore, retailers in Co. Monaghan, incorporating both transnational retail chains and independently owned ethnic shops, are benefiting economically from the presence of a significant migrant population, through generating additional trade from migrants and merchandising migrant orientated products with a high retail margin.

7.4 Social Contributions of Economic Migrants

The integration of migrants and non-migrants can be a challenging process as there can be initially communication barriers and apprehension / negative attitudes amongst the indigenous population towards immigrants, especially in rural locations that have never experienced significant in-migration. Therefore, it is important for statutory and non-statutory agencies to assist in the transition from a mono-cultural to a multi-cultural society.

> *'States, working closely with civil society have the responsibility to lay the foundations for immigrants to be seen as important contributors to society and to consistently and systematically reinforce this message; to create level playing fields in which everyone is treated equally and no one faces barriers to school or work and to identify and reinforce shared values and norms'* (Papademetriou, 2012, p. 5).

The increasing numbers of migrants resident in rural Ireland face a number of challenges, preventing their meaningful integration into society, with the main barrier being obtaining fluency in the English language.

The proficiency of the vernacular language of the host country is a crucial indicator of successful integration. A migrant's lack of knowledge of the vernacular language poses serious challenges for accessing employment opportunities and engaging with educational, retail, service providers. There are migrants living in rural Ireland for a number of years that have not yet gained a proficiency in the English language. This was illustrated by a co-ordinator of a local community organisation (and is also a migrant):

> *'There is a lot of people here a good while, their English has improved a lot but how do you get in the door to get a better job, even though you be might be over-qualified or have loads of experience behind you, it seems very difficult for people to make that move'* (Monaghan Interviewee No. 15).

According to Threadgold et al. (2008), migrants' social mobility within society is being impeded due to a higher propensity of migrants than non-migrants living in deprivation / poverty. A similar occurrence is apparent for the indigenous population resident in working-class communities with high rates of deprivation.

The principal obstacles faced by migrants from acquiring the vernacular language of the destination country include: the length of time required to learn a native language and to a lesser extent a lack of motivation; and information pertaining to language courses. A lack of conversational practice also impedes language acquisition. According to the most recent statistics (2012), 12% of English secondary pupils and 17% of primary school children speak another language at home (Hollingworth & Mansaray, 2012). In

Ireland, social segregation amongst Brazilian migrants resident in Gort, Co. Galway has hindered integration between the migrant and non-migrant communities, with communication barriers being the most prevalent causation.

> *'Some of the difficulties with English could be traced to residential segregation and the availability of satellite dishes that reinforced ties to place of origin….Their embeddedness in Brazilian émigré social networks impeded the acquisition of English'* (McGrath & Murray, 2011, p. 185).

A similar finding has been observed within Co. Monaghan as migrants tend to have segregated workplaces, thereby preventing migrants socialising and conversing in English with the indigenous workforce. An interviewee from a rural community organisation stated:

> *'It's all Lithuanians and Latvians working in X and they don't speak English while they are at work. They don't speak English in their leisure time, so really English is not spoken at all. It is very hard for them to integrate into the community. They watch their own television, in their own language. They don't even watch English television'* (Monaghan Interviewee No. 26).

Education service providers have had to respond to the challenges posed by a significant number of immigrants arriving into rural Ireland. The increasing population size has necessitated the provision of more school places for the children of economic migrants, whilst language supports through EFL (English as Foreign Language) and conversational classes have to be provided for non-proficient English speakers through either formal or informal educational structures. The Vocational Education Committees (VECs) in both Counties Monaghan and Limerick has been given the task of providing and co-ordinating English classes within their respective catchment areas. Due to the small proportion of foreign nationals residing within Co. Limerick, classes are limited to Newcastle West and Kilmallock. In contrast, English language classes have been organised by the VEC in Monaghan Town, Carrickmacross, and Castleblayney; and local communities have also organised conversational classes through the Integration of New Communities Programme. According to the Immigrant Citizens Survey, migrant participants in similar courses throughout mainland Europe considered such courses beneficial for basic language learning and specific vocabulary required for the workplace. It also provided a catalyst for migrants becoming move involved in community life, with examples being provided from Madrid, Berlin, Stuttgart, Faro and Lisbon. (Huddleston, et al., 2012).

In recent years, numerous activities have been initiated to promote migrants native cultural traditions, history, music and languages. These include the celebration of East European national holidays; establishment of cultural organisations; and the foundation of week-end schools for migrant children. This has enriched the cultural diversity of rural areas. Figure 7.3 depicts a poster advertising the festivities for St. Joniné's Day, a Lithuanian national feast day, in Castleblayney, Co. Monaghan. This event is held annually and provides an occasion for all migrants living in the locality, irrespective of nationality, and the local indigenous community to join together to celebrate this event. It is an event organised and hosted by a local community organisation. Other community sponsored integration events have also taken place in Co. Monaghan. These include: multicultural concerts / East European folk-dancing; international cookery demonstrations; and sports tournaments. In the past a rural development organisation located in the Ballyhoura region in Co. Limerick, organised a number of social events including Christmas parties and international table quizzes, whereby migrants and non-migrants could integrate together. These initiatives have been curtailed for the foreseeable future due to a lack of funding. Despite the cutback in resources, migrants are still continuing to integrate into the community, especially migrant children who have daily interaction with the indigenous population through school and leisure pursuits. The representative from the aforementioned rural development organisation stated that:

> *'They would socialise with their own nationalities more or whatever, but they do get involved in community events that are going on around the town and I suppose, like, through their children, they are making friends with Irish people'* (Limerick Interviewee No. 22).

The hosting of intercultural events is not unique to rural Ireland. Examples include Associazone Mediatori Interculturali Sociolinguistic (Italy) which promotes intercultural dialogue through the public readings of migrants' and non-migrants' history and literature in their respective vernacular languages and the Intercultural Education Centre (Germany) organises a reading centre for parents and children; and an arts programme (Cooke & Spencer, 2006).

Bryan (2010, p. 261) has argued the incorporation of intercultural interventions within a formal education setting can only be perceived as '*token gestures that risk confirming the 'other' status of migrant students in the eyes of the majority Irish student* *population*'. This tokenism is extolled both symbolically and rhetorically by schools celebrating the cultural diversity of its student body through official school publications and events. However, migrant children can become marginalised, segregated and stigmatised by virtue of being withdrawn from mainstream classes in order to avail of additional English language tuition (Devine, 2005). Furthermore, teachers have a tendency not to deviate from textbooks when teaching about unfamiliar cultural topics or practices, especially racism and discrimination. The creation of an intercultural learning environment is further impeded by the fact that numerous Irish textbooks portray colour-blind racism and teachers have difficulties in discussing alternative discourses with respect to racism and discrimination (Bryan, 2012).

Figure 7.3: Poster for St. Joniné's Day in Castleblayney, Co. Monaghan

The rates of volunteerism, an indicator of social interaction with the local community, are consistently lower for migrants than non-migrants within both of the selected case study locations. Furthermore, there is a divergence in the types of volunteerism initiated by migrants, with social and charitable activities (14%) being most prominent in Co. Monaghan whilst sporting activities (10%) are most popular amongst migrants resident in Co. Limerick. The considerably higher rate for social and charitable volunteerism amongst migrants in Co. Monaghan may stem from initiatives adopted through the PEACE programme to promote and enhance multicultural diversity and social integration. Handy & Greenspan’s (2009) research study has indicated that recent immigrants are less likely to engage in volunteerism activities than long-term resident migrants. There was no difference with respect to the amount of time devoted to volunteerism activities by both migrant cohorts. The reasons for this include discrimination; and language and cultural barriers which limit the opportunities for migrants to make both social and professional connections within the community.

7.5 Spatial Analysis by Rural Area Type

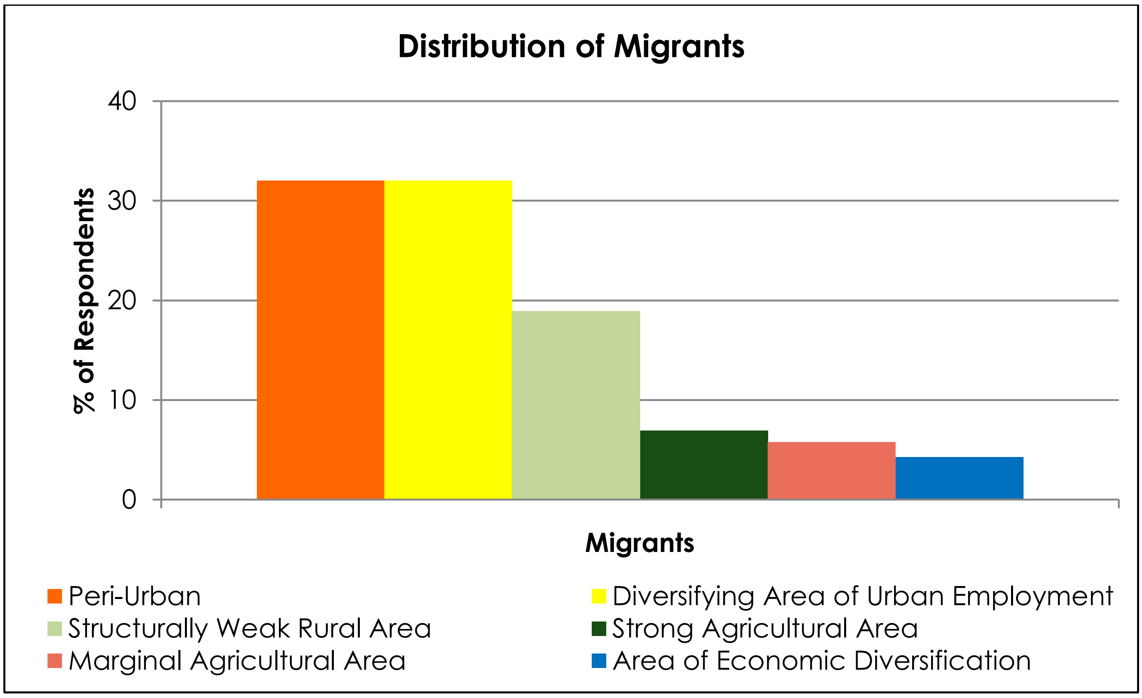
There has been a considerable transformation in the economic base, with the impact of the change varying from location to location in rural areas. These economic changes have been expressed through the construction of various rural typologies by the NSS (2000); McHugh (2001); Walsh and Kavanagh (2005); and Walsh et al. (2007) (See literature review). Since the economic downturn, the processes of rural restructuring have negatively impacted on most rural area types with villages and small towns most at risk due to key services being either rationalised or discontinued. These include postal, financial, retail (small shop), policing and hospitality services. Consequently, residents have to travel longer distances to access the required services. Rural Ireland is not unique as similar patterns have been observed throughout the developed world, including the UK; Finland; and USA (Paddison & Calderwood, 2007), although a number of states and regions (e.g. Spain, Québec) have tended to be more innovative than Ireland has been in sustaining rural services.

The spatial distribution of migrants varies somewhat across rural area types (Figure 7.4). The majority of rural economic migrants reside in locations that are classified as either peri-urban or areas of economic diversification. There are significantly smaller proportions of migrants residing in the most isolated and peripheral rural area types (strong agricultural and marginal agricultural areas) and areas of economic diversification. According to the results of the household questionnaire, migrant households employ 33 individuals collectively (excluding self-employed persons), with 17, 14 and 2 people being hired by migrant employers situated in peri-urban locations; diversifying areas of urban employment, and structurally weak rural areas respectively. The distribution of migrant employers is most concentrated in locations with the highest proportion of foreign nationals, thereby suggesting the necessity of fellow migrant custom for the survival of the business.

Migrants' resident within all of the rural area types expressed negative sentiments towards the lack of amenities / services available within the local community. Examples include: *'there's not enough activities for children'* (Household Questionnaire No. 38)[132]; '*not enough outdoor recreational facilities'* (Household Questionnaire No. 87)[133]; *'no broadband / internet'* (Household Questionnaire No. 172)[134]; '*poor cultural life – no concerts and no cinema – and no specialist services – paediatrician or optician'* (Household Questionnaire No. 331)[135]; and *'no transport services'* (Household Questionnaire No. 474)[136]. Despite these negative attitudes, migrants have still shown a strong propensity to access services, including retail, recreational and education, within close proximity of their residence.

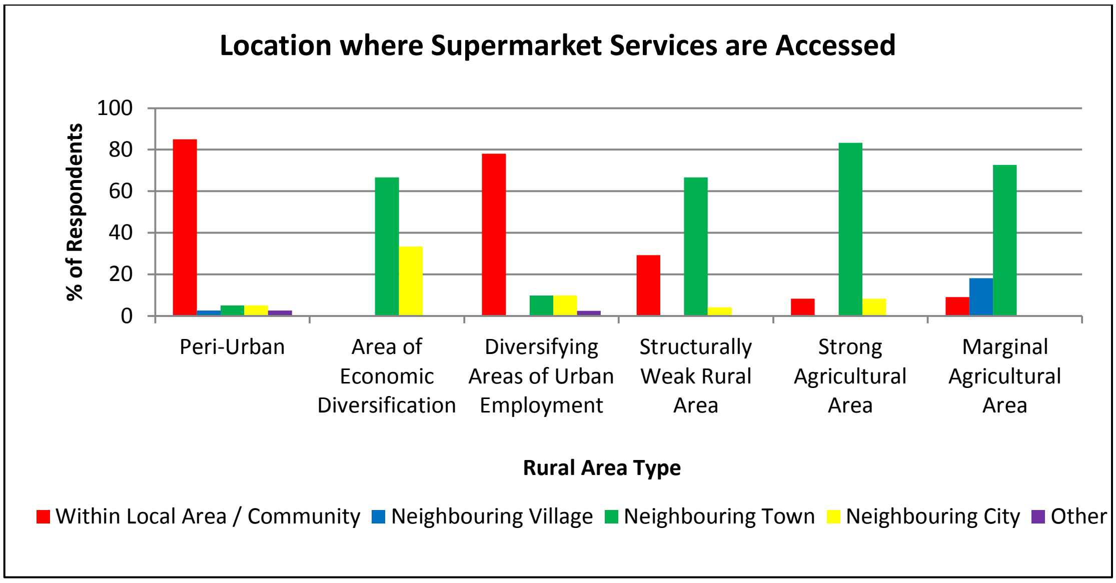
[132] Monaghan Rural – classified as a diversifying area of urban employment.
[133] Figullar – classified as a marginal agricultural area.
[134] Anny – classified as a strong agricultural area.
[135] Newcastle West – classified as a peri-urban area.
[136] Hospital – classified as an area of economic diversification.

Figure 7.4: Distribution of Migrants in the Selected Case Study Locations by Rural Area Type



Retailers face significant challenges with respect to operating a business in a rural setting due to geographical isolation; unfavourable cost structures and restricted population range. Despite these challenges, rural retailers still cater for convenience shopping. However, the diffusion of rural retail outlets is dependent on area type. There is a greater propensity of retail mix within market towns, due to being perceived as *'centres of economic exchange and social interaction'* than villages and outlying rural districts (Paddison & Calderwood, 2007, p. 142). According to the research findings from the previous chapters, there is a strong preference for migrants to access supermarket services within the closest possible proximity to their residence (Figure 7.5). In peri-urban (Carrickmacross and Newcastle West) and diversifying areas of urban employment (Monaghan Rural) migrants tend to purchase products within the local area / community. Migrant residents in the more rural and peripheral locations, denoted by strong agricultural (Glenbrohane and Anny); and marginal agricultural areas (Figullar) have a tendency to travel to a neighbouring town in order to avail of this retail service. However, the spatial pattern is not as significant in areas of economic diversification (Galbally and Hospital), as a proportion of migrants travel to a neighbouring city; and in structurally weak rural areas (Corracharra, Glaslough and Glin), a proportion of migrants obtain this service within the local community.

Figure 7.5: Location where Migrants Access Supermarket Services by Rural Area Type

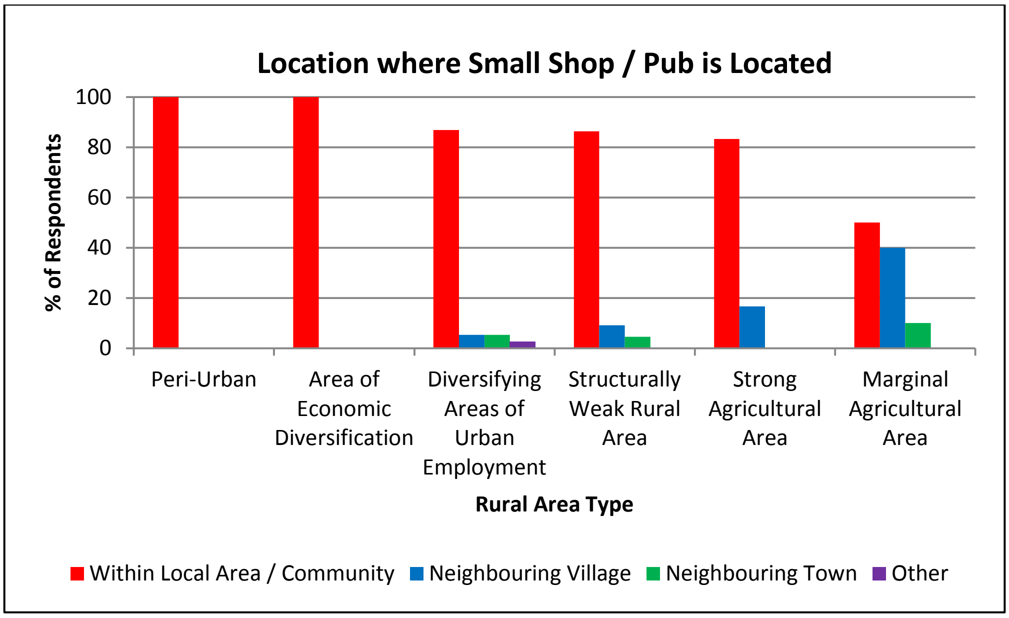


Distance to Supermarket: p = <0.1; Cramer's V = .408

Migrants show a tendency (across all rural area types) in accessing small shops and / or pubs[137] within the local area / community (Figure 7.6). The only exception being marginal agricultural areas (Figullar), where there is a preference of accessing this service within a neighbouring town / village (Emyvale or Aughnacloy). This stems from the lack of small shops / pubs within these peripheral locations. Convenience goods are obtained through these establishments. In recent years, there has been a noticeable decline in the distribution and concentration of independently owned and managed rural shops and pubs in Ireland (Brereton, et al., 2011; O'Shea, et al., 2012). This trend has also been observed in other developed countries, including the UK (Bennison, et al., 2010). The intense competition from large multiple chain-stores and transnational discount retailers (ALDI and LIDL) have negatively impacted the rural retail market. Despite the intense competition, migrants show a strong preference for obtaining convenience goods within close proximity to their residence. Furthermore, some migrants, those without a car / van or unable to afford to travel long distances, may be compelled to shop locally. Therefore, this behavioural pattern may not be exhibiting a preference for shopping locally but a lack of options / choices for migrant consumers.

[137] Pubs and small shops were taken as one variable within the household questionnaire.

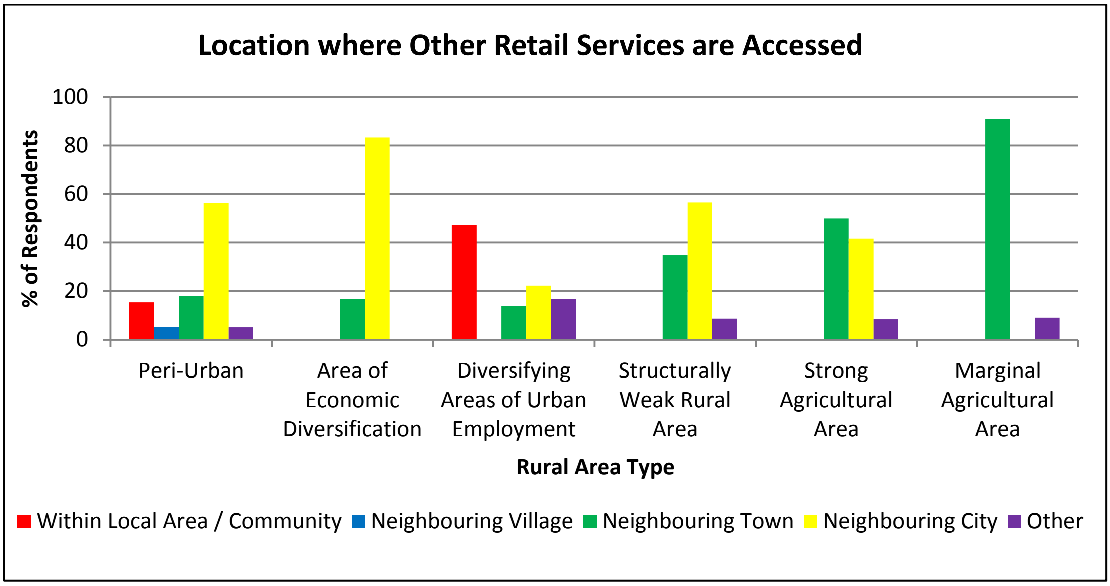
Figure 7.6: Location where Migrants Access Small Shop / Pub by Rural Area Type



Distance to small shop / pub: $p= 0.35$; Cramer's $V = .265$

The larger towns have benefited from the increased trade but severe competition exits with respect to consumers travelling to large urban centres (particularly Limerick City) in order to acquire high order goods. In the past two decades there has been a growth in the diversity of retail outlets available within the principal towns of Co. Monaghan (Monaghan Town, Carrickmacross, and Castleblayney) and Co. Limerick (Newcastle West and Abbeyfeale). However, it has to be noted that retailers in the principal towns of Co. Monaghan face significant competitive pressures from cross-border shopping due to lower VAT and excise duties in the UK and with the competition being most acute if the currencies (Sterling and Euro) are at parity. The economic growth of these towns has occurred alongside a significant increase in the population, with East European immigration playing a role in the expansion of the retail landscape in Co. Monaghan, but to a lesser extent in Co. Limerick. There is a strong tendency for migrants to acquire other retail products in the most urbanised settlements, particularly a near-by large market town / city (Figure 7.7). For migrant residents in Co. Monaghan, there are no cities within close proximity, thereby limiting there discretionary purchases to the more urbanised settlements of Carrickmacross and Monaghan Town. Locations classified as diversifying areas of urban employment (Monaghan Town and Grean) have the highest proportion of migrants acquiring high order goods within in the local area / community than any other area type. This is indicative of the transformation and diversification of the economic base occurring within this area type.

Figure 7.7: Location where Migrants Access Other Retail Services by Rural Area Type



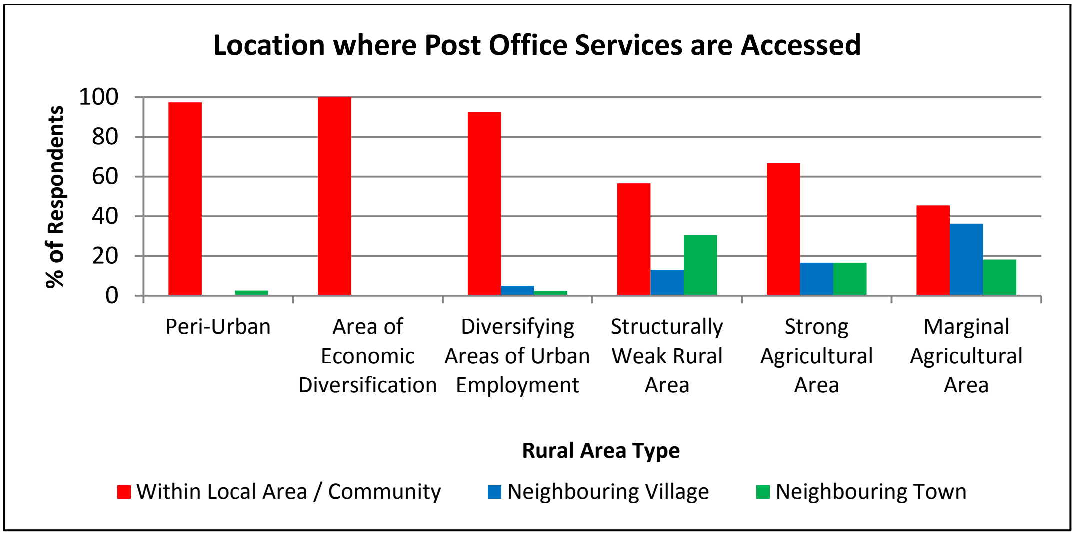
Distance to other retail: p = <0.1; Cramer's V = .369

The vast majority of migrants access the post office; financial; and legal services within close proximity to their residence (Figure 7.8). In recent years, there has been a significant reduction in the availability of the aforementioned services within rural villages /towns. In light of the current economic downturn, the pace of the rationalisation has quickened substantially[138]. All rural area types have been negatively affected by the economic downturn. All migrants, with the exception of an insignificant minority, within peri-urban (Carrickmacross, Newcastle West Rural), diversifying areas of urban employment (Monaghan Rural, Grean) and areas of economic diversification (Duntryleague, Hospital) access the post office within local community. The curtailment or absence of post office services within the remaining rural area types has necessitated a higher proportion of migrants to travel longer distances, particularly to villages and market towns. A similar spatial pattern emerges with respect to the distances travelled by migrants to medical services, particularly access to the doctor (p = <0.1; Cramer's V = .388) and to the hospital (p = <0.1; Cramer's V = .321). Figure

[138] In the past year, Allied Irish Bank (AIB) has closed 45 sub-offices and amalgamated six branches (AIB, 2012); National Irish Bank has shut all of its 27 bank branches (Weston, 2012); and Ulster Bank closed 11 bank branches in Counties Cavan, Westmeath, Galway, Offaly, Mayo and Kildare (O'Brien, 2013). Furthermore, a number of post-offices have ceased trading in rural areas on the retirement of the postmaster / postmistress (McCárthaigh, 2012).

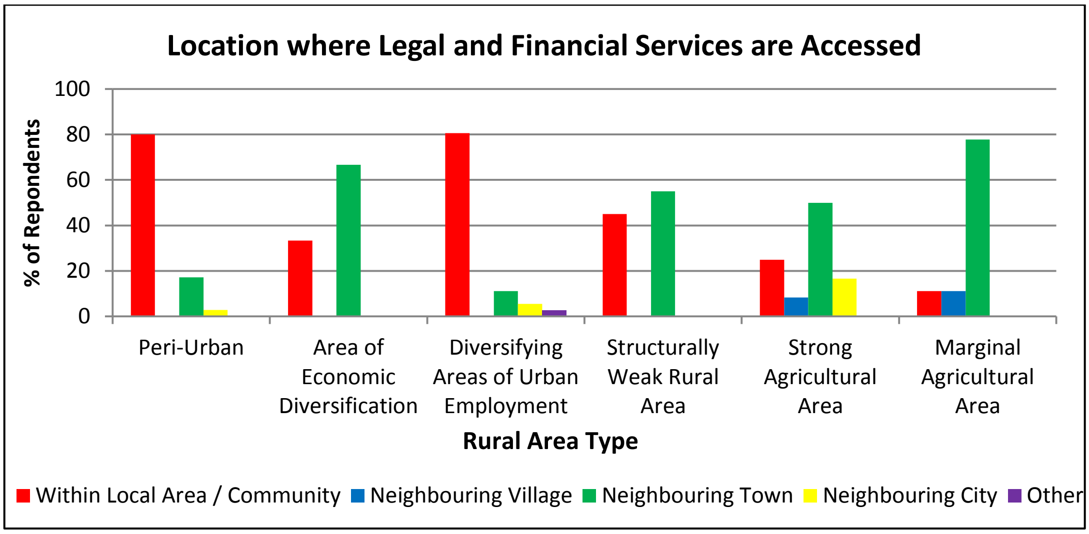
7.9 indicates migrants travel short distances, where possible to access legal and financial services. Migrants resident in the more urbanised rural area types' access these services within the local area / community, with the exception of areas of economic diversification (Galbally / Hospital) as migrants tend to travel to a neighbouring town instead. For the more peripheral rural area types, the neighbouring town is the most convenient location to access legal and financial services, whilst there is a tendency for migrant residents in structurally weak areas (Corracharra, Glin) to access these services within the local community.

Figure 7.8: Location where Migrants Access the Post Office by Rural Area Type



Distance to post office: p = <0.1; Cramer's V = .381

Figure 7.9: Location where Migrants Access Legal and Financial Services by Rural Area Type



Distance to legal / financial services: p = <.01; Cramer's V = .325

The vast majority of migrant primary school children, with the exception of those residents in marginal agricultural areas (Figuallar), attend a school which is situated in their immediate local area / community (Figure 7.10). Marginal agricultural areas can be sparsely populated, thereby not warranting the existence of a primary educational facility due to insufficient number of children aged less than 12 years of age. Therefore, migrant children (along with non-migrant children) resident in this rural area type have to travel to a nearby village or town in order to access their elementary education. There is more diversity with respect to the locations in which migrant children access post-primary school. There is a requirement for post-primary schools to be larger in scale than primary schools, thereby necessitating children to travel longer distances to access post-primary education (Figure 7.11). In Co. Limerick, a significant proportion of migrant children travel to Limerick City from peri-urban and marginal agricultural areas (O'Keeffe, 2012). A similar spatial pattern is also evident for non-migrant pupils. Therefore, it is important for all educational providers to provide the appropriate educational supports, thereby catering for the increased diversity within the educational system. This includes English as Foreign Language (EFL) classes for those not proficient in the language and additional learning supports to enable students to adapt to the Irish curricula at both primary and post-primary levels. Furthermore, it is crucial for teachers to be properly trained with respect to teaching in a multicultural classroom as it is essential to foster social inclusion and the active participation of all pupils (European Commission, 2012a).

Figure 7.10: Location where Migrants Access Primary School by Rural Area Type

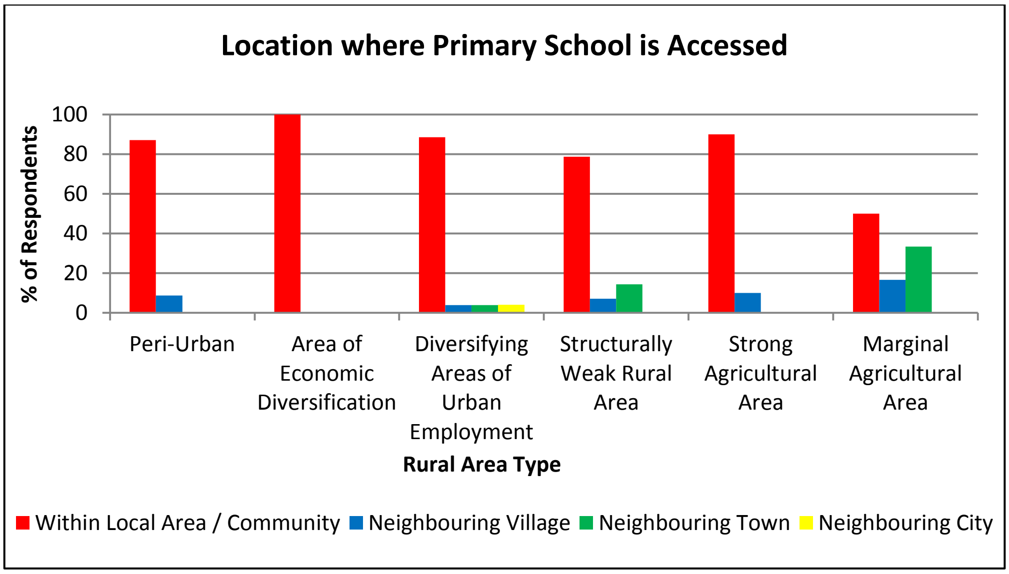
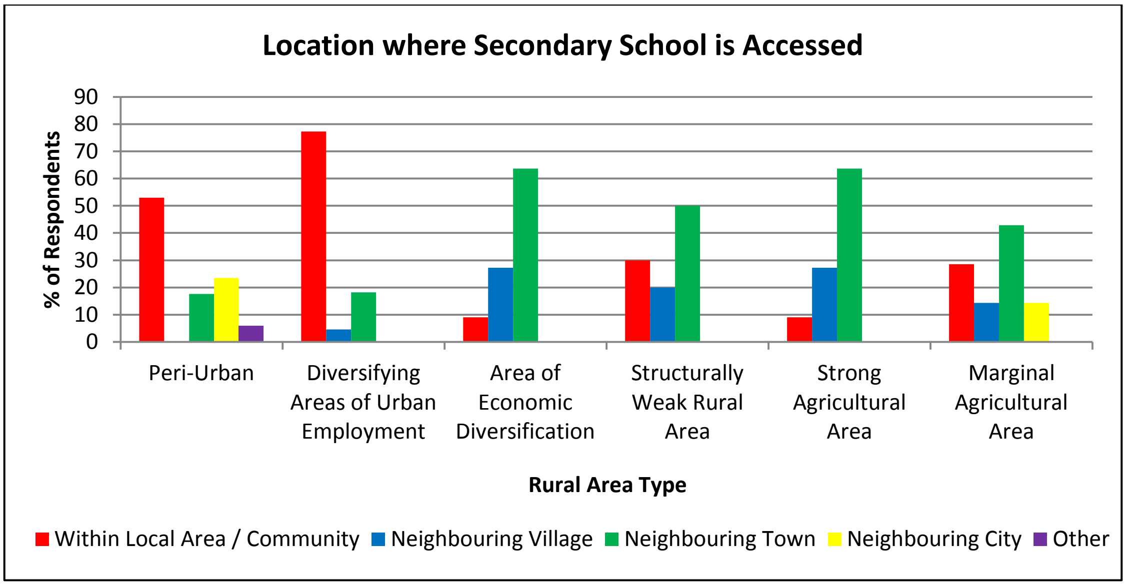


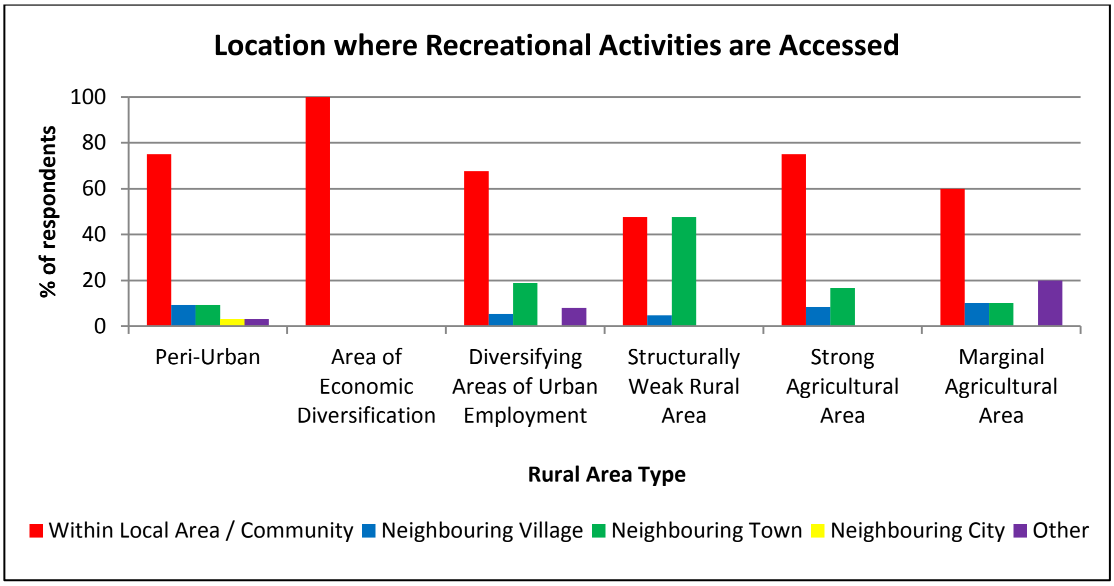
Figure 7.11: Location where Migrants Access Secondary School by Rural Area Type



Distance to secondary school: p = 0.12; Cramer's V = .355

Migrants tend to access recreational facilities within close proximity to their residence (Figure 7.12). This preference is evident across all rural area types, with the exception of structurally weak rural areas (Caher, Glin, Corracharra, Belatrain) as migrants are just as likely to travel to a neighbouring town. This engagement in recreational pursuits, particularly team sports, within the local community is a very effective mechanism of forging positive relationships between the migrant and indigenous communities (Zacheus, 2010). This engagement enables immigrants to develop language proficiency and to become more familiar with the host countries culture and traditions.

Figure 7.12: Location where Migrants Access Recreational Activities by Rural Area Type



Distance to recreational facilities: p = .179; Cramer's V = .233

The average amount of money spent by migrants at each service provider[139] on a weekly basis varies considerably by rural area type (Figure 7.13). For instance migrants in strong agricultural areas (Anny, Glenbrohane) spend considerably less than migrants resident in diversifying areas of urban employment (Grean, Riverdale, Monaghan Rural). Migrants resident in strong agricultural areas within Co. Monaghan are typically employed in mushroom houses or poultry farms. This is typically low-paid and low-skilled labour. The employment opportunities in areas of economic diversification generate higher wages; thereby enabling migrants have a higher purchasing power. However, the purchasing power differential between the remainder of the rural area types is minimal (Figure 7.14).

[139] The service providers included in the calculation of the mean included: supermarket; crèche / pre-school; primary school; secondary school; small shop / pub; sports pitch / recreational centre; post office; doctor surgery; garage / filling station; legal / financial services; hospital services; and other retail services.

Figure 7.13: Weekly Mean Spend per Service by Migrants by Rural Area Type

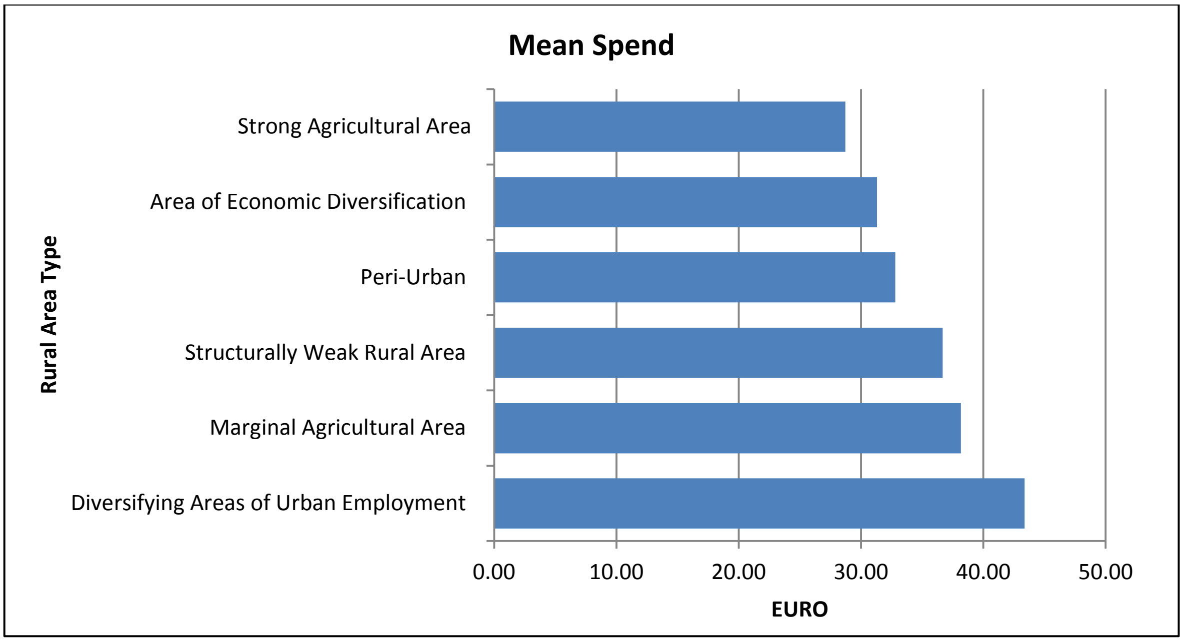
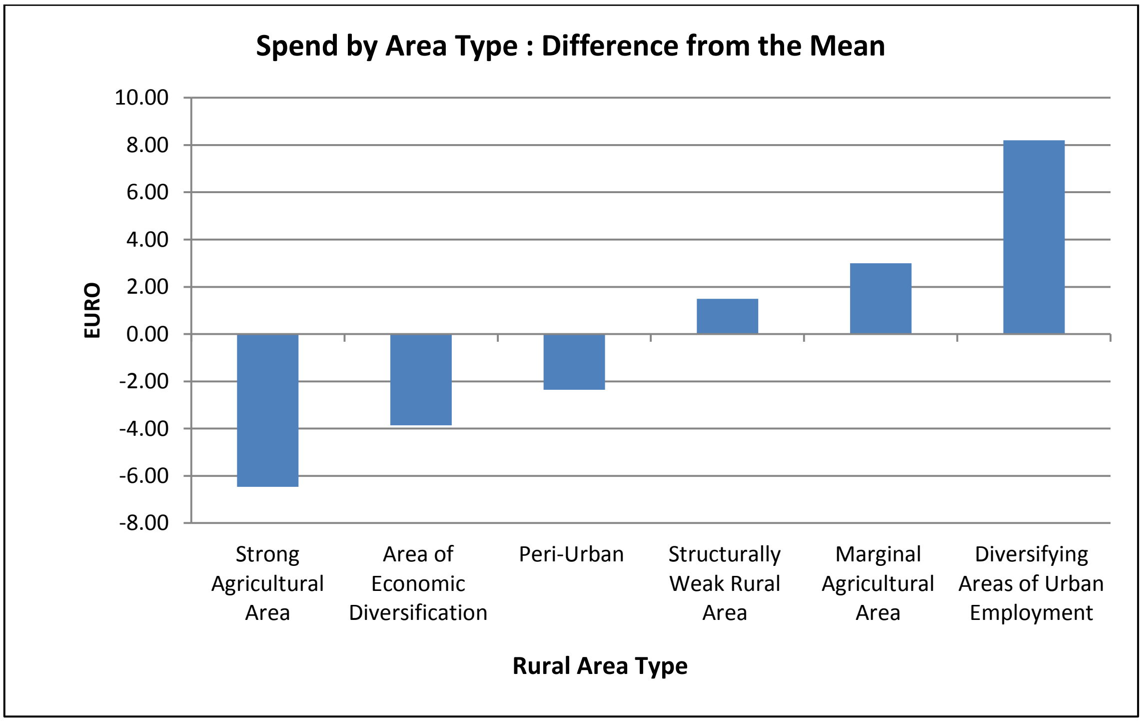


Figure 7.14: Difference from the Weekly Migrant Mean Spend per Service by Rural Area Type



7.6 Conclusion

The spatial effects of rural restructuring over the past two decades have produced a varied socio-economic landscape, with certain locations witnessing substantial growth with respect to economic activity and ethnic diversity, while other locations have witnessed economic stagnation and demographic decline. This transformation of the economy, with its varying effects, is epitomised through the selected case study locations of Counties Monaghan and Limerick. The restructuring of the economic base has spurred inward migration of East European nationals into specific rural locations. These locations, as typified through the Co. Monaghan case study, required low-paid and low-skilled employment especially during the economic boom years (2000 – 2007), as job vacancies were not being filled by the local indigenous population. Subsequently, the job vacancies' vacuum was filled by East European nationals. Consequently, this has fuelled chain migration, as family and friends follow kin who have secured employment in rural Ireland. A similar scenario has occurred in Gort, Co. Galway (Brazilian migrants) and Postville, Iowa (Hispanic and Latino migrants). These economic migrants have shown a strong desire to be employees rather than becoming entrepreneurs / employers. This has resulted in a lower than average jobs generation multiplier effect in comparison to that found in similar research studies undertaken on this topic.

Migrants have provided positive economic and social contributions to the economy. This is evident through migrants' purchasing power within the local community. Migrants show a strong preference to procure goods and services within the closest possible distance to their residence. Furthermore, economic migrants have brought increased ethnic diversity to specific rural locations throughout rural Ireland. This has presented a number of challenges for migrants with respect to integrating into rural communities. These include a lack of proficiency in the English language; cultural barriers; segregation; and discrimination. However, statutory and non-statutory organisations have initiated activities to promote integration and cultural diversity amongst migrants and non-migrants. To date, there have been no academic studies that have specifically evaluated the success of these intercultural programmes within rural Ireland. Therefore, this topic of research deserves more attention by academia and a strong focus should be placed on evaluating the implantation of local authority integration strategies. There is a necessity to decipher whether these integration strategies are combating racism and discrimination in rural areas; enabling migrants to integrate into all spheres (education, employment, recreation) of rural society; and engaging all stakeholders to work collectively, thereby avoiding the duplication of services to migrant clients.

Cultural programmes have also been initiated to promote the respective migrants national traditions and customs. This is dependent on there being a sizable ethnic community resident within a specific rural area. For instance, a Lithuanian choir and folk-dance group were established in Monaghan Town and subsequently, have performed at numerous festivals and concerts organised by the indigenous community. This provides a concrete example of how the cultural diversity within a rural county has been enhanced as a consequence of inward migration. It is important to stress, all rural areas have not experienced the same rate of inward migration. This research study has identified peri-urban and areas of economic diversification as being the most likely rural area types to have a significant proportion of economic migrants. These locations have usually adjacent to market towns, thereby possessing employment opportunities within manufacturing or agri-food processing plants. Rural area type appears to be a determinant in deciphering whether or not there is a large migrant population within a particular rural area type, as peri-urban and areas of economic diversification tended to have higher concentration of migrants within both case study locations in comparison to other rural area types. The final chapter provide a synthesis of the main research findings with respect to the spatial effects of rural restructuring on migration patterns in Ireland. It also provides a list of recommendations on how to enhance future academic studies on this research topic.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has identified significant socio-economic changes in rural Ireland during the past decade, with the processes of rural restructuring and rural in-migration playing a profound role. The first section of this chapter provides a synopsis of the thesis, consisting of an overview of key debates within the academic literature pertaining to rural restructuring and rural in-migration; a restatement of the research objectives and methodological framework; and an analysis of the significance and relevance of the research findings that emanated from this research study. From the data gathered and collated, it is also possible to surmise future ethnic and economic changes within rural Ireland. Furthermore, it also important to discuss the impact statutory and non-statutory agencies; and policymakers have in influencing future socio-economic change. The final section of this chapter puts forward a list of recommendations, derived from this research study, for the migrant community; indigenous community; statutory / semi-state agencies; community and voluntary sector; and policymakers.

8.2 Synthesis of Thesis

The structural changes that have occurred in the Irish rural economy over recent decades are similar to those that have taken place in other developed countries across the globe. The economic changes have been characterised within agriculture by a transition from productivism to post-productivism (Woods, 2011). No longer is the rural economy dominated by the agricultural sector and associated ancillary industries. The diversification of the rural economic base has incorporated the growth of rural tourism in high amenity and scenic locations; improvements in physical infrastructure and inter-communications between urban and rural locations; growth of ICT enterprises and light manufacturing sectors. Interfaces and relationships between rural and urban spaces have become more frequent, widespread and intense, particularly as rural residents commute to and from urban centres. Furthermore, there still exists a strong attachment to land ownership and traditional productivist activities within rural Ireland (McDonagh, et al., 2010). Meanwhile, many former rural market towns have contracted as the purchasing power in their hinterlands has declined (Walsh & Harvey, 2013). This economic transition has been defined as 'rural restructuring' within academic literature (Marsden, et al., 1993; Marini & Mooney, 2006). However, the spatial manifestations and influences of rural restructuring have been uneven, as some locations have thrived whilst others have declined dramatically. In tandem with these structural changes within the rural economy, there has been a significant change in the ethnic composition of specific locations throughout rural Ireland.

The foreign national population in Ireland has grown significantly in recent years, with a 143% increase (320,096 persons) occurring between 2002 and 2011 (CSO, 2012a). This growth in the foreign national population is closely linked Ireland's economic expansion between the mid-1990s and mid-2000s and with the accession of 10 new member states into the European Union on 1 May 2004. Only three member states (Ireland, Sweden and the UK) initially offered citizens from the Accession states unrestricted access to their respective labour markets. In Ireland, there were severe labour shortages, especially in low-paid and low-skilled employment and economic migrants filled the employment vacuum (Shuttleworth, 2007; McPhee, 2012). Despite the current economic downturn, migrants have continued to seek both residence and employment in Ireland. This has been demonstrated through an increase (both in relative and absolute terms) between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population. This immigration episode is not purely an urban phenomenon as 5.8% of the total population resident in 'pure' rural areas (excluding towns and villages) were categorised as foreign nationals (CSO, 2012a). In addition, 14.9% of residents in census towns were foreign nationals with notable examples from the 2011 Census of Population being Ballyhaunis, Co. Mayo (42%); Clonee, Co. Meath (41%); and Ballyconnell, Co. Cavan (38%). Similar to the economic structural changes, there has been considerable spatial variation with respect to the distribution of foreign nationals throughout rural Ireland, with the highest concentrations of Poles being in Counties Carlow (4.2%) and Longford (4.19%) and Lithuanians being in Monaghan (4%), followed by Meath (1.83%) .

To date, studies on migration have tended to focus on specific themes / issues. Examples include workers' rights; discrimination; asylum seekers / refugees; and people trafficking. Furthermore, research on migration issues has a tendency to concentrate on urban locations, with rural in-migration being overlooked by academics.

Most studies on rural restructuring either pre-date the significant in-migration phenomenon or treat migration as a marginal issue in the context of wider socio-economic change. This thesis puts migration at the core of a study on rural restructuring. It is therefore different and valuable in that respect. It is also worth noting that this study generates quantitative data on the outputs and impacts of migration, while also presenting complementary qualitative material that articulates the perspectives of both the host community and the incomers.

Rural in-migration is a new phenomenon in most of rural Ireland and has posed a number of challenges for some statutory and non-statutory agencies, as there had not been a necessity in the past to devise policies / strategies and provide services for migrant clients. Furthermore, the social integration of migrants into local rural communities is being hampered by a lack of fluency in the English language. Therefore, statutory bodies, public and commercial service providers, community organisations and rural citizens have been faced with challenges and opportunities in addressing the issues that arise from the advent of migration, and this thesis unearths several insights from the perspectives of the host and migrant communities.

The principal aim of this thesis was to provide an in-depth analysis of the relationship between rural restructuring and rural in-migration in Ireland. This has been achieved by identifying rural locations that have experienced significant in-migration of foreign nationals and determining the socio-economic factors which influenced migrants' movement of residence. Prior to the commencement of the data collection, key research questions were devised from the existing academic literature, albeit that very few studies have been previously undertaken in Ireland (Shuttleworth, 2008; Coakley & MacÉinrí, 2009; Maher, 2010). There are parallels between the research undertaken by Coakley and MacÉinrí (2009) in North Cork and this research study on Counties Monaghan and Limerick, as both studies seek to gauge the extent to which migrants have integrated into the socio-economic fabric of rural Ireland. However, this research project also sought to quantify the labour market multiplier effects associated with in-migration. The studies undertaken by Shuttleworth (2008) and Maher (2010) indicated a high reliance on migrant workers within the food-processing sector. These findings have also been observed through this research project. In Co. Monaghan, there is a tendency for economic migrants to secure low-paid and low-skilled employment in a range of economic activities. These include: agricultural production (particularly poultry rearing and mushroom cultivation); retail; and hospitality sector. This research project also sought to assess future intentions of economic migrants and to determine the likely consequences for the socio-economic fabric of rural areas in Ireland. This chapter will primarily focus on this objective, whilst putting forward recommendations to relevant stakeholders (migrants, indigenous population, community and voluntary sector and statutory agencies) with respect to availing of the opportunities; and overcoming the challenges presented by significant in-migration of foreign nationals to rural locations.

Prior to this study, research on the links between rural in-migration and rural restructuring in the Irish context has not been published. However, several academic studies have been undertaken in Scotland (Findlay, et al., 2000), England (Kalantaridis, 2010), and USA (Kandel & Parrado, 2005; Grey, et al., 2009). Findlay et al.'s (2000) study quantified the employment multiplier effects associated with in-migration in the context of rural Scotland, but this study did not specifically determine the economic multiplier effects associated with foreign nationals, as it included migration within Scotland. An in-migrant was classified as a person who had moved in excess of 15Km. This study deployed a similar methodological framework, but migrants were classified as being non-Irish. Therefore, this thesis sought to complement existing international research and to fill a gap in the literature by determining the job generation potential of migrants within rural areas. There are linkages between this research study and those undertaken by Kandel & Parrado (2005) and Grey et al. (2009), insofar as the reliance on migrants within the food-processing sector has been analysed, but within an Irish context. However, this study also examined other economic activities (hospitality, retail and agricultural production (in the context of Co. Monaghan) in which there is a reliance on migrant labour; and it assessed the impact the current economic downturn has had on the rates of unemployment amongst migrants. Furthermore, none of these studies examined the means by which migrants integrated into the social fabric of the community. All relevant stakeholders (migrants, non-migrants, business owners and statutory / non-statutory agencies) were consulted through the extensive fieldwork in both case study locations with respect to the success of migrants' socio-economic integration into rural communities.

8.2.1 The Relevance of Rural Restructuring

Globalisation has played a significant role in re-shaping contemporary society, even though it is mostly associated with urban geography. Globalisation has manifested itself within rural spaces through increased interconnectivity – physically and virtually; and the movement of people and capital between different locations. The influence of globalisation has been so profound that new terminology has emerged within rural literature to describe the phenomenon. These include the global countryside; the rural renaissance; the urbanisation of the rural, and the new countryside (Darling, 2005; McCarthy, 2007; Woods, 2007). However, Woods (2007) is slightly sceptical of this terminology as he asserts that no specific rural locations can be used as exemplars of a 'purely' globalised countryside. Despite this, one cannot dismiss the strong influence globalisation and supranationalism have exerted in transforming rural spaces. Drivers include the ratification of global trade agreements by governments and the European Union; European Economic and Monitory Union, the EU internal market, the strength of transnational / multinational corporations; international tourism, and the dominance of 'Western' cuisine throughout the globe.

Furthermore, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has played a significant role in both responding to and driving rural change. Initially CAP, was a mechanism to provide food-security in post-war Europe, whereby farmers were paid subsidies in tandem with the amount of food produced. This policy had unintended consequences in the 1970s and 1980s with the emergence of significant food surpluses, alternatively known as food mountains. Subsequently, there was a shift in policy from productivism to supply management. In the 1990s, CAP became concerned with environmental sustainability (leading to the establishment of REPS) and food quality. The 2003 CAP reforms witnessed the breaking of the linkages between production and payment of subsidies (European Commission, 2012d). In 2000, there was a paradigm shift, with the CAP focusing strongly on the economic, social and cultural development of rural areas. The second pillar of the CAP is specifically oriented to supporting rural development - rather than productivism. In addition, this pillar provides support for collaborative governance and a territorial approach to rural development. The current rural development policy (2007 – 2013) has three thematic axes. These include:

- *improving the competitiveness of the agricultural and forestry sector;*
- *improving the environment and the countryside;*
- *improving the quality of life in rural areas and encouraging diversification of the rural economy* (European Commission, 2005).

The continuation of rural development initiatives is crucial for the socio-economic development of rural locations throughout Europe. The Irish government published the *White Paper on Rural Development* in 1999. This policy document was written at a time when rural Ireland was facing significant challenges. These included: rural depopulation; agricultural rationalisation and consolidation; environmental degradation; social deprivation; and higher rates of unemployment in rural locations than urban locations. During the economic boom, there was a substantial improvement in the quality of life and standard of living for rural dwellers, but these improvements have proven to be unsustainable in light of the current economic downturn. The on-going diversification and globalisation of the rural economy has also resulted in a changing ethnic landscape, a phenomenon that was not foreseen within the *White Paper on Rural Development.*

In tandem with globalisation, supranationalism and the re-orientation of agriculture and rural policies, there has been a structural transition within the agricultural sector, from productivism to post-productivism. There has been a significant reduction in the number of people employed within this sector, with a reduction of 44,000 farm holdings between 1991 and 2007 (CSO, 2008). According to Crowley et al. (2008), the majority of farmers in Ireland have to supplement their incomes through non-farm employment; pluriactivity or on-farm diversification activities. The restructuring of the rural economy has been fragmented and multi-tiered, with the economic adjustments varying from region to region. The socio-economic variations within rural Ireland have been spatially represented by academics and policy-makers through the construction of rural typologies (NSS, 2000; McHugh, 2001; Walsh, et al., 2007). These typologies demonstrate the existence of multiple area types, ranging from economically strong and accessible locations (peri-urban; diversifying areas of urban employment; strong agricultural areas; and areas of economic diversification) to economically weak and peripheral locations (structurally weak rural areas; and marginal agricultural areas). Hence, the restructuring of the rural economic base has differed significantly from location to location throughout Ireland. Alongside these economic changes, there has been a significant change in the ethnic composition of specific rural locations, with the more diversified and affluent rural areas having witnessed high rates of in-migration. There is a high concentration of migrants, particularly from Germany, The Netherlands and The UK, located in the South-West; in Connemara, Co. Galway and in the vicinity of Lough Derg (Counties Clare and Tipperary). The migrants located to these high amenity and scenic locations between the 1960s and 1990s in order to experience the rural idyll and to pursue a lifestyle that incorporated small-scale / organic farming; and artisan production (Gaffey, 2004), while some came to rural Ireland to retire. However, contemporary rural in-migration is characterised by economic migrants, individuals seeking a better lifestyle and working conditions. Following an extensive literature review, key research questions were devised in order to study the links between rural restructuring and in-migration in Ireland.

8.2.2 Research Questions

The first research question sought to identify the extent of rural restructuring in Ireland and to decipher whether this restructuring is associated with subsequent in-migration of foreign nationals. The second research question sought to quantify migrants' influences on the socio-economic restructuring of rural areas in Ireland. A key objective of this study was to determine the existence of a labour market (job generation) multiplier effect associated with net rural in-migration. The penultimate research question sought to quantify the extent to which migrants have integrated into rural communities and to gauge the means by which intercommunity interaction has been forged between migrants and the indigenous population. The final research question explored the future intentions of migrants as the economic downturn has posed serious challenges, with respect to the loss of employment opportunities and a reduction in social inclusion supports provided by statutory and non-statutory agencies. Furthermore, this research question also sought to provide a foresight perspective on the likely socio-economic consequences of rural restructuring and rural in-migration within an Irish context.

By addressing these research questions, this thesis has proved the existence of a close relationship between rural restructuring and in-migration. The restructuring of the rural economic base has provided employment opportunities for migrant workers. However, these employment opportunities vary according to rural area type, with some locations (peri-urban area and areas of economic diversification, as classified by Walsh, 2007) experiencing significant in-migration whilst other locations (strong agricultural; marginal agricultural; and diversifying areas of urban employment) having experienced minimal in-migration. This thesis has identified the pull (the availability of employment and the prospects of a better standard of living) and push (a lack of employment opportunities and poor social welfare provision in migrants' homelands; and reunification with family and friends) factors which have attracted economic migrants to rural Ireland. Furthermore, the direct and in-direct economic multiplier effects associated with rural in-migration have been quantified and analysed within an Irish context. This research also provides a unique insight into the supports / services provided by locally-based and civil society organisations to enable the integration of migrants into rural communities in Ireland.

8.2.3 Research Methodology

In order to gauge the specific processes and patterns of rural restructuring and rural in-migration, a comprehensive and rigorous research study was undertaken. This entailed the selection of two contrasting case study locations, one experiencing significant immigration (Co. Monaghan), the other (Co. Limerick) experiencing minimal immigration of foreign nationals. County Monaghan has experienced both significant restructuring of its economic base; and in-migration of foreign nationals during the past decade. Even though the agricultural sector remains a strong component of the county's economy, the sector has been transformed as farmers have adopted a range of diversification activities, particularly mushroom cultivation and poultry production. Consequently, this has had a positive knock-on effect through the expansion of the food processing sector within the county. The proximity of Co. Monaghan to Northern Ireland has had a significant impact on the local economy with the 'Troubles' having previously supressed the tourism potential of the region, whilst the retail sector faced challenges with respect to differences in currency exchange and taxation rates. Despite these challenges, the retail sector has diversified within the county. There are several ethnically-orientated retail establishments and restaurants / takeaways within the principal settlements of Monaghan Town, Carrickmacross and Castleblayney. During the economic boom, employers in Co. Monaghan became dependent on economic migrants to fill low-paid and low-skilled job vacancies due to chronic labour shortages and an unwillingness on the part of the indigenous population to fill such positions.

The control case study location, Co. Limerick has also experienced a restructuring of its economic base but significant in-migration has not occurred in this region. According to the 2011 Census of Population, 8.7% of the population were categorised as foreign nationals, the third lowest concentration by local authority area in the country. However, it has to be acknowledged a significant proportion of foreign nationals reside within the urbanised / suburbanised Limerick Metropolitan Area, which is adjacent to Limerick City (excluded from research study). Polish and UK nationals are the most significant foreign nationality cohorts within the county. Newcastle West and its hinterland was the only location in Co. Limerick to have a high concentration of foreign nationals.

This thesis deployed several methodological instruments in order to answer the research questions robustly and comprehensively. The cross-examination of the evidence (triangulation) through the utilisation of multiple data sources has produced a wealth of information, of which no contradictions have emerged. Table 3.5 provides an overview of the data sources (household questionnaires[140], business questionnaires[141] and semi-structured interviews) utilised within this research project whilst Table 3.6 outlines the primary and secondary indicators used to answer each of the research questions. Prior to the extensive fieldwork (January – November 2011), data from 2002, 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population were analysed along with policy documents from several statutory and non-statutory agencies. The household questionnaire was distributed within all rural area types within both case study locations (as classified by Walsh et al.). The ED(s) with the highest proportion of immigrants (for each area type) were selected. A minimum of 50 households completed the questionnaire in each ED. Households had to be randomly selected as picking respondents from the register of electors was not feasible due to the under-representation of foreign nationals within this database. The number of migrant respondents was further increased by distributing surveys at English language classes in Monaghan Town and Castleblayney; and through a local community group in Newcastle West. In total 787 questionnaires were distributed, with 421 and 366 in Counties Monaghan and Limerick respectively. The household questionnaire provided a socio-economic overview of the household (through the collection of demographic, ethnic, educational attainment; and occupational data);

[140] The overall response rate was 68.99%.
[141] The overall response rate was 68%.

quantified the labour market (job generation) potential of migrant households; provided an analysis of spending and commuting patterns of rural dwellers; and gave an insight into the motivations for moving to present location and indications on whether the respondents were planning any future household movements.

The business questionnaire was distributed to 100 businesses within both case study locations. It was completed by business owners / managers. The respondents were systematically selected from the telephone directory. This questionnaire sought to gauge the ethnic composition of the workforce, to determine the rationale for hiring economic migrants within rural businesses; and to ascertain the scale and range of migrant orientated products / services provided by retail outlets. The final methodological instrument deployed within this research study was semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders that have come into direct contact with immigrants. These included personnel from rural development organisations; community and voluntary groups; chambers of commerce; local authorities; immigrant support agencies; and employment training agencies. The semi-structured interviews contextualised the results from both the household and business questionnaires.

8.2.4 Overview of Research Findings

In recent decades, both Counties Monaghan and Limerick have witnessed a restructuring of their respective economic bases. This economic transformation has produced varying spatial outcomes with respect to the emergence of new economic activities (diversification) and the requirement for migrant workers. Table 8.1 provides a synopsis of the key research findings from both case study locations. There is a complex inter-twining / two-way relationship between rural restructuring and rural in-migration. The diversification of the economic base resulted in labour shortages within specific economic sectors and these have been alleviated through the recruitment of economic migrants. After this first initial wave of in-migration, a subsequent one occurred with the arrival of the economic migrants' family members and friends. Similar migratory trends (chain migration) have been observed in other developed countries. A high concentration of immigrants within a specific geographical location acts as a centripetal force and as a catalyst for the growth of migrant owned / orientated enterprises, thereby further enhancing the diversification of the economic base.

Table 8.1: Synopsis of Research Findings from Counties Monaghan and Limerick

Research Question	Indicator	Co. Monaghan	Co. Limerick
What are the main new economic sectors to emerge in the rural economy as a consequence of rural restructuring and have these sectors provided the initial catalyst for the recent in-migration into rural Ireland?	Identification of agricultural diversification activities	A diverse agricultural base with mushroom cultivation, poultry rearing, porcine and bovine production. Consolidation and rationalisation of farm holdings has led to decrease in employment.	In recent decades, there has been significant consolidation and rationalisation of the agricultural sector. There is a tendency for farmers to specialise in either dairy or beef production.
	Prominent industrial activities	There are several large food-processing and meat rendering plants in the county. These include Silver Hill Foods; Grove Turkeys; Cargill Integra Ltd.; AIBP; Abbott; Monaghan Mushrooms; and Monaghan Co-operative Society. The traditional furniture industry has witnessed a sharp decline due to the economic downturn and importation of flat-pack furniture. Low levels of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).	Several large manufacturing plants (Aughnish Alumina, Kostal, Pfizer, and Pallas Foods) located within the county. Limerick County Enterprise Board has built enterprise parks in Kilmallock, Broadford and Kantoher. The closure of Dell computer assembly plant and ancillary factories has had a negative economic impact on the entire Mid-West region.

	Existence of ethnic / migrant orientated businesses	All the market towns have several migrant owned businesses and / or businesses that cater predominantly for the migrant customer base. These include East European food shops; ethnic restaurants / take-aways; hair-dressers; beauticians; employment consultancy firm; and translation service.	Minimal Impact. There is one migrant orientated food shop in Newcastle West and a Hungarian dental clinic in Ballylanders, Co. Limerick. The majority of towns have at least one ethnic orientated restaurant (e.g. Chinese takeaway).
	Existence of tourism amenities	The tourism sector has faced significant challenges in the past due to its proximity to Northern Ireland. Local tourism stakeholders have initiated numerous festivals to attract tourists alongside the development of recreational amenities. Plans to develop Ulster Canal (Clones) and Lough Muckno (Castleblayney) are contingent on securing funding from the Irish government.	High amenity and scenic rural locations have benefited from rural tourism initiatives. Examples include the diverse tourism mix offered within the Ballyhoura region (walking, cycling, driving routes; and nature trails) and the historic village of Adare (heritage centre).

	Prominence of ICT and knowledge economy sector	The Armagh - Monaghan Digital Corridor; Project Kelvin; and construction of MTEK building in Monaghan Town provides the critical infrastructure for the development of a knowledge economy.	The physical ICT infrastructure for the development of a knowledge economy is concentrated within the environs of Limerick City, particularly in the vicinity of the University of Limerick, Raheen Industrial Park; and the National Technological Park.
	Total Foreign Nationals (%) in 2006	9.31	7.06
	Total Foreign Nationals (%) in 2011	11.46	8.68
	% of Migrants in Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	20.69	0
	% of Migrants in Industry	17.24	14.89
	% of Migrants in Construction	5.75	19.15
	% of Migrants in Wholesale & Retail Trade	17.24	12.77
	% of Migrants in Transportation and Storage	5.75	4.26
	% of Migrants in Accommodation & Food Service Activities	9.20	6.38
	% of Migrants in Information &	2.30	2.13

	Communications		
	% of Migrants in Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	0	0
	% of Migrants in Professional, Scientific & Technical Services	3.45	14.89
	% of Migrants in Administration and Support Service Activities	1.15	4.26
	% of Migrants in Public Administration & Defence	0	0
	% of Migrants in Education	2.30	2.13
	% of Migrants in Human Health & Social Work	6.90	10.64
	% Full-Time Employment (Migrant)	47	18
	% Part-Time Employment (Migrant)	15	51
	% Unemployed (Migrant)	21	14
	Location of Employment	Within close proximity of residence	Within close proximity to residence

To what extent, and in what ways have economic migrants influenced the socio-economic restructuring of rural areas?	Percentage of non-Irish customer base	31% of businesses have very few or no migrant customers (0 - 1% of customer base) on a weekly basis, with migrants accounting for between 20% and 40% of customers in 16% of retail outlets	36% of businesses have very few or no migrant customers (0 - 1% of customer base) on a weekly basis, with migrants accounting for between 20.1% and 40% of customers in 6% of retail outlets
	Identification of services / products for East European customers	22% of businesses provide migrant orientated products / services. These include East European groceries and beverages; dictionaries; translation services; and international calling cards.	13.7% of businesses provide migrant orientated products / services. These include East European groceries and beverages; and international calling cards.
	Remittances	60% of migrant respondents sent no remittances whilst 13% of migrant respondents sent in excess of €250 abroad per month.	68% of migrant respondents sent no remittances whilst 7% of migrant respondents sent in excess of €250 abroad per month.
What is the labour market (job generation) multiplier effect (if any) of net in-migration within rural areas?	Number of individuals employed by migrant households	16	17
	% of Households Occupied by at Least 1 Employer	4.08	6.07

	Entrepreneurial Supports	Cavan-Monaghan LEADER and Monaghan County Enterprise Board provide entrepreneurial supports for businesses in within Co. Monaghan. Other agencies include InterTrade Ireland and Enterprise Ireland. There are currently no bespoke entrepreneurial supports for migrant clients.	Start Your Own Business courses provided to ethnic entrepreneurs by Doras Luimní (and previously by West Limerick Resources). Migrants can avail of advice, grants and mentoring services provided by West Limerick Resources; Ballyhoura Development; Shannon Development; and Limerick County Enterprise Board.
	Migrant Job Generation Multiplier Rate	0.16	0.29
	Non-Migrant Job Generation Multiplier Rate	0.59	0.93

To what extent have migrants integrated into the local community and how have intercommunity relations been forged between the host and indigenous communities	Evidence of intercultural / diversity raising awareness activities	The celebration of East European religious feast days (particularly St. Joniné's Day on 21 June); Intercultural schools games at GAA matches; Religious & Multicultural Diversity awareness training; Pitch and putt matches in Inniskeen; The participation of Lithuanian Community of Monaghan choir / dancers at festivals / social gatherings; The participation of migrant groups in St. Patrick's Day parades; Networking trips incorporating visits to food, enterprise and heritage sites; Library workshops exploring migrants' experiences of living in Co. Monaghan; Intercultural mural painting; Anti-racism and diversity workshops; Establishment of Lithuanian Saturday Schools	The Limerick City and County Integration Committee have developed a strategic plan for assisting the integration of immigrants into local communities. Due to funding shortfalls, integration initiatives (information service; language classes; and diversity raising awareness events) have been scaled back considerably.

	Evidence of English language supports for native speakers	English language classes provided by Monaghan County VEC in Monaghan Town, Carrickmacross and Castleblayney. English conversation classes have been organised through Monaghan Integrated Development at 10 locations throughout the county. This initiative was funded through PEACE II.	English language classes provided by Limerick County VEC in Newcastle West and Kilmallock.
	Location of accessing educational; retail; financial; and recreational services	Within the local community (where possible)	Within the local community (where possible)
	Rate of Migrant volunteerism in social / charitable activities	14%	7%
	Rate of Migrant volunteerism in religious / church activities	3%	7%
	Rate of Migrant Volunteerism in Sports Activities	4%	10%

	Rate of Migrant Volunteerism in Political / Cultural Activities	2%	5%
	Rate of Migrant Volunteerism in Other Activities	9%	5%
In light of the recent economic downturn, what are the future intentions of the migrants residing in rural areas, and what are the likely consequences for the rural economy?	Anticipated length of time till next migration movement	66% of migrants have no intention of moving residence; 9% intend in moving within a year; and 13% after 5 or more years.	62% of migrants have no intention of moving residence; 10% intend in moving within a year; and 8% after 5 or more years.
	Identification of additional services / products for migrant consumers	15% of businesses will provide additional migrant orientated products / services. This is subject to customer demand.	12% of businesses will provide additional migrant orientated products / services. This is subject to customer demand.

For instance, the streetscapes of Monaghan Town and Carrickmacross in Co. Monaghan have become more globalised through the presence of a significant East European population, which has consequently led to the establishment of Lithuanian and Polish shops; and ethnic food restaurants. The links between rural restructuring and in-migration have been highlighted through extensive fieldwork in both Counties Monaghan and Limerick. The restructuring of the economic base has varied from location to location, with certain rural areas thriving both economically and demographically, whilst other areas have experienced persistent decline. This research study has found a preference amongst migrants to reside within peri-urban and areas of economic diversification. Migrants in both case study locations showed a strong preference to obtain consumer goods and services within the closest proximity to their residence. Therefore, migrants are providing a positive contribution to the rural economy by utilising local services. However, the employment generation multiplier effects associated with in-migration are considerably lower in rural Ireland than in Scotland, Czech Republic and Slovak Republic[142]. The lower rates of entrepreneurism amongst migrants can be attributed to a lack of proficiency in the English language; a lack of recognition educational attainment/ vocational qualifications; inadequate financial resources; and inexperience in establishing / operating a business in Ireland.

In Co. Monaghan a high proportion of the workforce within low-skilled industries are migrants as the indigenous population shunned this type of employment during the economic boom. A high dependency on migrant labour within these industries is not unique to Co. Monaghan as similar cases / occurrences have been cited in academic literature in Gort, Co. Galway (Maher, 2010) and Postville, USA (Grey, et al., 2009). Rural Ireland, similar to other rural locations throughout the developed world, had not previously experienced the phenomenon of significant in-migration of economic migrants. This has posed significant challenges for statutory and non-statutory agencies with respect to overcoming language barriers, provision of information regarding rights, responsibilities and entitlements; and successfully integrating both the migrant and non-migrant communities. However, rural Ireland has been enriched due to the presence of economic migrants. This is reflected through the increased cultural (migrant associations; choirs; folk-dancing groups; week-end schools; migrant festivals) and

[142] It has to be acknowledged there are difference in methodological framework between this research study and the other selected case studies.

economic (ethnic orientated shops and takeaways; translation service) diversity within rural areas, particularly in Co. Monaghan.

Migrants' integration into the social and economic fabric of rural communities is dependent on the availability and quality of services provided by statutory and non-statutory agencies. It is evident from the Co. Monaghan case study that the community and voluntary sector (incorporating the local rural development organisation; community groups in Castleblayney, Carrickmacross, Monaghan Town and Truagh) have initiated numerous programmes / projects to assist migrant integration. In the process, these groups have forged a positive community relationship between the immigrant and indigenous populations. The success of these initiatives has been contingent on receiving significant financial resources from PEACE II; the Office for the Promotion of Migrant Integration; and local fundraising. However, the economic downturn has led to the curtailment of funding for a number of initiatives. It has to be stressed that the PEACE II grants are provided only to community groups in Northern Ireland and to the six counties adjacent to the Northern Ireland border, as means of combating sectarian discrimination between Catholics and Protestants. However, local community groups in Co. Monaghan have utilised this funding source as a means of forging stronger links between the indigenous and immigrant communities. However, this source of funding is not sustainable into the future. In Co. Limerick, services provided specifically for migrants have been rationalised or curtailed due to a lack of funding. Therefore, it is imperative for the Irish government, particularly the Office for the Promotion of Integration, to proactively encourage and provide funding for programmes / services to allow migrants integrate fully into Irish society. Furthermore, the formal education sector has made stringent efforts with respect to fostering migrant integration, especially through the adoption and adherence to intercultural guidelines for both primary and post-primary schools (NCCA, 2004; 2006). These diversity-raising awareness and integration initiatives / programmes are necessary in order to combat xenophobia; racial discrimination; segregation; and ghettoization. Furthermore, the allocation of funds should not be solely allocated to urban locations, as this thesis has shown there is a significant migrant population residing within rural areas.

The success of migrant integration in Co. Monaghan is also reflected through the election of two Town Councillors from a migrant background (1 to Carrickmacross Town Council and 1 to Clones Town Council)[143]. Furthermore, the appointment of migrants as board members (Castleblayney) and a coordinator (Carrickmacross) of a community group enables the migrant voice to be heard with respect to decision making at a local level. It is good practice for locations with a high immigrant population to have a proportionate number of seats on the boards of local community councils / groups and rural development organisations. The acquisition of a fluency in the English language is one of the most important means of integrating into a community. To date, the VECs in Counties Monaghan and Limerick have provided numerous classes to cater for various aptitudes at various locations. It is pivotal that all VECs provide an adequate number of EFL classes to meet the service requirements of the non-native English speaking migrants, as a fluency in the vernacular language is crucial for successful integration into both the social and economic spheres of rural life.

Migrant entrepreneurship has to be encouraged as a means of promoting economic development. The local community in Ballylanders, Co. Limerick forged close links with the town of Ersekcsanad in Hungary, which ultimately led to the opening of a Hungarian dentistry surgery in the village. Prior to this, there was no dental service within the village of Ballylanders. Endogenous economic developments which are driven by the indigenous and immigrant communities can be very beneficial for job creation and the retention / provision of new services within rural areas. Rural development organisations and County Enterprise Boards should recognise the potential offered by such endeavours and where possible, provide the necessary supports and advice to rural communities. The rapid socio-economic changes that have occurred in rural Ireland over the past decade are set to continue into the foreseeable future. The next two sections provide an insight into future economic developments and migratory trends within rural Ireland.

[143] All town councils in Ireland are to be abolished in 2014.

8.3 Future Economic Developments in Rural Areas

In recent years, the sustainability of these economic activities has to be questioned due to the current economic downturn. The construction sector in Ireland has witnessed a dramatic contraction, in both physical output and employment levels. The most significant proportional decline in the construction workforce is spatially concentrated in the North-West, North Midlands and South-East (Meredith, 2013). These peripheral and marginal locations have also witnessed a decline in the proportion of manufacturing workers. However, the steepest percentage decline in the manufacturing workforce has occurred in Counties Limerick, Carlow and Donegal. These proportional declines have been partly off-set by a minimal percentage increase in the agricultural workforce and a significant increase in the professional services sector.

The current social and economic challenges facing rural Ireland are immense. This is epitomised through both inward migration of foreign nationals and outward migration of young highly skilled and educated member of the indigenous population to Anglophone countries. Emigration appeared to be a more pertinent issue in Co. Limerick than in Co. Monaghan, with numerous respondents referring to the movement of family members and friends to overseas destinations in order to obtain employment. The emigration of young Irish people poses serious challenges for rural communities with respect to the sustainability of sports clubs; schools; and retail outlets. For instance, GAA clubs in Co. Kerry are facing difficulties in acquiring enough players to comprise a team (O'Sullivan, 2011). This trend suggests that the multiplier effect created by in-migration during the early to mid-2000s has been negated by recent out-migration of people who have a similar age and skills profile to the incomers.

The Irish government has established the Commission for the Economic Development of Rural Areas (CEDRA) to devise a research report to inform future policy decisions with respect to the medium term (until 2025) economic development of rural areas. Currently CEDRA is conducting an extensive public consultation with rural dwellers, whereby key actions will be identified in order to secure and enhance the future economic and demographic viability of rural areas. This thesis has identified that the proportion of foreign nationals (predominantly working age) resident within rural Ireland has risen significantly in the past decade. In some rural locations, the emigration of young Irish people has been countenanced through the in-migration of foreign nationals. Even though the demographic vitality of rural areas is being sustained through in-migration (specific rural locations only), it is imperative for CEDRA to devise policy recommendations that generate employment opportunities for young people which are compatible with their educational attainments. Furthermore, CEDRA should put forward recommendations towards harnessing the economic potential of economic migrants, as the rates of migrant entrepreneurship are considerably lower in comparison to the indigenous population; and to other immigrant destinations throughout Europe. A list of recommendations are put forward at the conclusion of this chapter with respect to enhancing the social and economic vibrancy of rural locations in Ireland and these should be noted and acted upon by CEDRA.

The development of a 'green economy', whereby economic activities embrace environmental sustainability and social equity, could produce significant employment within rural areas. The 'green economy' encompasses a diverse range of economic activities. These include: renewable energy; clean transport; water management; and land management. The economic value of natural capital (ecosystems, bio-systems and natural resources) should not be underestimated, as a pristine environment generates significant employment and economic output within agriculture, forestry, aquaculture, renewable energies, and tourism (see *Actions for Biodiversity 2011 – 2016: Ireland's Biodiversity Plan* (2011)). However, the natural capital faces unprecedented challenges with respect to climate change. Natural habitats will find it difficult to adjust to both increased droughts in Summer and rainfall in Winter, thereby posing a significant risk for the rural economy. The greatest costs will be borne on the agricultural sector with increased supplementation of grazed grass for livestock (especially during droughts); installation of irrigation systems; leaching of soils / construction of flood defences; crop failure; and start-up costs associated with the introduction of new crops (e.g. soya-beans) (Riordan, 2005). These additional financial costs may ultimately threaten the sustainability and viability of the agricultural sector in Ireland. Despite the overwhelming international scientific evidence which demonstrates the need for action on climate change and the targets set by the EU and Irish Government to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and the conservation of biodiversity, little tangible progress has been made with respect to the valorisation of rural assets save for endogenous efforts. To date, Ireland has not introduced climate change legislation. It is essential that a policy framework and implementation plan is devised in order to tackle the immense challenges posed to both natural habitats and the rural economy by climate change. This inertia is delimiting the capacity of the rural to contribute to the amelioration of climate change, while simultaneously generating opportunities in the green economy that would help to redress the net employment loss that the rural has experienced over the past five years.

The Department of Agriculture and Food's future blueprint for the agricultural sector in Ireland, *Food Harvest 2020*, believed the following targets are achievable by 2020:

> '• *Increasing the value of primary output in the agriculture, fisheries and forestry sector by €1.5 billion. This represents a 33% increase compared to the 2007-2009 average.*
> • *Increasing the value-added in the agri-food, fisheries and wood products sector by €3 billion. This represents a 40% increase compared to 2008.*
> • *Achieving an export target of €12 billion for the sector. This represents a 42% increase compared to the 2007-2009 average*' (Department of Agriculture Fisheries and Food, 2010, p. 8).

These targets are envisaged to create an additional 24,719 direct and indirect jobs within the agricultural sector and associated ancillary activities (Department of Agriculture Food and the Marine, 2012). A significant proportion of the additional jobs will be generated in aquaculture and food-processing. The successful implementation of this strategic plan will inevitably strengthen the relationship between rural restructuring and rural in-migration, as there could be a reluctance on the part of the indigenous rural population to seek the additional employment being generated in the agricultural production or food-processing sectors. Therefore, the vacuum will have to be filled by economic migrants. This is a conceivable scenario as numerous food-processing enterprises, especially meat rendering plants, both in Ireland (as observed through this research project) and other developed countries throughout the globe, have become heavily reliant on migrant workers as the native population perceive this type of employment as being low-paid and low-skilled. There are other challenges facing the agricultural sector, particularly with the removal of quotas (increasing competition); accessing credit from financial institutions; and climate change. The current fodder crisis, a consequence of atypical weather patterns in 2012 – 2013, has resulted in farmers downsizing their stock levels. The combination of these factors will delimit agricultural producers' ability to invest in their enterprises for many years. Furthermore, *Food Harvest 2020* does not give due credence to on-farm diversification activities and the slow food movement. These economic activities are more realistic and sustainable options for job creation within rural Ireland.

For rural areas to prosper both socially and economically into the future, all policies have to be 'rural proofed' (as advocated by the *White Paper on Rural Development*) and adhere to the principles of balanced regional development (as advocated through the *National Spatial Strategy*). Policymakers have to ensure an adequate level of services / amenities are available for rural dwellers, thereby ensuring the continuation of a 'living countryside'. The demographic vitality of rural communities can be secured through either in-migration or maintaining and growing the current population base. The *National Spatial Strategy* envisaged basic service provision at all settlement tiers (see NSS p. 113). This research project has ascertained through the household questionnaire that migrants have been able to obtain basic services within close proximity of their residence. However, retail (small shops); social (public houses / restaurants); judicial (garda stations); and financial (post offices, banks) services are being either rationalised or curtailed. This poses a serious challenge for the demographic vitality of rural Ireland. Despite the *National Spatial Strategy* being abolished by the Irish government in February 2013[144], its successor (due to be published in 2014) has to safe-guard and follow through on the provisions of the inaugural strategy with respect to maintaining rural services and amenities.

This thesis has identified that contemporary in-migration to rural areas is now being dominated by economic migrants who have moved from overseas in order to secure a better standard of living. This migration has occurred without the prior assistance of intermediaries, with the exception of recruitment agencies enticing immigrants to Ireland during the economic boom. Chain migration, migrants moving to rural areas in order to be reunited with family member and friends, plays a crucial role in sustaining and in some instances rejuvenating the population base of specific rural areas. Statutory agencies and community and voluntary groups have responded to the arrival of

[144] The National Spatial Strategy was deemed to be unsustainable due to the designation of 9 gateways and a further 9 hub settlements.

immigrants by providing bespoke services, with no specialised intermediaries assisting migrants with respect to securing a residence, employment or training opportunities.

8.4 Future Rural In-Migration Patterns

This rapid transition in the occupational profile of rural areas between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population has resulted in a significant rise in unemployment. The results from the Co. Monaghan case study indicate a higher susceptibility for migrants to be unemployed than non-migrants. This may stem from migrants having shorter employment tenure than non-migrants, thereby increasing the prospects of redundancy for economic migrants. There have been significant job losses within the construction, retail and hospitality sectors, with the additional labour requirements for these sectors being filled by economic migrants. In light of the economic downturn, economic migrants employed within these industries find themselves in a precarious position.

Furthermore, the unemployment rate among migrants is higher than among Irish citizens. This was especially evident in Co. Monaghan, where there is a higher concentration of immigrants than in Co. Limerick. Migrants initially moved to rural Ireland in order to secure a better lifestyle and a high standard of living, but these ambitions are being seriously challenged by migrants failing to secure employment. Therefore, migrants are at a greater risk of living in poverty and / or deprivation in comparison to the indigenous population. This poses significant challenges for local social service providers, especially if migrants are not fluent in English, as specialist training and information services have to be provided. This adds an additional financial burden on local service providers. Unemployed immigrants who have close ties to rural communities through the presence of family and friends are less likely to migrate onto another immigrant destination; so therefore, it is incumbent on local social service providers to assist these migrants into employment with the same degree of urgency as the indigenous population. There should be no differentiation between migrants and non-migrants.

Migrants have shown a strong tendency to seek employment in construction; accommodation and food-services; agri-food processing / meat rendering; and retail sectors. All of these economic activities, with the exception of food processing, have witnessed a severe contraction since the commencement of the economic downturn in 2008. This helps to explain the higher rates of unemployment amongst migrants surveyed in Co. Monaghan. In recent years, there has been anecdotal evidence of migrants returning home or moving onto new destinations in search of employment. This is particularly true for young single economic migrants. However, it is considerably more difficult for migrants with families to move from location to location in search of employment. During the fieldwork in Co. Monaghan, several migrants stated that they initially came to Ireland alone and once employment was secured, there was a reunification of the family. This chain migration has been exemplified in other migrant destinations. It is very difficult for migrant families who have been resident in rural Ireland for several years, to move the household to a different location in search of employment. This situation arises if the children are in primary or post-primary education. In recent years, a substantial number of children have been born to migrant parents. The commencement of a family ties migrants to a particular location.

The enlargement of the European Union has had a significant impact on migratory inflows into rural Ireland. The highest levels of inward migration into rural Ireland coincided with an economic boom and the accession of 10 new member states into the European Union. However, it was mostly migrants from Poland and the Baltic states who showed the strongest tendency to move to Ireland. Despite Romania and Bulgaria joining the European Union in 2007, its citizens have been unable to access the labour market in Ireland, except for those who have work permits. From 1 January 2014, this situation will change as Romanians and Bulgarians will be able to secure employment in any EU member state. It is highly unlikely that there will be significant in-migration of Romanians and Bulgarians to rural Ireland due to the current high rates of unemployment. Moreover, due to linguistic and cultural ties, Romanians have tended to migrate to Spain and Italy, rather than to other EU member states, and in Spain in particular, there is considerable reliance on Romanian labour to harvest fruit and vegetables. Indeed, Spanish landowners have exhibited a preference for Romanians over North African migrant workers.

European Union enlargement is an on-going process (European Union, 2013). There are currently 3 potential candidate countries (Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo); and 5 candidate countries (Iceland, Montenegro, Serbia, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey). All of these countries have a significant agricultural rural economic base. This economic model will not be immune to the processes and patterns of globalisation, especially when these candidate countries become full members of the European Union. The restructuring and diversification of these rural economies may generate alternative local employment in a diverse range of industrial activities or will lead to displacement to urban centres within the respective country or outward migration to other EU member states. To date, the social, economic and cultural linkages between the Balkans, Turkey and Ireland are relatively weak in comparison to other EU member states. Therefore, their accession into the European Union may not result in significant migration to rural Ireland, unless there is a dramatic turnaround in the Irish economy. Nonetheless, economic migrants are likely to be recruited by Irish employers from Poland and / or the Baltic States as strong linkages have been made between employment and recruitment agencies in these countries and their Irish counterparts. Furthermore, this thesis has highlighted the emergence of a significant Lithuanian and Polish communities within specific locations, thereby acting as a pull factor in deciding a future migration destination.

8.5 Role of Statutory and Non-Statutory Agencies Facilitating Socio-Economic Change

The integration of migrants into rural Ireland has been greatly assisted through the work of statutory agencies (local authorities; VECs; County Enterprise Boards and FÁS) and community and voluntary sector (rural development organisations; community groups; and immigrant associations). In Co. Limerick, all agencies that provide services to migrant clients meet regularly through the aegis of the Limerick Integration Working Group (LIWG). This committee devised and adopted an integration strategy for Limerick City and County in 2010. The LIWG regularly assessed the implementation of the strategy at its monthly meetings. Furthermore, the LIWG also ascertains the concerns / needs of economic migrants and asylum seekers within the region. The latest progress report from the LIWG highlights the challenges currently faced by statutory and non-statutory agencies within Co. Limerick with respect to the provision of integration services for migrant clients. These include a lack of financial and human resources; governance issues related to the merger of the Limerick City and County local authorities; and the proposed restructuring of development boards (a principal stakeholder for assisting migrants) (Limerick Integration Working Group, 2013). To date, the LIWG has not published an updated integration strategy for Limerick City and County. Integration committees, whose membership should comprise of all stakeholders involved in the delivery of services to migrant communities, should be established in each local authority area, with the mandate of devising and implementing policies that address the social needs and harness the economic potential of migrants.

The findings from this research study has identified that non-statutory and civil society organisations are more proactive and flexible in their responses to migrants' needs than statutory bodies. For instance, a rural development agency has initiated and organised a series of English language conversational classes at numerous locations in Co. Monaghan (incorporating both urban and rural), whilst the VEC offers EFL classes at three centralised locations (Monaghan Town, Carrickmacross, and Castleblayney). However, it has to be noted that the local authority in Co. Monaghan has translated application forms and stocked books in various languages for migrant clients through the county library network. Regrettably, the Social Inclusion Unit in Monaghan County Council has ceased to exist since May 2011. This unit had responsibility for tackling accessibility barriers for socially disadvantaged groups (including migrants) to services provided by the local authority. In Co. Limerick, a rural development organisation and migrant advocacy group have hosted *Start Your Own Business* courses for migrant entrepreneurs, whilst statutory employment agencies have not provided similar courses for migrants in Co. Limerick. It is very advantageous for the non-statutory sector to be playing a significant role in the delivery of services to migrants due to the forging of closer ties between the indigenous and immigrant communities. However, an over-reliance on the community and voluntary sector has its limitations. These include funding cutbacks which has led to the suspension or curtailment of services / programmes within both case study locations; and a reliance on continuously recruiting volunteers.

In addition to cutbacks in service provision, rural citizens and communities have had to contend with growing uncertainty over the future of local development partnerships. In October 2012, The Minister for Environment, Community and Local Government published proposals which seek to transfer planning and decision-making competencies from the local development sector to a Socio-Economic Committee (SEC), which would established in each local authority area. The organisational model associated with the SEC has a much narrower base than that with characterises the current partnership bodies, and the SEC would be aligned with local government (O'Keeffe, et al., 2013). Consequently several civil society organisations have been campaigning to retain the existing model of local development delivery, and they have been supported by the European Commission and by many county councillors of all parties and none. While the issues involved here are beyond the scope of this thesis, the research findings have elucidated the many roles local development partnerships play in engaging with migrant communities, and questions have to be asked with respect to the capacity and motivations of a local government-aligned SEC to do likewise.

8.6 Conclusion

The linkages between rural restructuring and rural in-migration have been repeatedly identified throughout this thesis. However, the spatial impact of these processes has been uneven across the rural landscape, with a diversified and varied range of economic activities emerging across the rural landscape, along with an uneven distribution of migrants. Despite a lack of homogeneity to the processes of rural restructuring and rural in-migration, the social, cultural, and economic landscapes throughout rural Ireland have witnessed significant change over the past decade. Therefore, the varying spatial impact of these processes merits the replication of this research study, as it is crucial for statutory and non-statutory agencies to be aware of the changing socio-economic dynamics of contemporary society within their respective catchment areas. All agencies have to respond to: the challenges initiated by a restructuring of the economic base; immigration; and emigration. All service delivery plans have to acknowledge the changing ethnic diversity of rural Ireland and implement deliverable actions for harnessing the full socio-economic potential of migrants.

8.7 Recommendations

Despite the commencement of rural restructuring in the 1960s, the requirement for migrant labour in the rural economy is a relatively new phenomenon within Ireland. However, it has to be stressed that the rates of in-migration vary significantly from location to location. This makes it rather difficult to devise a set of uniform recommendations for relevant stakeholders. Local community groups and statutory agencies may find it difficult to justify the provision of scarce resources towards ethnic diversity raising awareness and integration initiatives in locations where there is a low concentration of foreign nationals. Conversely, the indigenous population may strongly oppose the provision of bespoke services or supports by local statutory and non-statutory agencies to migrant clients, especially during the current economic downturn.

This poses serious challenges for both migrants and non-migrants with respect to building and maintaining a socially inclusive society, whereby all rural dwellers have equal employment opportunities and equal access to social supports. It is very important that statutory and non-statutory agencies devise polices and service plans that are socially inclusive, thereby catering for groups at risk of social and financial deprivation[145]. The education system, incorporating both primary and post-primary schools, has a strong potentiality for promoting social inclusion and integration at a local level, especially if educators, students and parents adopt and adhere to the NCCA’s (2004) intercultural education guidelines. The suggested recommendations devised for migrants by statutory / semi-state non-statutory (community and voluntary sector) agencies through this thesis should form part of a wider strategy of creating and fostering a more inclusive society. This reduces the risk of migrants being stereotyped / stigmatised by certain elements of the indigenous population for receiving social supports as there is a perception that migrants are benefiting from state-sponsored initiatives at the expense of other socio-economic groups who are at risk of living in deprivation. It should be noted that this thesis does not forward specific recommendations for refugees and / or migrants resident in asylum centres in rural Ireland, as these migratory cohorts are not included within the remit of this study. However, the challenges faced by refugees / asylum seekers resident within rural

[145] These include unemployed persons; travellers; migrants; lone parents; people with disabilities; low educational achievers; elderly; and homeless people.

Ireland should not be overlooked by researchers, policymakers and other relevant stakeholders

This thesis has established that there is a disparity in the job generation multiplier effect between migrants and non-migrants, as migrant households are generating significantly less employment than indigenous households. The employment generation potential of migrants has to be seized upon in order to create additional employment in rural Ireland. The fieldwork in Counties Monaghan and Limerick has identified migrants pursuing employment which is not compatible with educational attainment / qualifications. Therefore, the skillsets, experience and competencies of migrants should be recognised by employers and any impediments preventing migrants from obtaining employment in high-skilled and high-remunerated employment should be irradiated.

However, it is difficult for migrants to progress socially and economically within society due to the existence of a 'glass ceiling'. The concept of a 'glass ceiling' was first used in feminist literature (e.g. Betty Friedan) to refer to the unseen and unbreakable barriers which prevented women from career progression in both business and politics, despite having similar educational attainments and experience to their male counterparts. From the findings of this thesis, this 'glass ceiling' can be applied to economic migrants' resident in rural Ireland today. Migrants face considerable challenges in surmounting overt discrimination with respect to career progression, with a high proportion of migrants employed in low-paid and low-skilled sectors. Similar research findings have been observed in Italy (Dell'Argina, et al., 2012), Sweden (Helgertz, 2011), and New Zealand (Topou, 2011). It is crucial that this 'glass ceiling' is shattered, whereby career-progression is based on merit rather than nationality or 'local pull' as cited by one migrant interviewee in Co. Monaghan.

Discrimination is not simply confined to career progression within the workplace. A recent study in Limerick City highlighted the prevalence of racism within numerous institutions. These include: educational establishments; direct provision and other accommodation centres; social welfare offices; medical clinics; and non-statutory agencies (Kennedy 2013). According to this study, migrants have been subjected to verbal, physical and mental abuse; and denial of access to recreational and leisure activities. It has to be acknowledged that Limerick is not unique as migrants have endured similar experiences in other locations throughout Ireland. Examples include Galway (Jaichand, 2010), Cork (NASC, 2012), Dublin (Fanning et al., 2011) and Sligo (Sligo County Community Forum, 2011). This study has also highlighted the existence of stereotypical attitudes (demonstrated through negative comments in the household and business questionnaires) towards migrants by the indigenous population within the selected case study locations of Counties Monaghan and Limerick. Furthermore, discriminatory practices can also be discerned from policies / legislation devised by the Irish government. For instance, children of migrant parents (Irish residents) wishing to pursue a Third Level education in Ireland are subject to foreign / international fee structures. These individuals are effectively precluded from accessing Third Level institutions (Lynch, 2012). Therefore, it is crucial for statutory and non-statutory agencies to develop implementable policies and strategies to counteract overt / covert racist and discriminatory practices within contemporary Irish society.

Despite the economic downturn, economic migrants are still moving to rural locations in Ireland. Therefore, it is still necessary for relevant stakeholders to provide supports and / or services to economic migrants into the foreseeable future. However, not all rural communities are immigrant destinations. Therefore, the recommendations identified in this thesis are primarily for rural locations which have witnessed high rates of inward migration. All rural dwellers have a role to play in the creation of an inclusive and cohesive community. The fostering and enhancement of social capital can only be achieved by encouraging more economic migrants to participate in sporting and cultural activities within their immediate locality. Furthermore, these recommendations recognise the positive economic contributions which migrants can provide to rural Ireland and puts forward solutions to harness migrants' employment generation potential. In order to achieve these aspirations / goals, all rural dwellers (migrants and indigenous population) and agencies (statutory / semi-state and community and voluntary sector) will have to play a proactive role. Therefore, all rural dwellers and organisations situated within the rural landscape, not just simply the migrant population, have to adopt the following recommendations.

8.7.1 Migrants

- Prior to arriving in Ireland, economic migrants should seek to become more aware of employment regulations, particularly with respect to the recognition of educational attainments, and working conditions within the various industrial sectors.
- Migrants should seek not to lead 'parallel lives', whereby migrant and indigenous communities become socially segregated. This can be alleviated by migrants becoming active members within the local community by joining sporting, cultural and / or religious organisations. This has the strong potential of increasing local social capital within rural Ireland.
- The acquisition of a fluency in the English language is of critical importance for migrants in order to integrate successfully into rural locations.
- Businesses owned by migrants have a tendency to cater solely for the migrant customer base. In order to improve the sustainability of migrant owned businesses, it is also essential for these businesses to provide services / products that can be purchased by the indigenous population, or at least, that their products / services be marketed towards the host communities.
- A higher proportion of migrants than non-migrants are unemployed. Therefore, migrants should avail of employment training / educational courses provided by statutory bodies, thereby improving migrants' employability prospects.
- Migrants interested in becoming entrepreneurs should become aware of the services provided by statutory and non-statutory organisations. It is important for entrepreneurial migrants to make contact with the local County Enterprise Board, local rural development organisation or migrant business associations (e.g. Irish Polish Cultural & Business Association; Ireland Poland Business Association; Irish Hungarian Business Association; Lithuanian Chamber of Commerce in Ireland) with respect to attaining information related to establishing an enterprise in Ireland; mentoring service; and the availability of grants.
- There is an onus on migrants to actively seek information pertaining to employment, educational, and social supports / services available within the community. Migrants should become accustomed with relevant agencies (rural

development agencies / employment training agencies / English language providers) and migrant supports groups that provide this information. By accessing these agencies, migrants shall become knowledgeable about rights, responsibilities, and entitlements within Ireland, thereby alleviating the risk of migrants becoming exploited by unscrupulous landlords or employers.

8.7.2 Indigenous Community

- The indigenous population should actively encourage migrants to participate in local community and voluntary activities (sporting, charitable, religious, political, cultural or social activities). Information pertaining to these activities should be translated, where possible, into the languages of the migrants' resident in the local community.
- There has been evidence of highly educated migrants of only securing low-paid and low-skilled employment. Employers should recognise the academic / training qualifications of migrants and provide employment to suitably qualified candidates, irrespective of nationality.
- Rural retailers should provide migrant orientated products / services, subject to customer demand, due to some rural locations having a very high concentration of foreign nationals. The migrant customer base is a relatively untapped market for retailers. The additional custom generated by migrants will both sustain and generate employment.
- The indigenous community needs to acknowledge and accept the increasing racial diversity of rural Ireland. It is important for the indigenous community to oppose all forms of discrimination and stereo-typing towards economic migrants.
- The indigenous community should recognise that migrants are providing a positive contribution to the rural economy by utilising a range of services (retail, administrative, financial, and recreational) within the closest proximity to their residence.

8.7.3 Non-Statutory Agencies (Community and Voluntary Sector)

- Rural development organisations should organise regular consultations with migrants. The purpose of these consultations is to gauge the specific needs of migrants and to devise an implementation plan to address the concerns of migrants.
- All non-statutory agencies, where possible, should provide information leaflets (translated into several languages) with respect to the services they provide to the community.
- Voluntary and community organisations should co-ordinate migrant integration and diversity awareness activities within rural communities, thereby reducing duplication of activities.
- Migrant community groups should receive some financial assistance for the provision of weekend schools in which migrant children can learn their native language, culture, history and traditions.
- Migrant representation on rural development; and community and voluntary committees should reflect the size of the foreign national population residing in the location administered by the respective non-statutory agency.

8.7.4 Statutory and Semi-State Agencies

- Despite the economic downturn, statutory agencies should continue to cater for migrants within their service plans as this population cohort has grown by 124,624 persons between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses of Population.
- Employment training agencies should harness migrants' job generation potential by providing bespoke business training courses (e.g. Start Your Own Business); and mentoring / information services.
- All agencies should provide equitable access to information pertaining to the services which it provides to the general public. This information should be user-friendly and if possible, translated into several languages.
- It is essential to mandate a specific agency to monitor and assess the social and labour market integration of migrants in Ireland, incorporating both urban and rural locations.

- The education system should play a role in combating social segregation between migrants and non-migrants within rural communities. This can be achieved by developing school policies that embrace ethnic diversity and racial tolerance.
- Despite the economic downturn, there is still a necessity for Vocational Education Committees (VECs) to provide English language classes for migrants. The EFL classes should be offered in various geographical locations, dependent on service demand, as migrants may not have adequate access to transportation.
- Local authorities should prevent the 'ghettoization' of particular locations by foreign nationals. 'Ghettoization' prevents migrants from integrating into Irish communities. Migrants are categorised as a socially disadvantaged cohort and a large concentration in any one location may lead to a location becoming socially and economically deprived.

8.7.5 Policy Recommendations

- The Irish government's *White Paper on Rural Development* should be updated to reflect the demographic, ethnic, cultural, social and economic changes that have occurred within rural Ireland during the past decade.
- The promotion of migrant integration into Irish society should be sphere-headed by a Minister for State in the Irish government. Migrants comprise 12% of the population and it is crucial that an office holder is designated to represent the viewpoints and concerns of economic migrants and asylum seekers; and to devise policies that enhance migrant integration into Irish society.
- Integration Working Groups should be established in every local authority area, whereby all statutory and non-statutory agencies should come together to co-ordinate the delivery of services that cater for social needs and harness the economic potential of migrants. This committee can ensure that agencies are not duplicating service provision within specific geographical locations.
- The initiation of migrant integration projects is crucial for the creation of racially tolerant and cohesive society. If this is not achieved, there is a danger of 'race riots' and / or xenophobic attitude becoming prevalent in Irish society. This has

occurred in traditional immigrant destinations. It is crucial that policymakers implement policies

- According to the *National Spatial Strategy*, all rural areas have a contribution to provide in harnessing economic growth. This thesis has shown the heterogeneity of the rural landscape in Ireland, whereby the economic base differs substantially from one location to another. The successor to the National Spatial Strategy has to be more critical in determining the types of economic activities are suited to particular locations.
- The Commission for the Economic Development (CEDRA) should advocate the recommendations put forward in this thesis with respect to harnessing the employment generation potential of migrants within rural areas. In other EU countries, particularly Sweden and Germany, the entrepreneurship potential of migrants has been harnessed, thereby generating significant employment within their respective economies.
- Policymakers and academics should regularly collaborate in the collection of statistics on economic migrants resident in both rural and urban locations. The data would provide a socio-economic profile of migrants, ultimately leading to the compilation of a longitudinal study on the effects of in-migration on Irish society.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: Average Percentage of Specific Foreign National Groupings Residing in Different Settlement Size Categories in Ireland

Nationality	Settlement Size Category	% Average
Non-Irish	1,000 – 5,000	8.42
	5,000 – 10,000	12.15
	10,000 – 50,000	10.53
	50,000 – 1,300,000	10.74
Polish	1,000 – 5,000	2.34
	5,000 – 10,000	2.49
	10,000 – 50,000	2.66
	50,000 – 1,300,000	2.10
Lithuanian	1,000 – 5,000	1.29
	5,000 – 10,000	1.34
	10,000 – 50,000	1.05
	50,000 – 1,300,000	0.18
UK	1,000 – 5,000	3.24
	5,000 – 10,000	2.76
	10,000 – 50,000	2.47
	50,000 – 1,300,000	1.78
Other EU Nationals	1,000 – 5,000	1.92
	5,000 – 10,000	2.14
	10,000 – 50,000	2.23
	50,000 – 1,300,000	2.43
Elsewhere in the World	1,000 – 5,000	2.85
	5,000 – 10,000	3.40
	10,000 – 50,000	4.63
	50,000 – 1,300,000	5.48

Source: Figures calculated from *Census 2006* (2007)

Appendix 1.1: Towns with the Highest Specific Foreign National Groupings

Proportion of Foreign Nationals in Towns / Cities in Ireland 2006			
Settlement Size Category	**Proportion Rank Descending**	**Settlement Name**	**% Non-Irish**
1,000 – 5,000	1	Gort, Galway	37.64
	2	Ballyhaunis, Mayo	34.09
	3	Oldcastle, Meath	24.09
	4	Ballyjamesduff, Cavan	23.44
	5	Ballinrobe, Mayo	22.15
	6	Navan (An Uaimh) Legal Town, Meath	20.74
	7	Ballaghaderreen, Roscommon	20.4
	8	Tullamore Environs, Offaly	19.95
	9	Ballybay, Monaghan	19.18
	10	Cahir, South Tipperary	19.02
5,000 – 10,000	1	Monaghan, Monaghan	21.24
	2	Monaghan Legal Town, Monaghan	21.45
	3	Longford Legal Town, Longford	16.88
	4	Longford, Longford	16.64
	5	Cavan, Cavan	16.24
	6	Fermoy, Cork	14.36
	7	Shannon, Clare	13.98
	8	Shannon Legal Town, Clare	13.85
	9	Drogheda Environs, Louth/Meath	13.6
	10	Balbriggan Environs, Fingal	13.54
10,000 – 50,000	1	Killarney Legal Town, Kerry	21.14
	2	Killarney, Kerry	20.26
	3	Naas Legal Town, Kildare	16.48
	4	Swords, Fingal	14.45
	5	Ennis Legal Town, Clare	13.73
	6	Tullamore, Offaly	13.41
	7	Portlaoighise, Laois	13.07
	8	Navan (An Uaimh), Meath	12.68
	9	Portlaoighise Environs, Laois	12.53
	10	Droichead Nua Legal Town, Kildare	12.27
50,000 - 1,300,000	1	Greater Dublin Suburbs, Fingal	15.89
	2	Galway City and Suburbs	13.92
	3	Dublin City and Suburbs	11.46
	4	Limerick City and Suburbs	9.58
	5	Greater Dublin Suburbs, South Dublin	8.87
	6	Cork City and Suburbs	8.27
	7	Greater Dublin Suburbs, Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown	6.98

Source: Figures calculated from *Census 2006* (2007)

Appendix 1.2: Settlements with the Highest Proportion of Polish Nationals

Proportion of Polish Nationals in Towns / Cities in Ireland 2006			
Settlement Size Category	**Proportion Rank Descending**	**Settlement Name**	**% Polish**
1,000 - 5,000	1	Millstreet, Cork	14.17
	2	New Ross Environs, Wexford/Kilkenny	10.07
	3	Bunclody-Carrickduff, Carlow/Wexford	9.51
	4	Ballinrobe, Mayo	8.76
	5	Ballyjamesduff, Cavan	8.66
	6	Tullow, Carlow	8.37
	7	Kingscourt, Cavan	7.77
	8	Macroom Legal Town, Cork	7.59
	9	Macroom, Cork	7.28
	10	Carrick-on-Shannon, Leitrim/Roscommon	6.91
5,000 - 10,000	1	New Ross, Wexford/Kilkenny	7.98
	2	Monaghan Legal Town, Monaghan	6.62
	3	Monaghan, Monaghan	6.39
	4	Longford, Longford	5.71
	5	Longford Legal Town, Longford	5.55
	6	Fermoy, Cork	5.05
	7	Midleton, Cork	4.91
	8	Nenagh Legal Town, North Tipperary	4.72
	9	Nenagh, North Tipperary	4.53
	10	Midleton Environs, Cork	4.52
10,000 – 50,000	1	Killarney Legal Town, Kerry	7.69
	2	Killarney, Kerry	7.28
	3	Naas Legal Town, Kildare	6.87
	4	Droichead Nua Legal Town, Kildare	4.49
	5	Droichead Nua, Kildare	4.26
	6	Carlow Legal Town, Carlow	3.87
	7	Tullamore, Offaly	3.79
	8	Portlaoighise, Laois	3.74
	9	Carlow, Carlow/Laois	3.71
	10	Sligo Borough, Sligo	3.37
50,000 - 1,300,000	1	Galway City and Suburbs	3.55
	2	Limerick City and Suburbs	2.92
	3	Cork City and Suburbs	2.23
	4	Greater Dublin Suburbs, Fingal	1.91
	5	Dublin City and Suburbs	1.75
	6	Greater Dublin Suburbs, South Dublin	1.45
	7	Greater Dublin Suburbs, Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown	0.9

Source: Figures calculated from *Census 2006* (2007)

Appendix 1.3: Settlements with the Highest Proportion of Lithuanian Nationals

Proportion of Lithuanian Nationals in Towns/ Cities in Ireland 2006			
Settlement Size Category	**Proportion Rank Descending**	**Settlement Name**	**% Lithuanian**
1,000 - 5,000	1	Oldcastle, Meath	17.85
	2	Ballybay, Monaghan	10
	3	Clones Legal Town, Monaghan	7.11
	4	Carrickmacross Environs, Monaghan	7.06
	5	Carrickmacross, Monaghan	6.63
	6	Clones, Monaghan	6.21
	7	Carrickmacross Legal Town, Monaghan	6.1
	8	Meathas Truim (or Edgeworthstown), Longford	5.7
	9	Claremorris, Mayo	5.27
	10	Derrinturn, Kildare	5.12
5,000 - 10,000	1	Monaghan, Monaghan	8.53
	2	Monaghan Legal Town, Monaghan	8.41
	3	Ashbourne, Meath	3.91
	4	Cavan, Cavan	3.58
	5	Edenderry Legal Town, Offaly	3.54
	6	Edenderry, Offaly	3.38
	7	Trim, Meath	2.79
	8	Mullingar Legal Town, Westmeath	2.78
	9	Trim Environs, Meath	2.56
	10	Drogheda Environs, Louth/Meath	2.51
10,000 - 50,000	1	Navan (An Uaimh), Meath	2.79
	2	Tullamore Legal Town, Offaly	2.74
	3	Tullamore, Offaly	2.74
	4	Navan Environs, Meath	2.41
	5	Mullingar, Westmeath	2.26
	6	Portlaoighise, Laoighis	2.14
	7	Portlaoighise Environs, Laoighis	2
	8	Drogheda, Louth/Meath	1.6
	9	Killarney Legal Town, Kerry	1.45
	10	Dundalk Legal Town, Louth	1.45
50,000 - 1,300,000	1	Greater Dublin Suburbs, Fingal	1.4
	2	Greater Dublin Suburbs, South Dublin	0.85
	3	Galway City and Suburbs	0.75
	4	Dublin City and Suburbs	0.64
	5	Limerick City and Suburbs	0.5
	6	Cork City and Suburbs	0.42
	7	Greater Dublin Suburbs, Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown	0.18

Source: Figures calculated from *Census 2006* (2007)

Appendix 1.4: Settlements with the Highest Proportion of UK Nationals

Proportion of UK Nationals in Towns / Cities in Ireland 2006			
Settlement Size Category	**Proportion Rank Descending**	**Settlement Name**	**% UK**
1,000 - 5,000	1	Kinsale Environs, Cork	9.73
	2	Kinsale, Cork	8.65
	3	An Bun Beag-Doirí Beaga, Donegal	8.1
	4	Kinsale Legal Town, Cork	7.79
	5	Lismore, Waterford	7.44
	6	Killorglin, Kerry	7.38
	7	Carndonagh, Donegal	6.33
	8	Killaloe, Clare	6.25
	9	Oughterard, Galway	6.11
	10	Béal an Mhuirthead, Mayo	5.89
5,000 - 10,000	1	Tramore, Waterford	5.12
	2	Tramore Legal Town, Waterford	5.07
	3	Buncrana, Donegal	4.77
	4	Mullingar Environs, Westmeath	4.04
	5	Ballina Legal Town, Mayo	4.04
	6	Westport, Mayo	3.84
	7	Dungarvan, Waterford	3.78
	8	Dungarvan Legal Town, Waterford	3.73
	9	Donabate, Fingal	3.68
	10	Laytown-Bettystown-Mornington, Meath	3.68
10,000 – 50,000	1	Letterkenny Legal Town, Donegal	3.91
	2	Letterkenny, Donegal	3.85
	3	Greystones, Wicklow	3.82
	4	Mullingar, Westmeath	3.39
	5	Malahide, Fingal	3.31
	6	Castlebar Legal Town, Mayo	3.1
	7	Castlebar, Mayo	3.18
	8	Arklow Legal Town, Wicklow	3
	9	Carrigaline, Cork	2.9
	10	Killarney Legal Town, Kerry	2.88
50,000 - 1,300,000	1	Greater Dublin Suburbs, Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown	2.29
	2	Galway City and Suburbs	2.28
	3	Dublin City and Suburbs	1.73
	4	Greater Dublin Suburbs, Fingal	1.72
	5	Cork City and Suburbs	1.59
	6	Limerick City and Suburbs	1.48
	7	Greater Dublin Suburbs, South Dublin	1.38

Source: Figures calculated from *Census 2006* (2007)

Appendix 1.5: Settlements with the Highest Proportion of Other EU Nationals

Proportion of Other EU Nationals in Towns / Cities in Ireland 2006			
Settlement Size Category	**Proportion Rank Descending**	**Settlement Name**	**% Other EU 25**
1,000 - 5,000	1	Ballyhaunis, Mayo	8.85
	2	Carrickmacross Legal Town, Monaghan	7.34
	3	Bandon Legal Town, Cork	6.78
	4	Ballaghaderreen, Roscommon	6.5
	5	Fermoy Legal Town, Cork	6.18
	6	Carrickmacross, Monaghan	6.1
	7	Béal an Mhuirthead, Mayo	5.32
	8	Kenmare, Kerry	5.28
	9	Carrickmacross Environs, Monaghan	5.1
	10	Roscrea, North Tipperary	5
5,000 - 10,000	1	Rush, Fingal	4.42
	2	Fermoy, Cork	4.33
	3	Bandon, Cork	4.3
	4	Longford Legal Town, Longford	3.76
	5	Cavan, Cavan	3.64
	6	Longford, Longford	3.53
	7	Gorey, Wexford	3.41
	8	Ashbourne, Meath	3.3
	9	Monaghan, Monaghan	3.16
	10	Mullingar Legal Town, Westmeath	3.13
10,000 – 50,000	1	Swords, Fingal	5.15
	2	Killarney Legal Town, Kerry	4.31
	3	Killarney, Kerry	4.29
	4	Ennis Legal Town, Clare	3.76
	5	Ennis, Clare	3.03
	6	Droichead Nua Legal Town, Kildare	2.77
	7	Athlone Legal Town, Westmeath	2.7
	8	Droichead Nua, Kildare	2.68
	9	Kilkenny, Kilkenny	2.61
	10	Malahide, Fingal	2.54
50,000 - 1,300,000	1	Galway City and Suburbs	3.51
	2	Greater Dublin Suburbs, Fingal	2.99
	3	Dublin City and Suburbs	2.72
	4	Limerick City and Suburbs	2.22
	5	Cork City and Suburbs	2.21
	6	Greater Dublin Suburbs, Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown	2.08
	7	Greater Dublin Suburbs, South Dublin	1.33

Source: Figures calculated from *Census 2006* (2007)

Appendix 1.6: Settlements with the Highest Proportion of Foreign Nationals from Elsewhere in the World

Proportion of Foreign Nationals From 'Rest of the World' in Towns/ Cities in Ireland 2006			
Settlement Size Category	**Proportion Rank Descending**	**Settlement Name**	**% Rest of World**
1,000 – 5,000	1	Gort, Galway	35.04
	2	Ballyhaunis, Mayo	15.37
	3	Ballyjamesduff, Cavan	10.19
	4	Ballaghaderreen, Roscommon	9.72
	5	Loughrea Legal Town, Galway	8.47
	6	Roscommon, Roscommon	7.91
	7	Letterkenny Environs, Donegal	7.71
	8	Tullamore Environs, Offaly	7.29
	9	Navan (An Uaimh) Legal Town, Meath	6.72
	10	Ballinrobe, Mayo	6.64
5,000 – 10,000	1	Balbriggan Environs, Fingal	9.64
	2	Shannon, Clare	7.52
	3	Shannon Legal Town, Clare	7.44
	4	Drogheda Environs, Louth/Meath	7.22
	5	Kildare, Kildare	6.39
	6	Longford Legal Town, Longford	6.03
	7	Cavan, Cavan	5.84
	8	Lusk, Fingal	5.8
	9	Longford, Longford	5.7
	10	Mullingar Environs, Westmeath	5.2
10,000 – 50,000	1	Killarney Legal Town, Kerry	7.67
	2	Balbriggan, Fingal	7.52
	3	Killarney, Kerry	7.28
	4	Ennis Legal Town, Clare	7.06
	5	Letterkenny, Donegal	6.26
	6	Ennis, Clare	6.17
	7	Letterkenny Legal Town, Donegal	6.01
	8	Naas Legal Town, Kildare	6.01
	9	Swords, Fingal	5.97
	10	Maynooth, Kildare	5.69
50,000 - 1,300,000	1	Greater Dublin Suburbs, Fingal	9.57
	2	Dublin City and Suburbs	6.33
	3	Galway City and Suburbs	6.09
	4	Greater Dublin Suburbs, South Dublin	5.22
	5	Limerick City and Suburbs	3.92
	6	Greater Dublin Suburbs, Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown	3.83
	7	Cork City and Suburbs	3.4

Source: Figures calculated from *Census 2006* (2007)

Appendix 2: Household Questionnaire Documentation

A Spatial Analysis of the Effects of Rural Restructuring on Migration Patterns in the Republic of Ireland 1990 - 2011
Participant Information Sheet

What is the project about?

This study aims to determine the role played by migration / in-migration in transforming the economic base of rural areas in the Republic of Ireland since 1990. The main objectives of this study include the following:

- To identify where migrants have settled in Ireland
- To identify the factors which have attracted foreign nationals, particularly East Europeans, to reside in rural areas.
- To identify the extent to which the Irish rural economy has been affected as a result of recent immigration by examining two contrasting case studies – Co. Monaghan, a region that has experienced recent in-migration whilst Co. Limerick has experienced relatively minimal in-migration.
- To survey incomers and host communities in order to gain insights into specific processes of rural restructuring.

Who is undertaking it?

My name is Shane O'Sullivan and I am a Postgraduate student attending Mary Immaculate College. I am presently completing a PhD by research in the Department of Geography under the supervision of Dr. Brendan O'Keeffe. The current study will form part of my thesis.

Right to withdraw

Your anonymity is assured and you are free to withdraw from the experiment at any time without giving a reason.

How will the information be used / disseminated?

Summary data will only appear in the thesis and individual participant data will not be shown.

How will confidentiality be kept?

All information gathered will remain confidential and will not be released to any third party. A random ID number will be generated for each participant and it is this number rather than the participant's name which will be held with their data to maintain their anonymity.

What will happen to the data after research has been completed?

In accordance with the Data Protection Act (2003) all participant data will be stored for the length of time that it is required to produce this thesis at which time it will be destroyed.

Contact details:

If at any time you have any queries/issues with regard to this study my contact details are as follows:

Shane O'Sullivan
E-Mail: shane.osullivan@mic.ul.ie
Telephone: 061 774729

If you have concerns about this study and wish to contact someone independent, you may contact:

MIREC Administrator, Mary Immaculate College, South Circular Road, Limerick
Tel: 061-204515 Email: mirec@mic.ul.ie

A Spatial Analysis of the Effects of Rural Restructuring on Migration Patterns in the Republic of Ireland, 1990 - 2011

Informed Consent Form

- I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet.
- I understand what the project is about
- I know that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the project at any stage without giving any reason.
- I am aware that my results will be kept confidential.
- I have read this form completely, I am 18 years of age or older and am happy to take part in the study on on-line shopping.

Signed: ___________________________ Date: ____________________

Migration Impacts in Rural Ireland

Please find enclosed a questionnaire about the effects of population movements in rural Ireland. This research is being carried out by Shane O'Sullivan, a postgraduate student at the Department of Geography, Mary Immaculate College, Limerick and it is being supported by the Irish Social Sciences Platform (ISSP).

All information gathered through this household questionnaire will remain strictly confidential and the information enclosed within the questionnaires will not be disclosed to third parties (individuals / institutions / organisations) under any circumstances.

Thank you for taking the time to participate within this survey. It is greatly appreciated.

Questionnaire Survey

Coláiste Mhuire gan Smál

Mary Immaculate College

ISSP

Irish Social Sciences Platform

Léibheann Eolaíochtaí Soisialta na hÉireann

Knowledge, Innovation, Society and Space

Eolas, Nuáil, Pobal agus Spás

Section A: Questions about Individuals

Please fill in this section for **each person aged 18 or over** who normally resides at this address

	Respondent	**Adult 2**	**Adult 3**	**Adult 4**
Q1 Age (Tick)	18 – 24 ☐ 25 – 34 ☐ 35 - 44 ☐ 45 – 54 ☐ 55 – 64 ☐ 65+ ☐	18 – 24 ☐ 25 – 34 ☐ 35 - 44 ☐ 45 – 54 ☐ 55 – 64 ☐ 65+ ☐	18 – 24 ☐ 25 – 34 ☐ 35 - 44 ☐ 45 – 54 ☐ 55 – 64 ☐ 65+ ☐	18 – 24 ☐ 25 – 34 ☐ 35 - 44 ☐ 45 – 54 ☐ 55 – 64 ☐ 65+ ☐
Gender	Male ☐ Female ☐	Male ☐ Female ☐	Male ☐ Female ☐	Male ☐ Female ☐
Relationship to Respondent (Example: son, spouse, flatmate)	Respondent			
Q2 Area of upbringing (i.e. the first area you lived as a child	District: Country:	District: Country:	District: Country:	District: Country:
Q3 Migration As an adult have you always lived at this address?	Yes ☐ No ☐	Yes ☐ No ☐	Yes ☐ No ☐	Yes ☐ No ☐
If **no,** please give your last address	Last address:	Last address:	Last address:	Last address:
Please give the year of your move from the last address:	Year:	Year:	Year:	Year:

	Respondent	**Adult 2**	**Adult 3**	**Adult 4**
Q4 Employment	Employed FT ☐	Employed FT ☐	Employed FT ☐	Employed FT ☐
Please tick answer which most accurately reflects your current employment status	Employed PT ☐	Employed PT ☐	Employed PT ☐	Employed PT ☐
	Self-employed FT ☐	Self-employed FT ☐	Self-employed FT ☐	Self-employed FT ☐
	Self-employed PT ☐	Self-employed PT ☐	Self-employed PT ☐	Self-employed PT ☐
FT = Full-time **PT = Part-time**	Retired ☐	Retired ☐	Retired ☐	Retired ☐
	Unemployed ☐	Unemployed ☐	Unemployed ☐	Unemployed ☐
	Student ☐	Student ☐	Student ☐	Student ☐
	Homemaker ☐	Homemaker ☐	Homemaker ☐	Homemaker ☐
	Other ☐	Other ☐	Other ☐	Other ☐
	Job Title:	Job Title:	Job Title:	Job Title:
If employed (any category) please give:	Workplace location:	Workplace location:	Workplace location:	Workplace location:

	Respondent	Adult 2	Adult 3	Adult 4
Q5 Education , Qualifications, Skills Please indicate your **highest** educational attainment to date	No formal education ☐ Primary level ☐ Junior Certificate or equivalent ☐ Leaving Certificate or equivalent ☐ Technical / Vocational ☐ Both Leaving Certificate and technical /vocational ☐ 3rd Level Certificate / Diploma ☐ Third Level Degree ☐ Professional qualification ☐ Degree + professional qualification ☐ Postgraduate Certificate / Diploma ☐ Masters Degree ☐ Doctorate (PhD) ☐	No formal education ☐ Primary level ☐ Junior Certificate or equivalent ☐ Leaving Certificate or equivalent ☐ Technical / Vocational ☐ Both Leaving Certificate and technical /vocational ☐ 3rd Level Certificate / Diploma ☐ Third Level Degree ☐ Professional qualification ☐ Degree + professional qualification ☐ Postgraduate Certificate / Diploma ☐ Masters Degree ☐ Doctorate (PhD) ☐	No formal education ☐ Primary level ☐ Junior Certificate or equivalent ☐ Leaving Certificate or equivalent ☐ Technical / Vocational ☐ Both Leaving Certificate and technical /vocational ☐ 3rd Level Certificate / Diploma ☐ Third Level Degree ☐ Professional qualification ☐ Degree + professional qualification ☐ Postgraduate Certificate / Diploma ☐ Masters Degree ☐ Doctorate (PhD) ☐	No formal education ☐ Primary level ☐ Junior Certificate or equivalent ☐ Leaving Certificate or equivalent ☐ Technical / Vocational ☐ Both Leaving Certificate and technical /vocational ☐ 3rd Level Certificate / Diploma ☐ Third Level Degree ☐ Professional qualification ☐ Degree + professional qualification ☐ Postgraduate Certificate / Diploma ☐ Masters Degree ☐ Doctorate (PhD) ☐

	Respondent	Adult 2	Adult 3	Adult 4
Q6 Intention to move home Indicate if and when you or members of the household expect to move residence	No intention to move home ☐ Will move within 6 months ☐ Move in 6 months - 1 year ☐ Move in 1 - 2 years ☐ Move in 2 - 5 years ☐ Move in 5+ years ☐	No intention to move home ☐ Will move within 6 months ☐ Move in 6 months - 1 year ☐ Move in 1 - 2 years ☐ Move in 2 - 5 years ☐ Move in 5+ years ☐	No intention to move home ☐ Will move within 6 months ☐ Move in 6 months - 1 year ☐ Move in 1 - 2 years ☐ Move in 2 - 5 years ☐ Move in 5+ years ☐	No intention to move home ☐ Will move within 6 months ☐ Move in 6 months - 1 year ☐ Move in 1 - 2 years ☐ Move in 2 - 5 years ☐ Move in 5+ years ☐
Q7 If intending to move, please give main reason	No intention of moving ☐ Employment ☐ Education ☐ Family ☐ Housing ☐ Quality of Life ☐ Retirement ☐ Other: ☐ Specify	No intention of moving ☐ Employment ☐ Education ☐ Family ☐ Housing ☐ Quality of Life ☐ Retirement ☐ Other: ☐ Specify	No intention of moving ☐ Employment ☐ Education ☐ Family ☐ Housing ☐ Quality of Life ☐ Retirement ☐ Other: ☐ Specify	No intention of moving ☐ Employment ☐ Education ☐ Family ☐ Housing ☐ Quality of Life ☐ Retirement ☐ Other: ☐ Specify

	Respondent	Adult 2	Adult 3	Adult 4
Q8 If intending to move, please specify location				

Section B: Rural Economy and Lifestyle

Q9 **(a)** How many people do you or members of your household employ?

Insert Number [ ]

(b) If you or any other members of your household employ anyone, please state the number of individuals who are employed in each occupational category. (Please note: For the purpose of this questionnaire, each individual can only belong to one occupational category).

Employment Category	Number of Employees	Of which are Full Time	Of which are Part Time
Agriculture, forestry and fishing			
Industry			
Construction			
Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles / motorcycles			
Transportation and storage			
Accommodation and food service activities			
Information and communication			
Financial, insurance and real estate activities			
Professional, scientific and technical activities			
Administrative and support service activities			
Public administration and defence			
Education			
Human health and social work			
Other (please specify)			

Q10 Use of services

(a) Where does this household usually obtain the following services?

Enter the most appropriate NUMBER into each box.

1. within the local area / community
2. neighbouring village
3. neighbouring town
4. neighbouring city
5. other
6. N/A

Supermarket	
Primary school / childcare	
Small shop / pub	
Recreational sports pitch / centre	
Post Office	
Legal / financial / community support	
Doctor (GP)	
Secondary level school	
Hospital	
Other retail: (e.g. clothes, electrical appliances)	

(b) Please indicate the average amount of money that is **spent** and the **distance travelled** (KM) by the household on a **weekly** basis to each of the following service providers:

Service	Average Amount	Distance (KMs)
Supermarket	€	
Crèche / pre-school	€	
Primary school	€	
Secondary school	€	
Small shop / pub	€	
Recreational sports pitch / centre	€	
Post Office	€	
Doctor (GP)	€	
Garage / filling station	€	
Legal / financial services	€	
Hospital	€	
Other retail (e.g. clothes, electrical appliances)	€	

Q11 List the 3 <u>most</u> attractive features / aspects in regards to living in this area?

(a) ______________________________

(b) ______________________________

(c) ______________________________

Q12 List the 3 <u>least</u> attractive features / aspects in regards to living in this area?

(a) ______________________________

(b) ______________________________

(c) ______________________________

Q 13 Open Question

Please make any general comment(s) relating to the **impact** of migration in this locality. Please use the space below.

Section C: Migration History

Q14 Migration of Respondent

How many times have you moved address since 1990? (Insert number) ☐

If you have moved address since 1990, please complete the following chart in regards to your last move.

Origin	Destination	Year of move	Dominant reason for move (before moving)	Employment status at origin	Any previous link to 'destination' at time of move
			Employment ☐ Education ☐ Health ☐ Housing ☐ Quality of Life ☐ Retirement ☐ Other: ☐ Specify	Employed FT ☐ Employed PT ☐ Self-employed FT ☐ Self-employed FT ☐ Retired ☐ Unemployed ☐ Student ☐ Homemaker ☐ Other ☐ Specify	None ☐ Previously lived in area ☐ Friends / relatives in area ☐ Previously visited area on holiday ☐ Other ☐ Specify

Q15 Migration of other Household Members

Please complete the following table relating to the migration history of **other** adult members of the household.

	Adult 1	Adult 2	Adult 3
Number of times moved address since 1990			
Year of last move			
Origin prior to move			
Dominant reason for last move			
Any previous link to 'destination' (current address) at time of move. If yes, please state			

Q16 Remittances

On average, how much **money** do you spend as remittances (i.e. money to family abroad) each month?

Amount of Money (€)	Tick one box
€0	
€1 - €50	
€51 - €100	
€101 - €150	
€151 - €200	
€201 - €250	
€250+	

Q17 Voluntary Work

In the last **four** weeks have you done any of the following activities **without pay**?

	Tick the box(es)
Helping or voluntary work with a social or charitable organisation	
Helping or voluntary work with a religious group or church	
Helping or voluntary work with a sports organisation	
Helping or voluntary work with a political or cultural organisation	
Any other voluntary activity (please specify)	
No voluntary activity	

Thank you for participating in this survey. It is greatly appreciated.

Appendix 3: Business Questionnaire Documentation

A Spatial Analysis of the Effects of Rural Restructuring on Migration Patterns in the Republic of Ireland 1990 - 2011
Participant Information Sheet

What is the project about?

This study aims to determine the role played by migration / in-migration in transforming the economic base of rural areas in the Republic of Ireland since 1990. The main objectives of this study include the following:

- To identify where migrants have settled in Ireland
- To identify the factors which have attracted foreign nationals, particularly East Europeans, to reside in rural areas.
- To identify the extent to which the Irish rural economy has been affected as a result of recent immigration by examining two contrasting case studies – Co. Monaghan, a region that has experienced recent in-migration whilst Co. Limerick has experienced relatively minimal in-migration.
- To survey incomers and host communities in order to gain insights into specific processes of rural restructuring.

Who is undertaking it?

My name is Shane O'Sullivan and I am a Postgraduate student attending Mary Immaculate College. I am presently completing a PhD by research in the Department of Geography under the supervision of Dr. Brendan O'Keeffe. The current study will form part of my thesis.

Right to withdraw

Your anonymity is assured and you are free to withdraw from the experiment at any time without giving a reason.

How will the information be used / disseminated?

Summary data will only appear in the thesis and individual participant data will not be shown.

How will confidentiality be kept?

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What will happen to the data after research has been completed?

In accordance with the Data Protection Act (2003) all participant data will be stored for the length of time that it is required to produce this thesis at which time it will be destroyed.

Contact details:

If at any time you have any queries/issues with regard to this study my contact details are as follows:

Shane O'Sullivan
E-Mail: shane.osullivan@mic.ul.ie
Telephone: 061 774729

If you have concerns about this study and wish to contact someone independent, you may contact:

MIREC Administrator, Mary Immaculate College, South Circular Road, Limerick
Tel: 061-204515 Email: mirec@mic.ul.ie

COLÁISTE MHUIRE GAN SMÁL
OLLSCOIL LUIMNIGH
MARY IMMACULATE COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF LIMERICK

A Spatial Analysis of the Effects of Rural Restructuring on Migration Patterns in the Republic of Ireland, 1990 - 2011

Informed Consent Form

- I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet.
- I understand what the project is about
- I know that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the project at any stage without giving any reason.
- I am aware that my results will be kept confidential.
- I have read this form completely, I am 18 years of age or older and am happy to take part in the study on on-line shopping.

Signed: ___________________________ Date: ____________________

Migration Impacts in Rural Ireland

Please find enclosed a questionnaire about the effects of population movements in rural Ireland. This research is being carried out by Shane O'Sullivan, a postgraduate student attending Mary Immaculate College. I am presently completing a PhD by research in the Department of Geography under the supervision of Dr. Brendan O'Keeffe. The current study will form part of my thesis and it is supported by the Irish Social Sciences Platform (ISSP)

All the information gathered through this business questionnaire will remain strictly confidential and the information enclosed within the questionnaires will not be disclosed to third parties under any circumstances.

All respondents are asked to complete Section A. This section seeks a basic profile of the business.

Retail owners / managers are also asked to complete Section B. This section seeks information relating to the foreign national customer base of the business.

Thank you for taking the time to participate within this survey.
It is greatly appreciated.

Questionnaire Survey

Coláiste Mhuire gan Smál
Mary Immaculate College

ISSP
Irish Social Sciences Platform
Léibheann Eolaíochtaí Sóisialta na hÉireann
Knowledge, Innovation, Society and Space
Eolas, Nuáil, Pobal agus Spás

Section A: Business Profile

Q1 Please indicate the economic category which best describes the activities of this business?

Employment Category	Tick one box
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	
Industry / Manufacturing	
Construction	
Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles / motorcycles	
Transportation and storage	
Accommodation and food service activities	
Information and communication	
Financial, insurance and real estate activities	
Professional, scientific and technical activities	
Administrative and support service activities	
Public administration and defence	
Education	
Human health and social work	
Other (please specify)	

Q2 In what year was this business established? ___________

Q3a Please complete the following table, relating to the **number** of people currently employed by this business.

Number of Employees	Of which are Full Time	Of which are Part Time

Q3b Please completed the following table, relating to the **number** of people employed by this business **5 years ago**?

Number of Employees	Of which are Full Time	Of which are Part Time

Q3c Please complete the following table, relating to the **number** of foreign nationals employed by this business.

Nationality	Number of Migrant Employees
Irish	
Polish	
Lithuanian	
UK	
Other	
Total	

Q4 List the 3 **most** attractive features / aspects of operating a business in this area?

(a) ______________________________

(b) ______________________________

(c) ______________________________

Q5 List the 3 **least** attractive features / aspects of operating a business in this area?

(a) ______________________________

(b) ______________________________

(c) ______________________________

Q6 Identify the **location** (city / town/ rural area) where this business **usually** obtains the following services?

If any of the services are not relevant, please insert N/A.

Employment Category	Location
Construction	
Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles / motorcycles	
Transportation and storage	
Accommodation and food service activities	
Information and communication	
Financial, insurance and real estate activities	
Professional, scientific and technical activities	
Administrative and support service activities	
Public administration	
Education & training	
Other (please specify)	

Q7 **Open Question**

Please use this space to make any general comments relating to the economic impacts of foreign nationals within this locality / town.

Section B: Migrant Customer Base *(to be completed by retail outlets)*

Q8 What percentage of your total weekly customers do foreign nationals represent?

Insert %: ☐

Q9 Does this business provide special services / products for migrant consumers?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If **YES**, please elaborate

Q10 Have you any intentions of providing additional services / products for migrant consumers?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If **YES,** please elaborate

Thank you for participating in this survey. It is greatly appreciated.

Appendix 4: Semi-Structured Interview Schedule

A Spatial Analysis of the Effects of Rural Restructuring on Migration Patterns in the Republic of Ireland 1990 - 2011
Participant Information Sheet

What is the project about?

This study aims to determine the role played by migration / in-migration in transforming the economic base of rural areas in the Republic of Ireland since 1990. The main objectives of this study include the following:

- To identify where migrants have settled in Ireland
- To identify the factors which have attracted foreign nationals, particularly East Europeans, to reside in rural areas.
- To identify the extent to which the Irish rural economy has been affected as a result of recent immigration by examining two contrasting case studies – Co. Monaghan, a region that has experienced recent in-migration whilst Co. Limerick has experienced relatively minimal in-migration.
- To survey incomers and host communities in order to gain insights into specific processes of rural restructuring.

Who is undertaking it?

My name is Shane O'Sullivan and I am a Postgraduate student attending Mary Immaculate College. I am presently completing a PhD by research in the Department of Geography under the supervision of Dr. Brendan O'Keeffe. The current study will form part of my thesis.

Right to withdraw

Your anonymity is assured and you are free to withdraw from the experiment at any time without giving a reason.

How will the information be used / disseminated?

Summary data will only appear in the thesis and individual participant data will not be shown.

How will confidentiality be kept?

All information gathered will remain confidential and will not be released to any third party. A random ID number will be generated for each participant and it is this number rather than the participant's name which will be held with their data to maintain their anonymity.

What will happen to the data after research has been completed?

In accordance with the Data Protection Act (2003) all participant data will be stored for the length of time that it is required to produce this thesis at which time it will be destroyed.

Contact details:

If at any time you have any queries/issues with regard to this study my contact details are as follows:

Shane O'Sullivan
E-Mail: shane.osullivan@mic.ul.ie
Telephone: 061 774729

If you have concerns about this study and wish to contact someone independent, you may contact:

MIREC Administrator, Mary Immaculate College, South Circular Road, Limerick
Tel: 061-204515 Email: mirec@mic.ul.ie

BRIATHAR DÉ MO LÓCHRANN

COLÁISTE MHUIRE GAN SMÁL
OLLSCOIL LUIMNIGH
MARY IMMACULATE COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF LIMERICK

A Spatial Analysis of the Effects of Rural Restructuring on Migration Patterns in the Republic of Ireland, 1990 - 2011

Informed Consent Form

- I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet.
- I understand what the project is about
- I know that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the project at any stage without giving any reason.
- I am aware that my results will be kept confidential.
- I have read this form completely, I am 18 years of age or older and am happy to take part in the study on on-line shopping.

Signed: ___________________________ Date: ____________________

MARY IMMACULATE COLLEGE | COLÁISTE MHUIRE GAN SMÁL
UNIVERSITY OF LIMERICK | OLLSCOIL LUIMNIGH

ISSP
Irish Social Sciences Platform

A Spatial Analysis of the Effects of Rural Restructuring on Migration Patterns in the Republic of Ireland, 1990 - 2008

Interview Schedule

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this research project. This study is examining the inter-connectivity between rural restructuring and rural immigration, with a particular emphasis placed on East European migration to Ireland since 2004. A crucial part of this study relates to quantifying both the direct and indirect migration multiplier effects within contemporary rural Ireland. This research is being carried out by Shane O'Sullivan, a postgraduate student in the Department of Geography, Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick and it is supported by the Irish Social Sciences Platform (ISSP)

The interview is semi-structured in format, whereby a list of questions / themes has been predetermined in advance of the interview. Some of the questions may be explored in more detail in comparison to others. The semi-structured interview shall last no longer than an hour in duration. All information gathered through the interviews will remain <u>strictly confidential</u> and the information will not be disclosed to third parties under any circumstances. Interviewees will not be identified or identifiable and the views expressed will not be attributable to any named interviewees.

It would be greatly appreciated if the semi-structured interview can be audio-taped, as it is difficult to take detailed notes whist engaging in a conversation.

Rural Restructuring

1. Outline the principle changes in the local economy in the past two decades?
   i. Diversification of the rural economic base with the contraction of agricultural activities and the emergence of the services sector.
   ii. Improvements in telecommunications and physical infrastructure.
2. To what degree, has globalisation played in the reconfiguration of the rural economy?
3. If applicable, specify the policy decisions and / or actions taken by ___________ to assist the transformation of the rural economic base.
4. What policies have been devised by _____________ to strengthen the economic base into the future? How will these be achieved?

Rural In-Migration

5. To what extent and in what ways have migrants influenced the socio-economic restructuring of rural areas?
6. Is it possible to identify any push or pull factors for the recent inflow of migrants into Co. Monaghan?

7. What are the micro-level spatial impacts and what have been the impacts on the local rural economy?
8. Is there evidence of counterurbanisation within Co. Monaghan / North Tipperary?
9. Is it possible to identify reasons why the spatial concentration of migrants in North Tipperary is considerably lower than the national average?

Organisational Response

10. Does ____________ come into contact with migrants?
    i. Number of migrants on a weekly basis.
    ii. Identify nationalities.
    iii. Age cohort
11. How long has ____________ provided services / advice to migrant clients?
12. How has __________ responded to East European immigration since 2004?
    i. Policy development
    ii. Service provision
13. Do specific policies / services need to be implemented in the immediate future and what role do you feel ____________ can play within this process?
14. What are the key obstacles facing East European migrants in rural Ireland and do you feel your organisation can offer any tangible solutions?
15. Since the commencement of the economic downturn, has there been a reduction in resources (time/financial/ manpower) devoted to the provision of specialist services for migrants?

Multiplier Effects

16. Do you feel the diversification of the rural economic base played a role in enticing newcomers to the locality? In which sectors of the economy have migrants' secured employment?
17. In what ways have migrants contributed to the rural economy in Ireland?
18. In which sectors of the economy have migrants' secured employment?
19. What have been the implications (positive / negative) implications of a widespread reliance of migrant workers in certain sectors and occupations?
20. In light of the current recession, have migrants been disproportionally affected in comparison to Irish employees?
21. Have newcomers / migrants been active in establishing new businesses within the local community?
22. What supports are provided by ___________ for the establishment of new businesses / enterprise within Co. Monaghan / North Tipperary?
    i. Financial support (grants, business loans)
    ii. Education and training
    iii. Professional advice / mentoring
    iv. Networking opportunities
23. Have the investments being successful in generating additional employment within the region?
24. What proportion of the clients seeking the aforementioned supports are migrants and how many have been successful?
25. Financial institutions – Evidence of multiplier effects within the local economy.
    i. Do businesses purchase services / goods from local suppliers? Is there evidence of backward and forward linkages?

ii. In regards to the money (wages / welfare benefits) accrued by migrants, what percentage is spent within the local economy? Does this differ with Irish nationals?

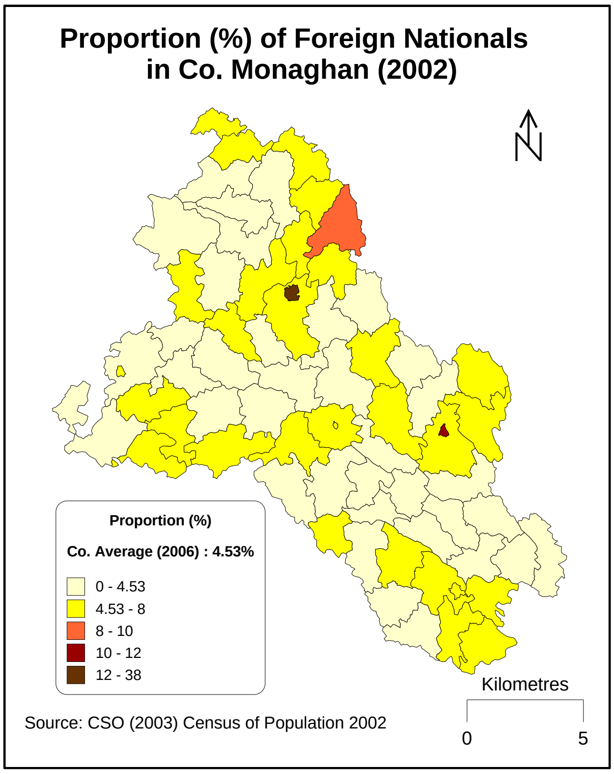
iii. What percentage / proportion of the money held in the migrant's bank account(s) is spent as remittances / transferred to other bank accounts in their homeland.

iv. How many migrant customers operate a business account within this bank branch?

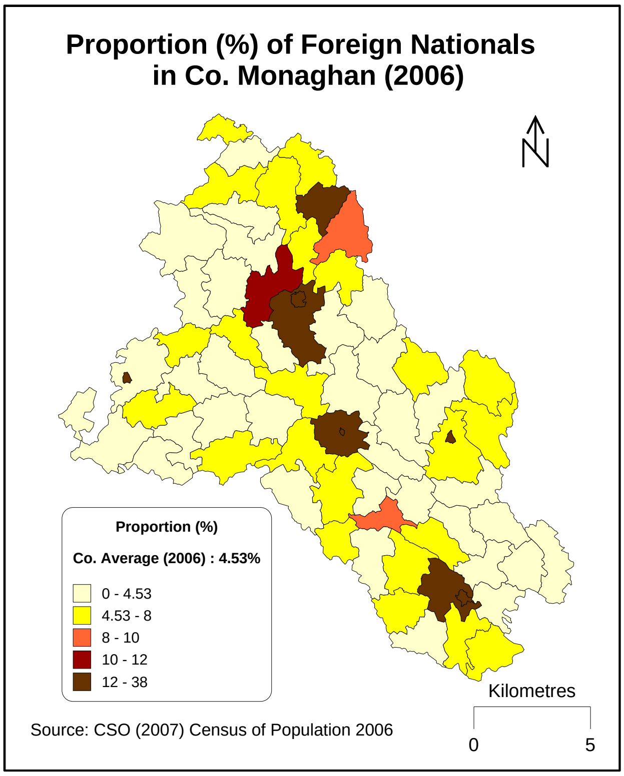
v. What obstacles do migrant entrepreneurs encounter whilst establishing a business within this locality? Do the obstacles differ from native entrepreneurs?

Appendix 5: Proportion (% County Average) of Foreign Nationals in Case Study Locations

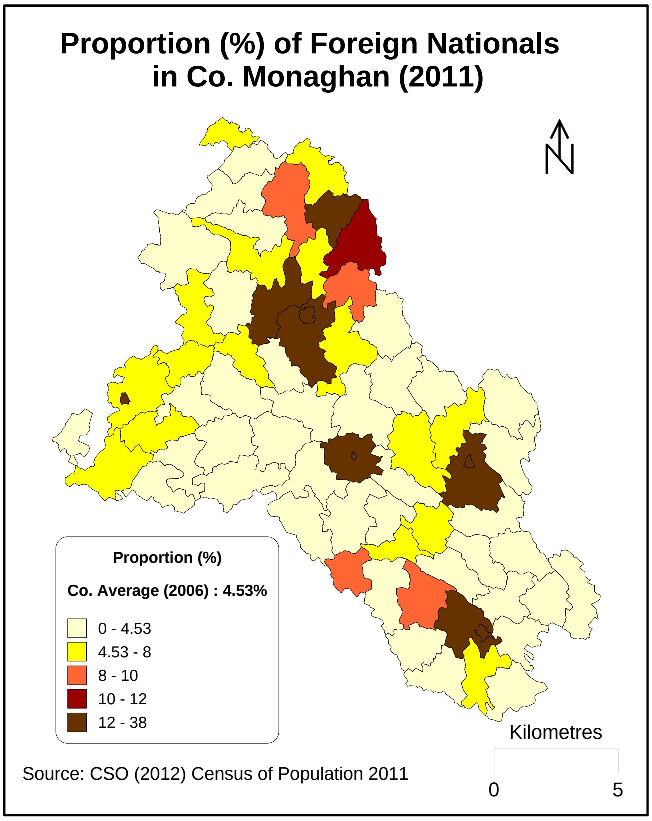
Map A1: Proportion (% County Average) of Foreign Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2002)



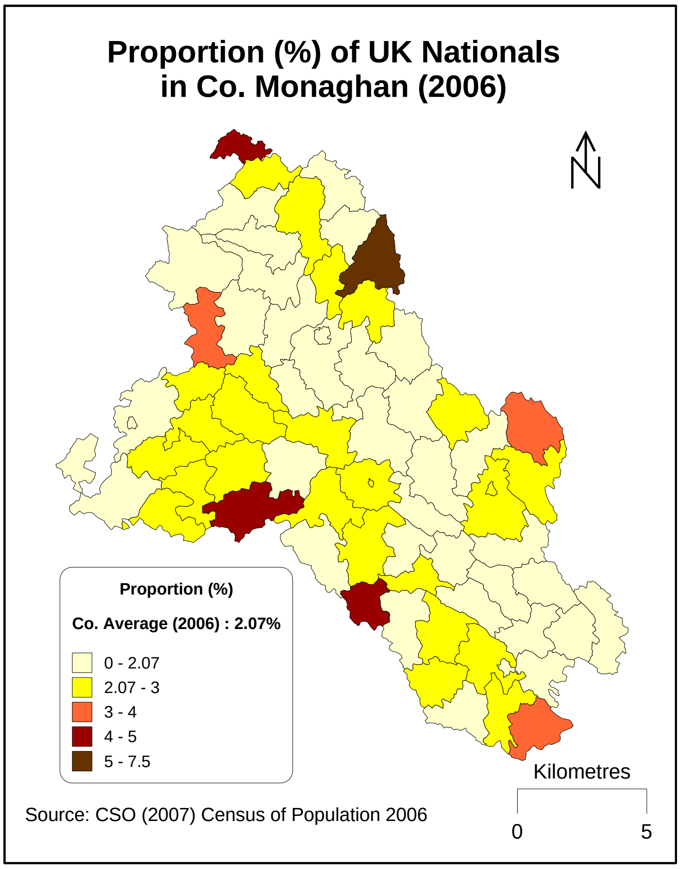
Map A2: Proportion (% County Average) of Foreign Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2006)



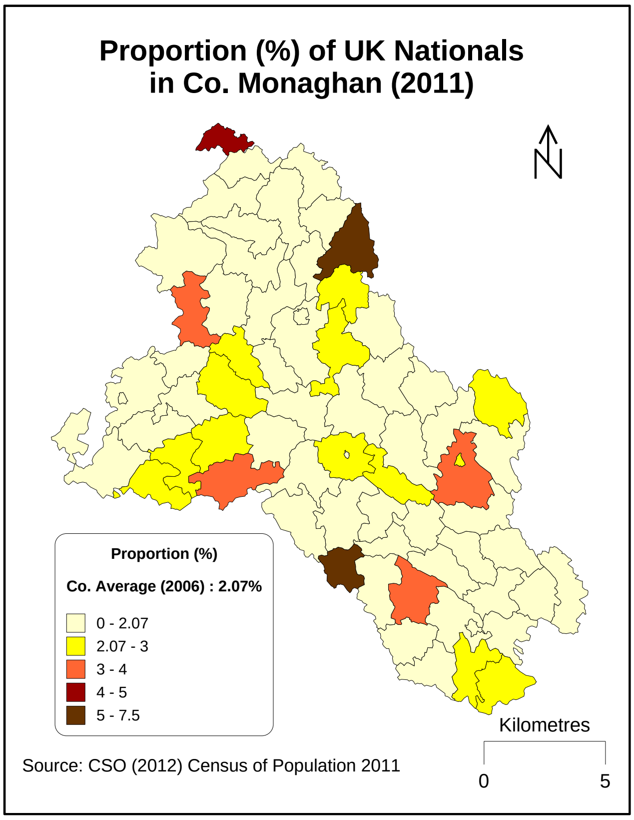
Map A3: Proportion (% County Average) of Foreign Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2011)



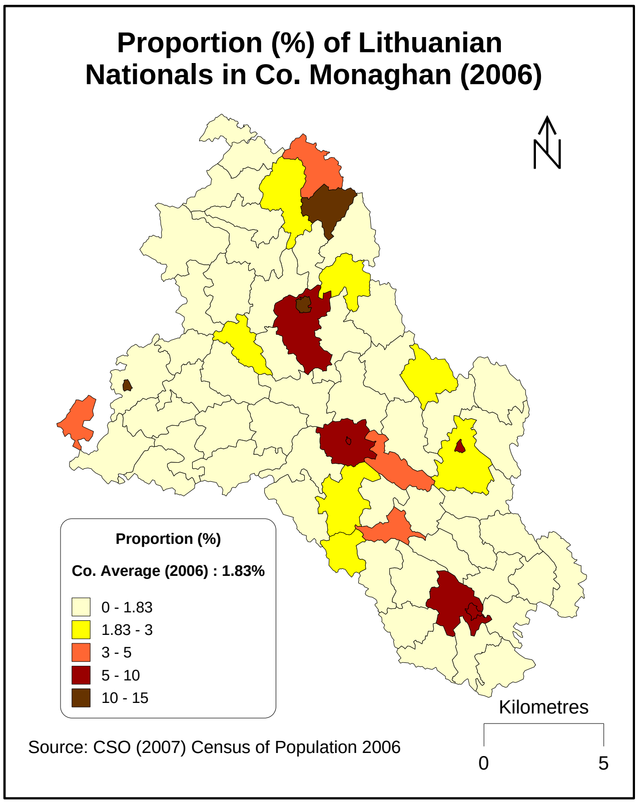
Map A4: Proportion (% County Average) of UK Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2006)



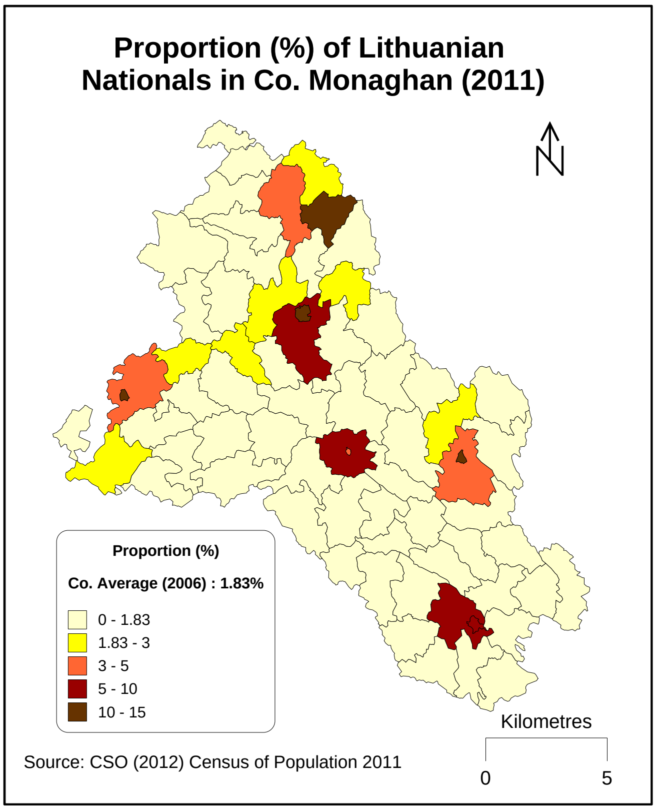
Map A5: Proportion (% County Average) of UK Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2011)



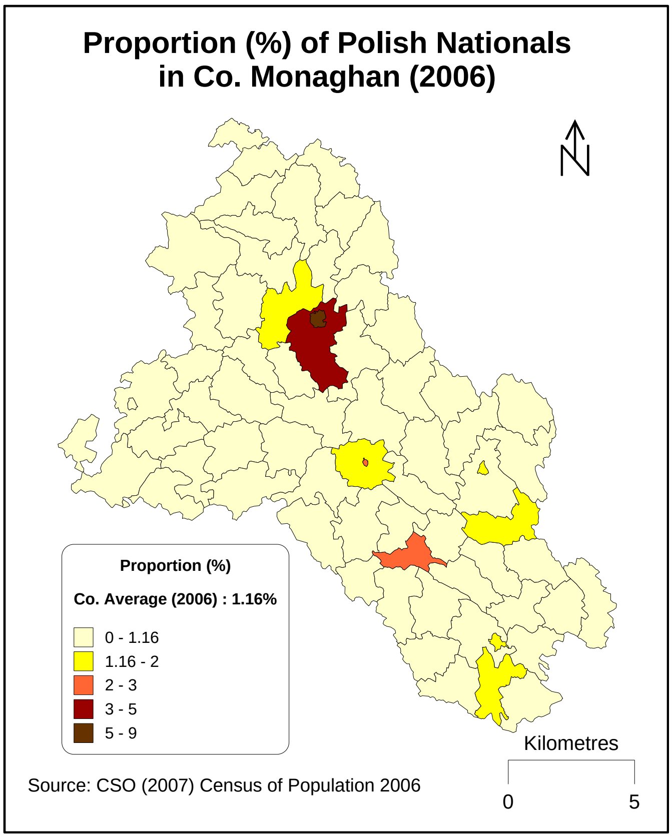
Map A6: Proportion (% County Average) of Lithuanian Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2006)



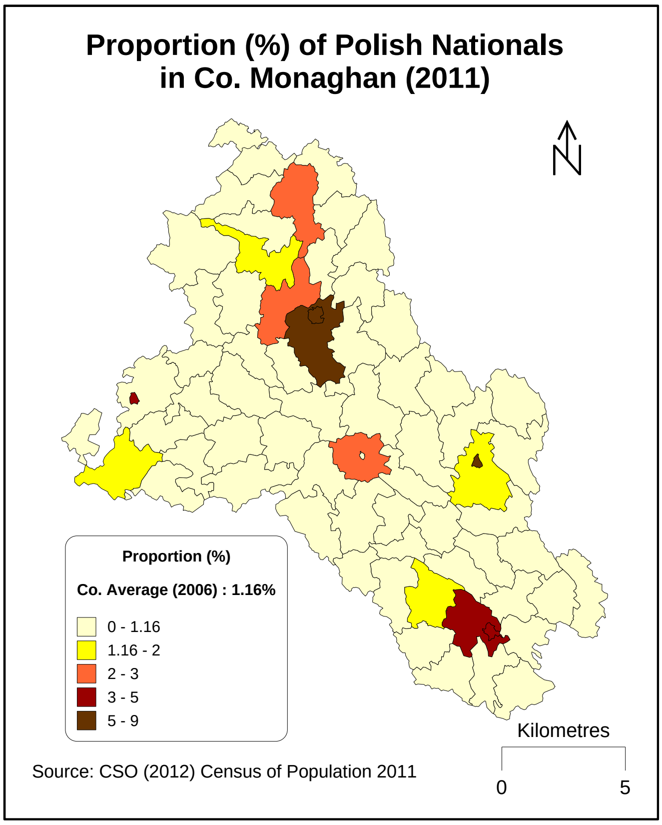
Map A7: Proportion (% County Average) of Lithuanian Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2011)



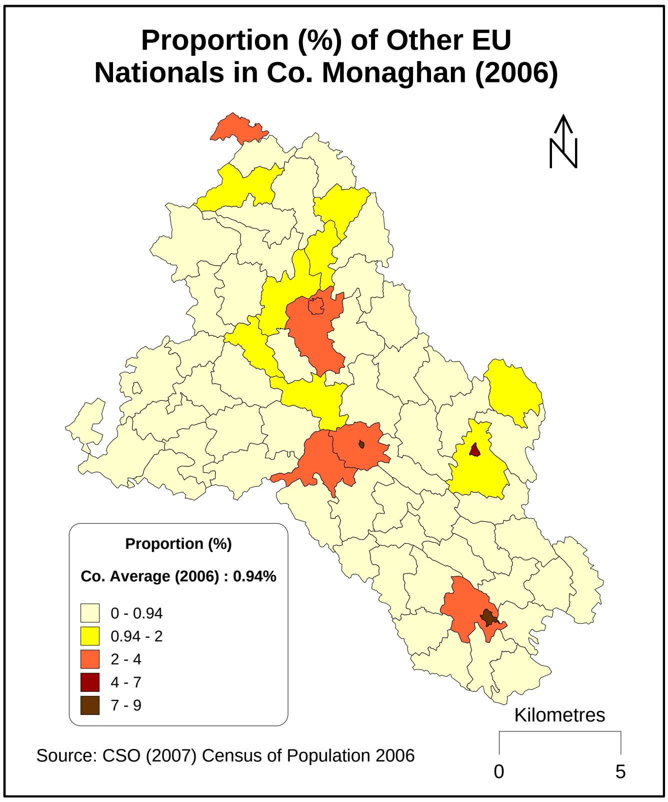
Map A8: Proportion (% County Average) of Polish Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2006)



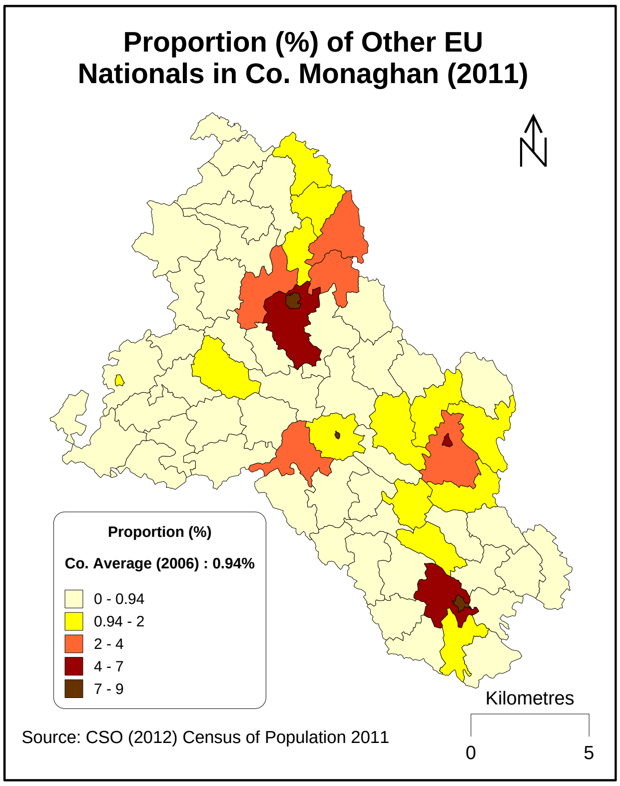
Map A9: Proportion (%) of Polish Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2011)



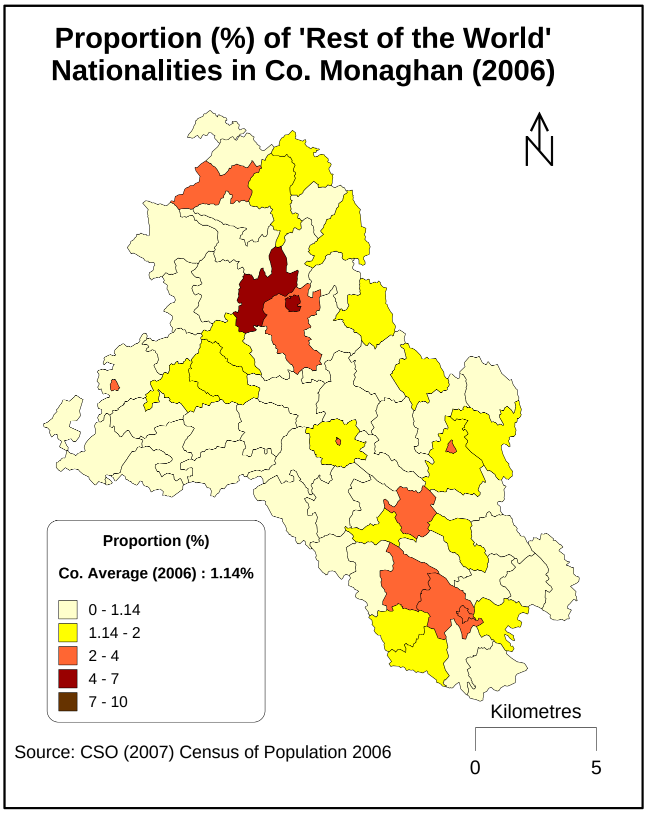
Map A10: Proportion (% County Average) of Other EU Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2011)



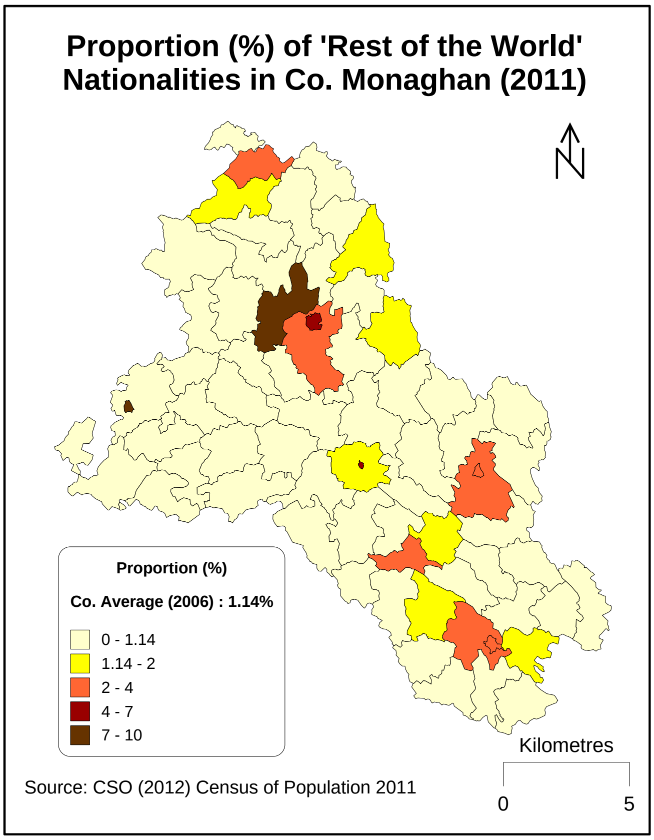
Map A11: Proportion (% County Average) of Other EU Nationals in Co. Monaghan (2011)



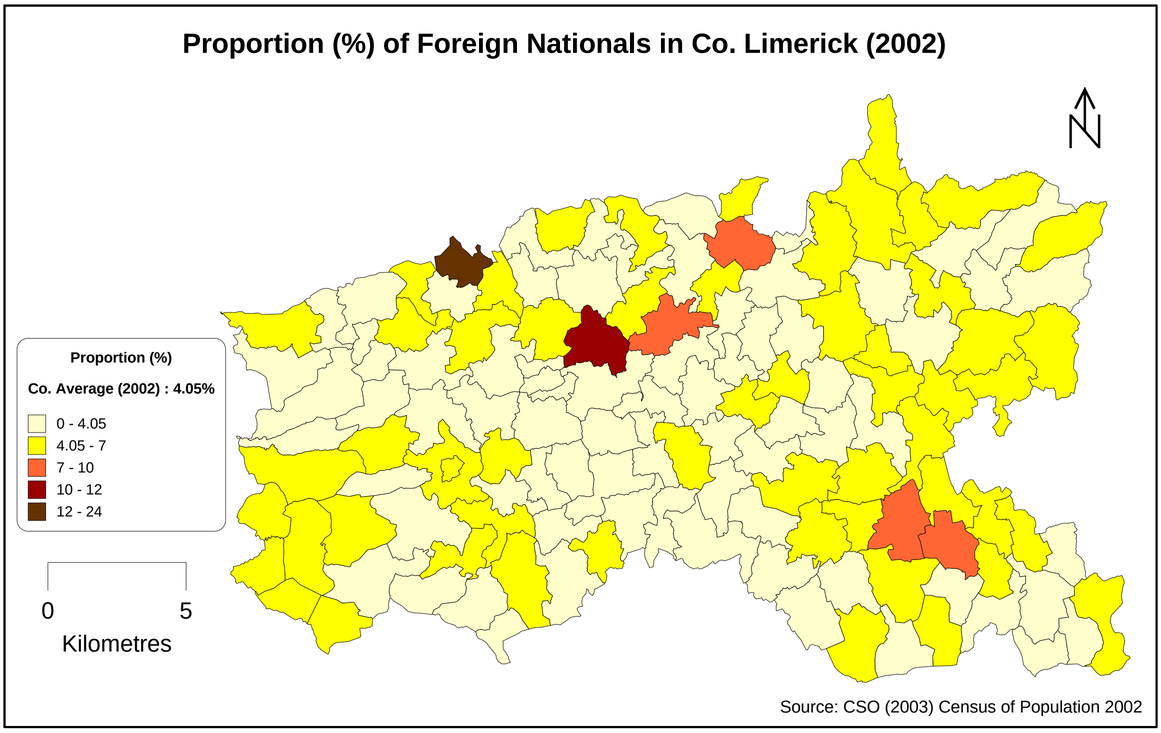
Map A12: Proportion (% County Average) of 'Rest of the World' Nationalities in Co. Monaghan (2006)



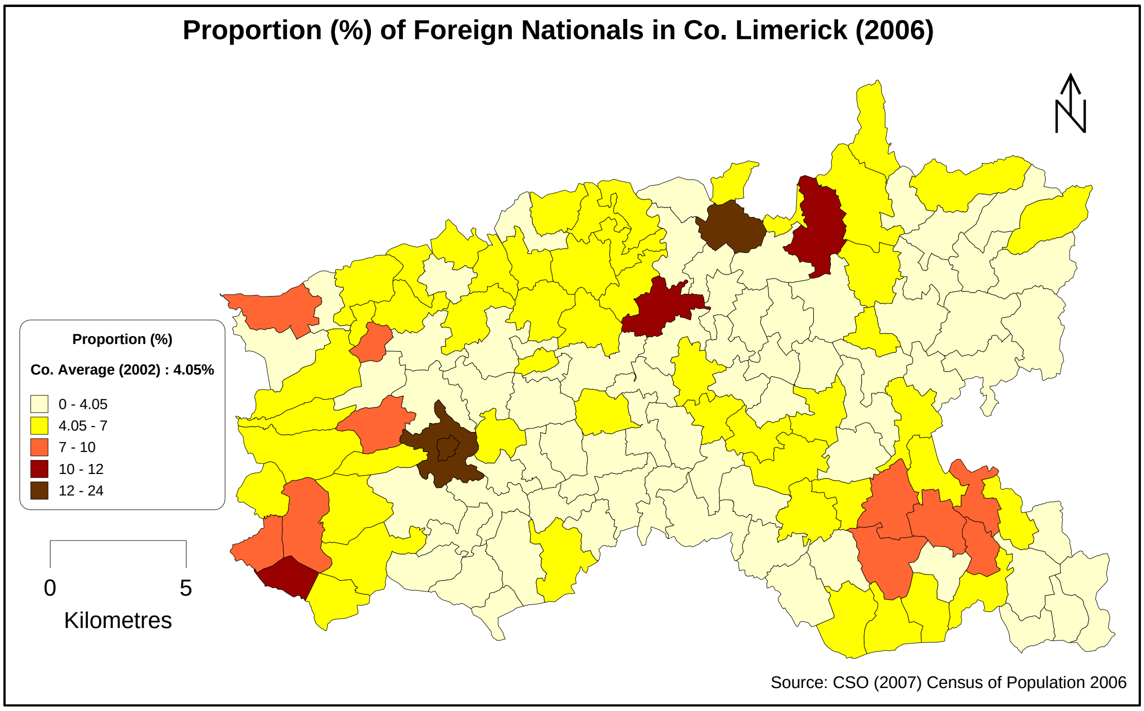
A13: Proportion (% County Average) of 'Rest of the World' Nationalities in Co. Monaghan (2011)



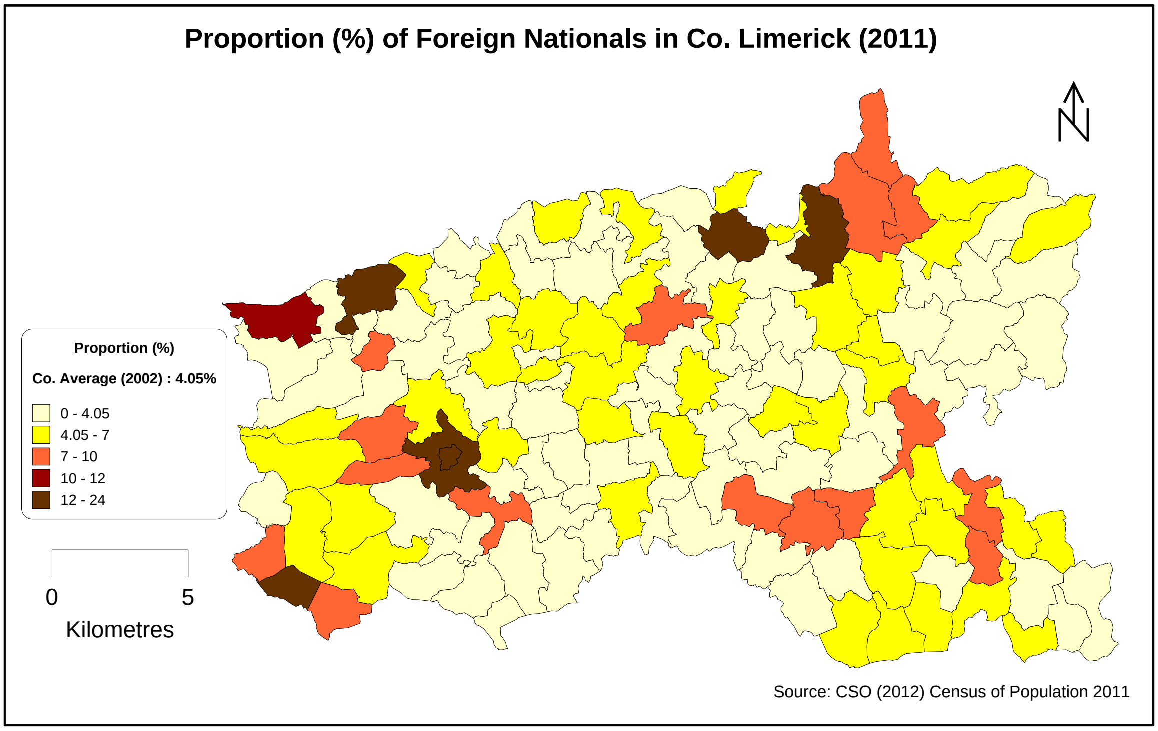
A14: Proportion (% County Average) of Foreign Nationals in Co. Limerick (2002)



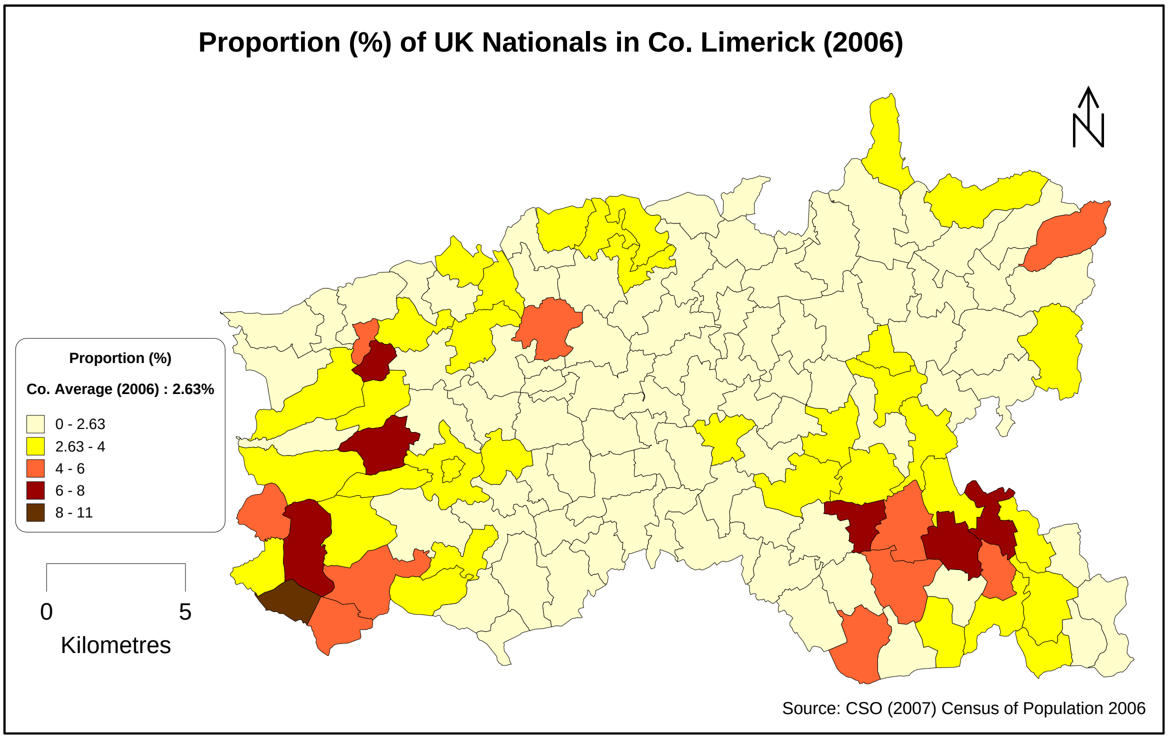
Map A15: Proportion (% County Average) of Foreign Nationals in Co. Limerick (2006)



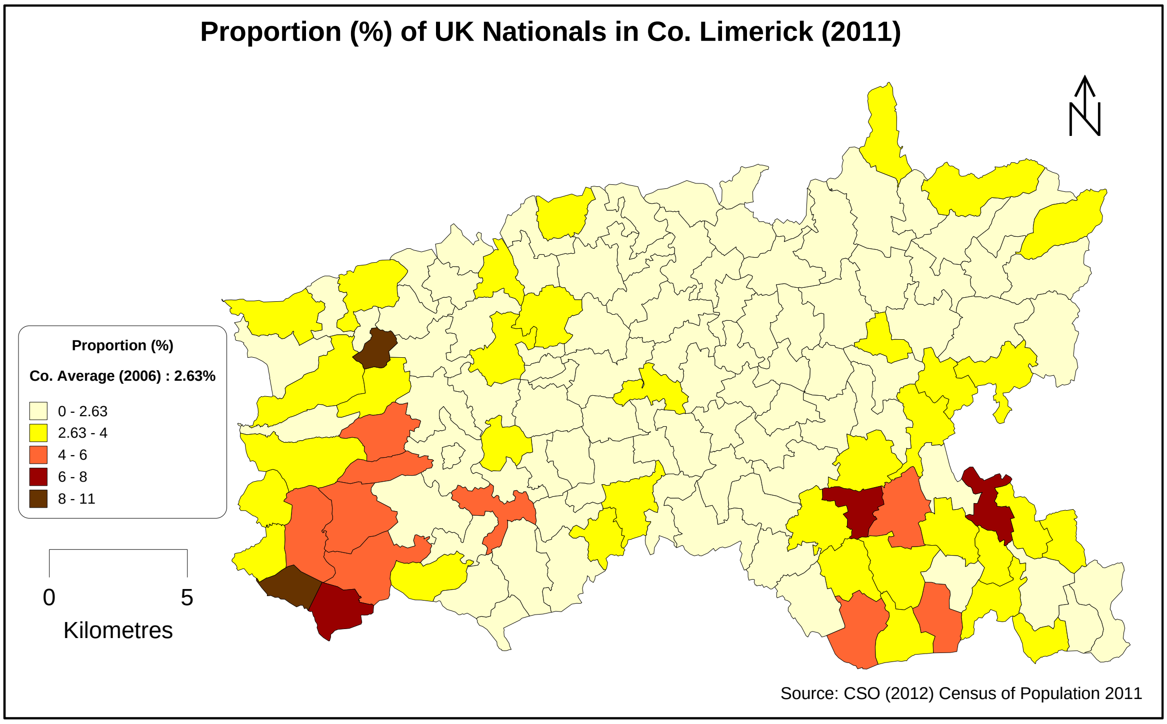
Map A16: Proportion (% County Average) of Foreign Nationals in Co. Limerick (2011)



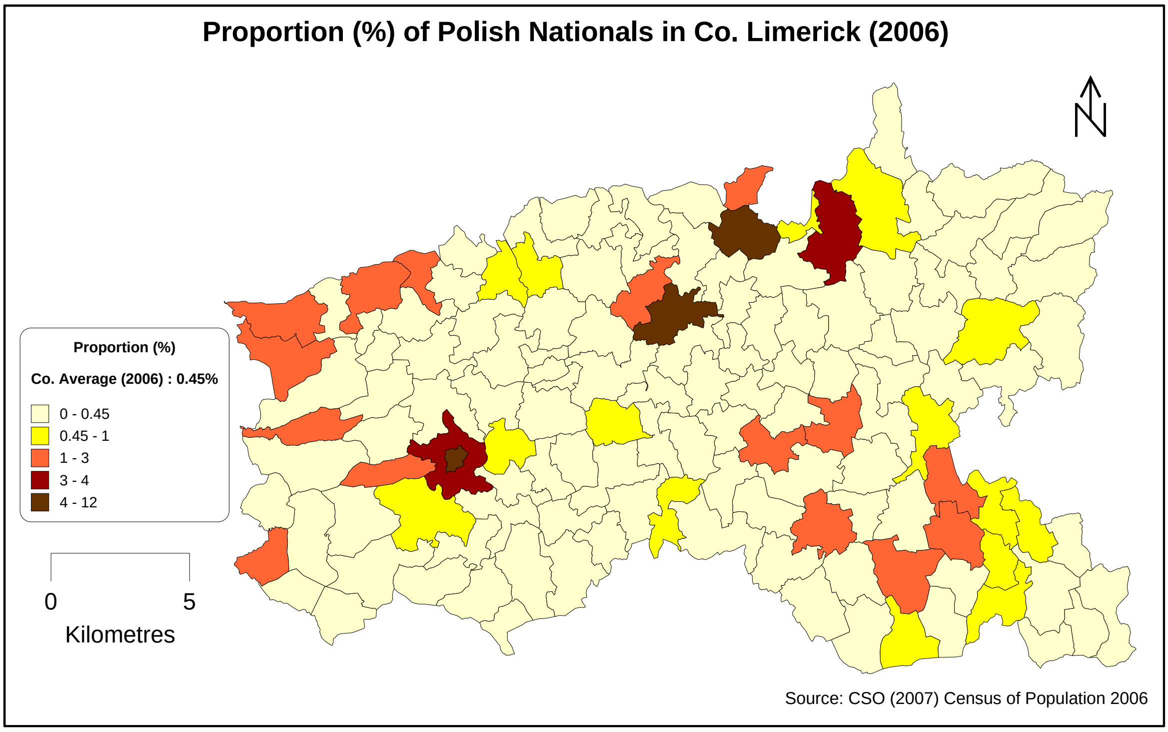
Map A17: Proportion (% County Average) of UK Nationals in Co. Limerick (2006)



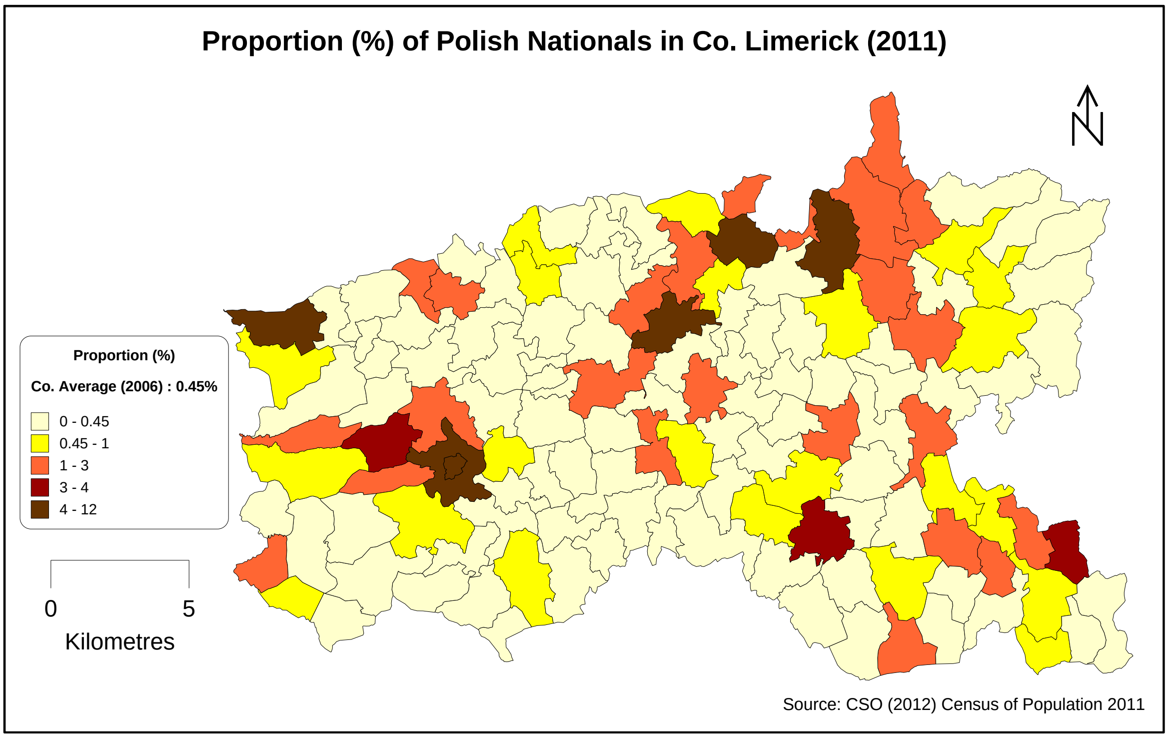
Map A18: Proportion (% County Average) of UK Nationals in Co. Limerick (2011)



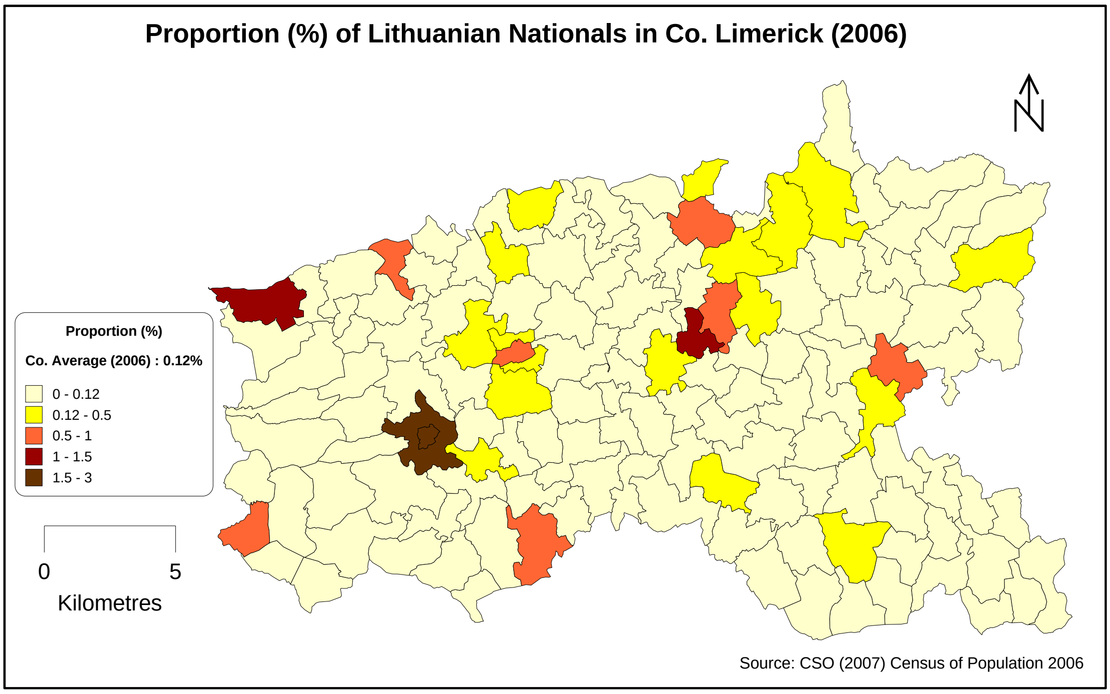
Map A19: Proportion (% County Average) of Polish Nationals in Co. Limerick (2006)



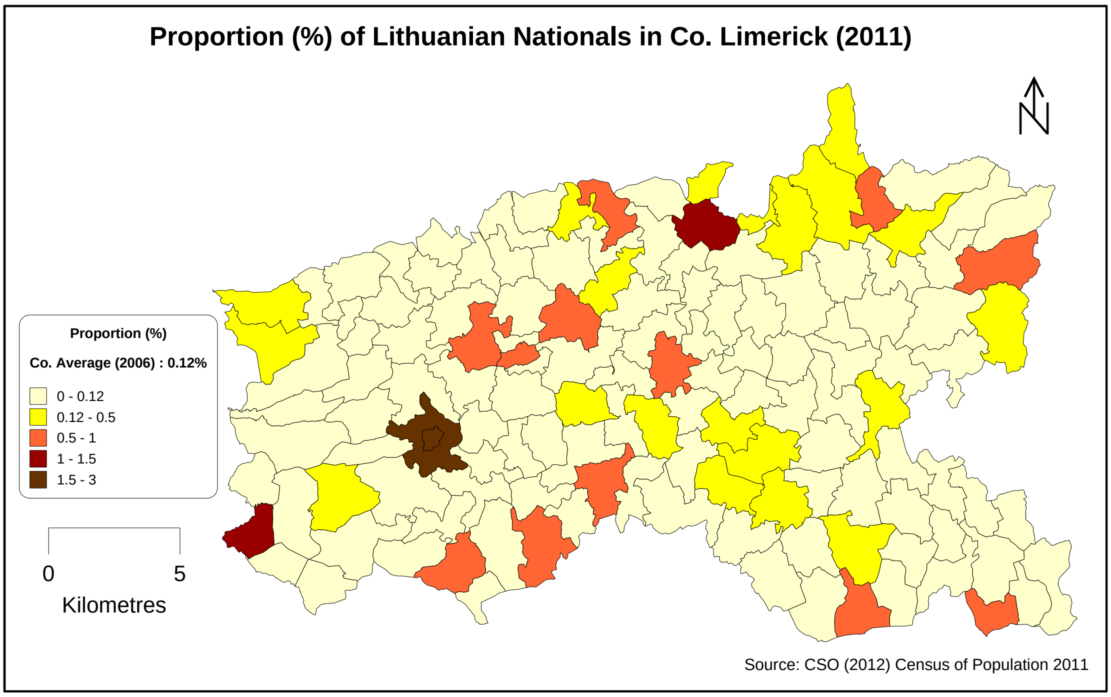
Map A20: Proportion (% County Average) of Polish Nationals in Co. Limerick (2011)



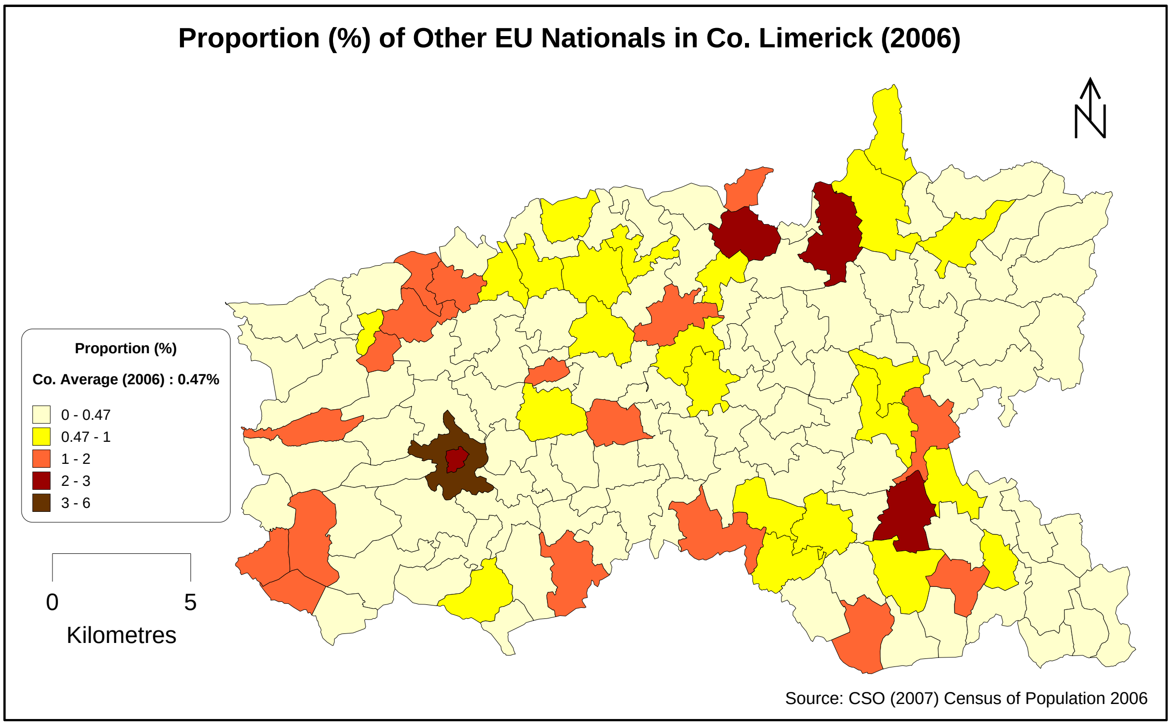
Map A21: Proportion (% County Average) of Lithuanian Nationals in Co. Limerick (2006)



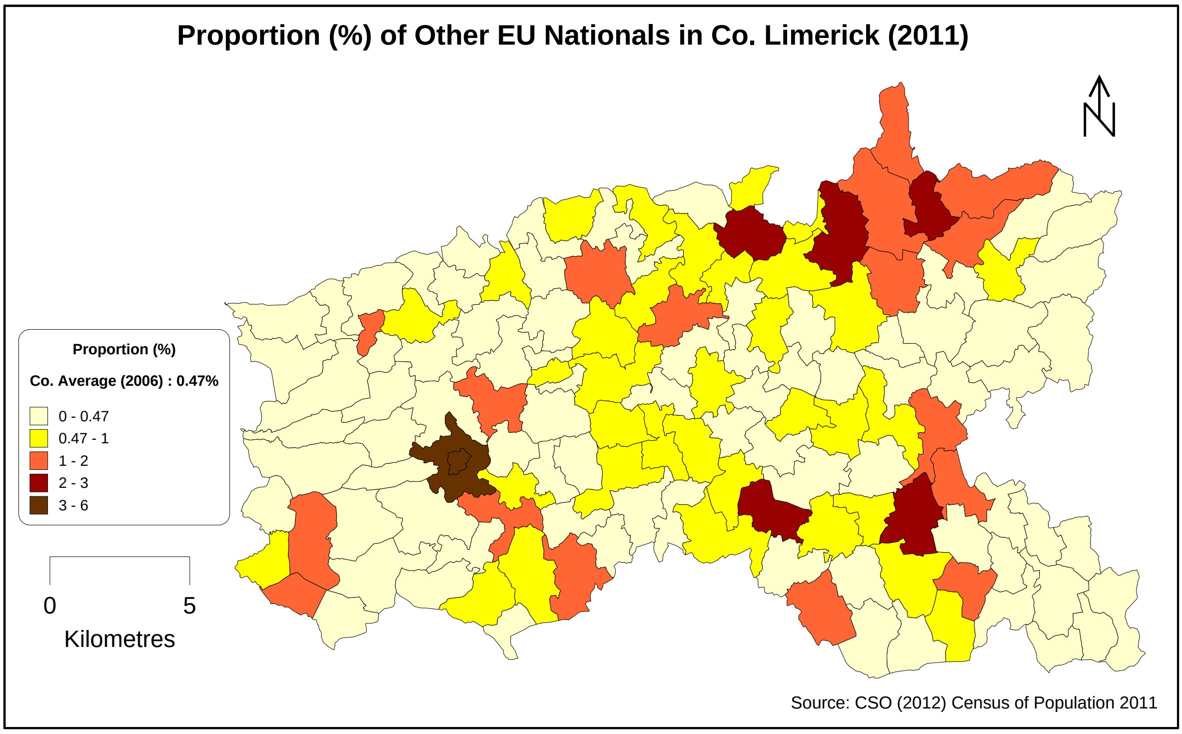
Map A22: Proportion (% County Average) of Lithuanian Nationals in Co. Limerick (2011)



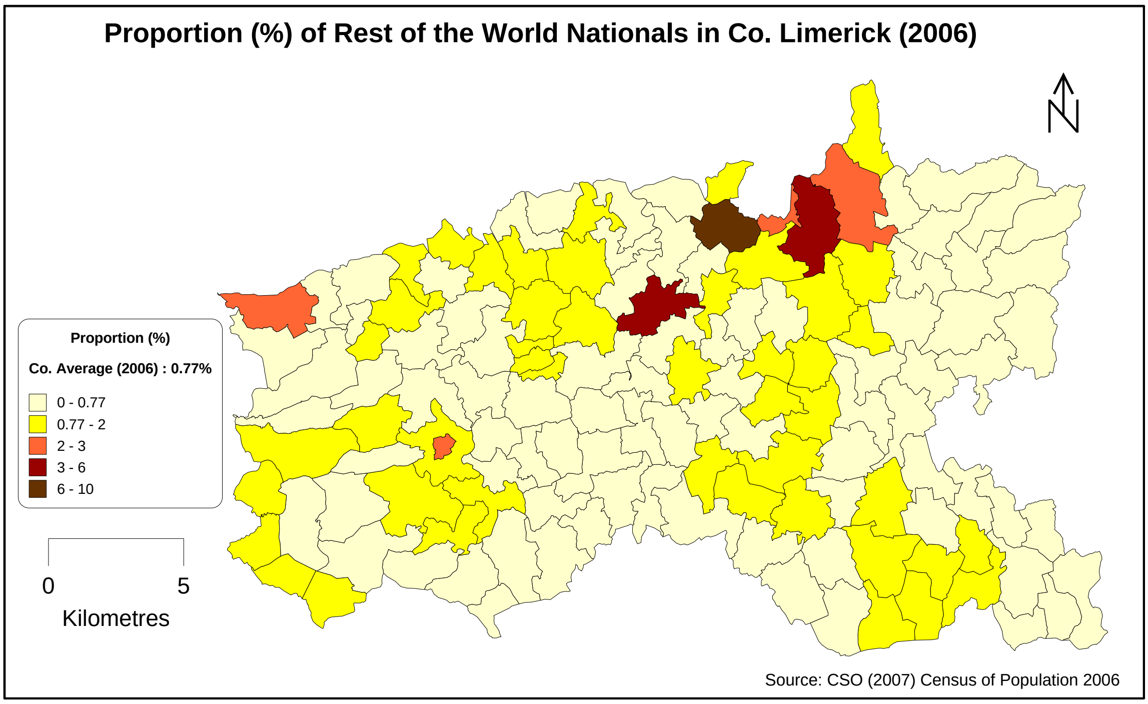
Map A23: Proportion (% County Average) of Other EU Nationals in Co. Limerick (2006)



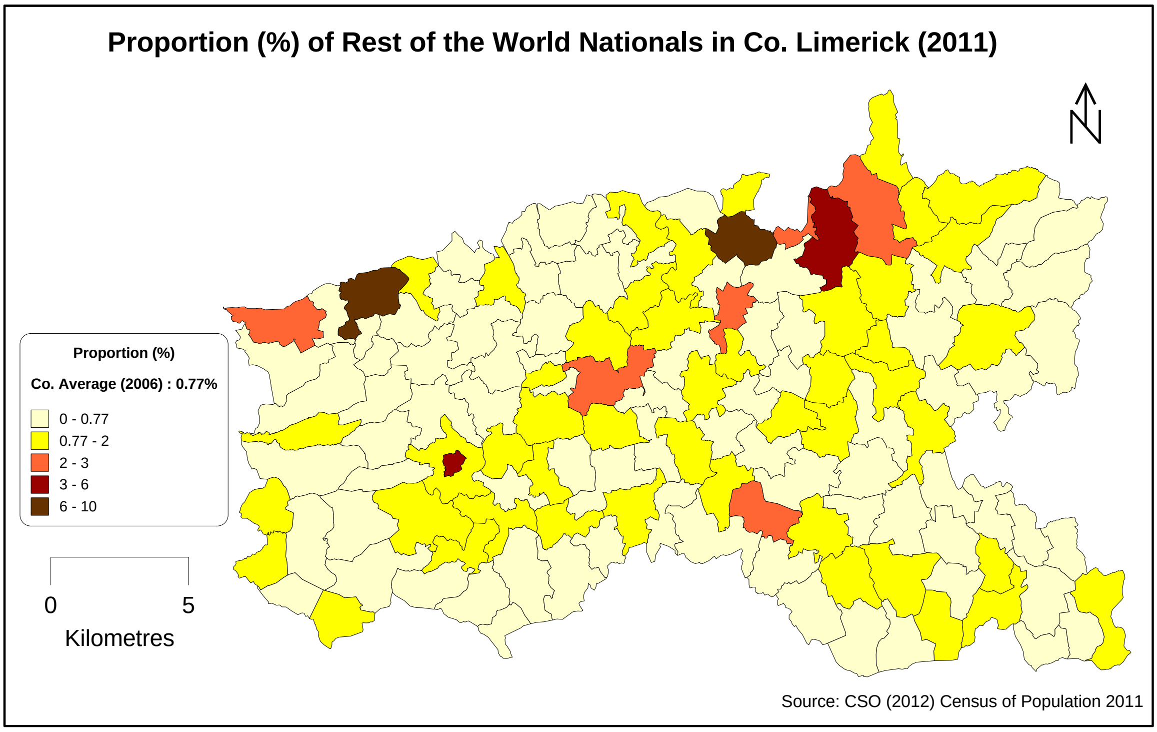
Map A24: Proportion (% County Average) of Other EU Nationals in Co. Limerick (2011)



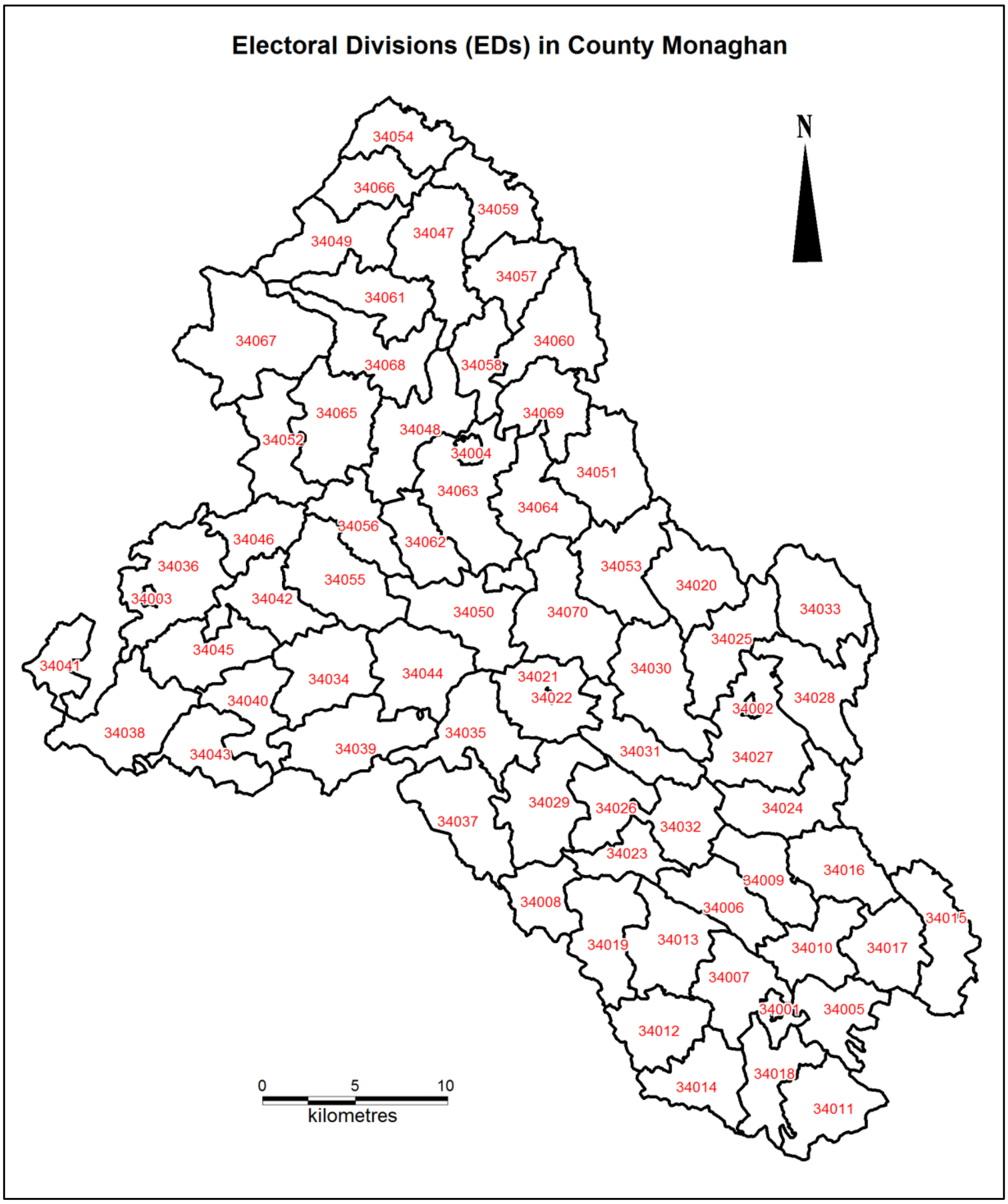
Map A25: Proportion (% County Average) of 'Rest of the World' Nationals in Co. Limerick (2006)



Map A26: Proportion (% County Average) of 'Rest of the World' Nationals in Co. Limerick (2011)



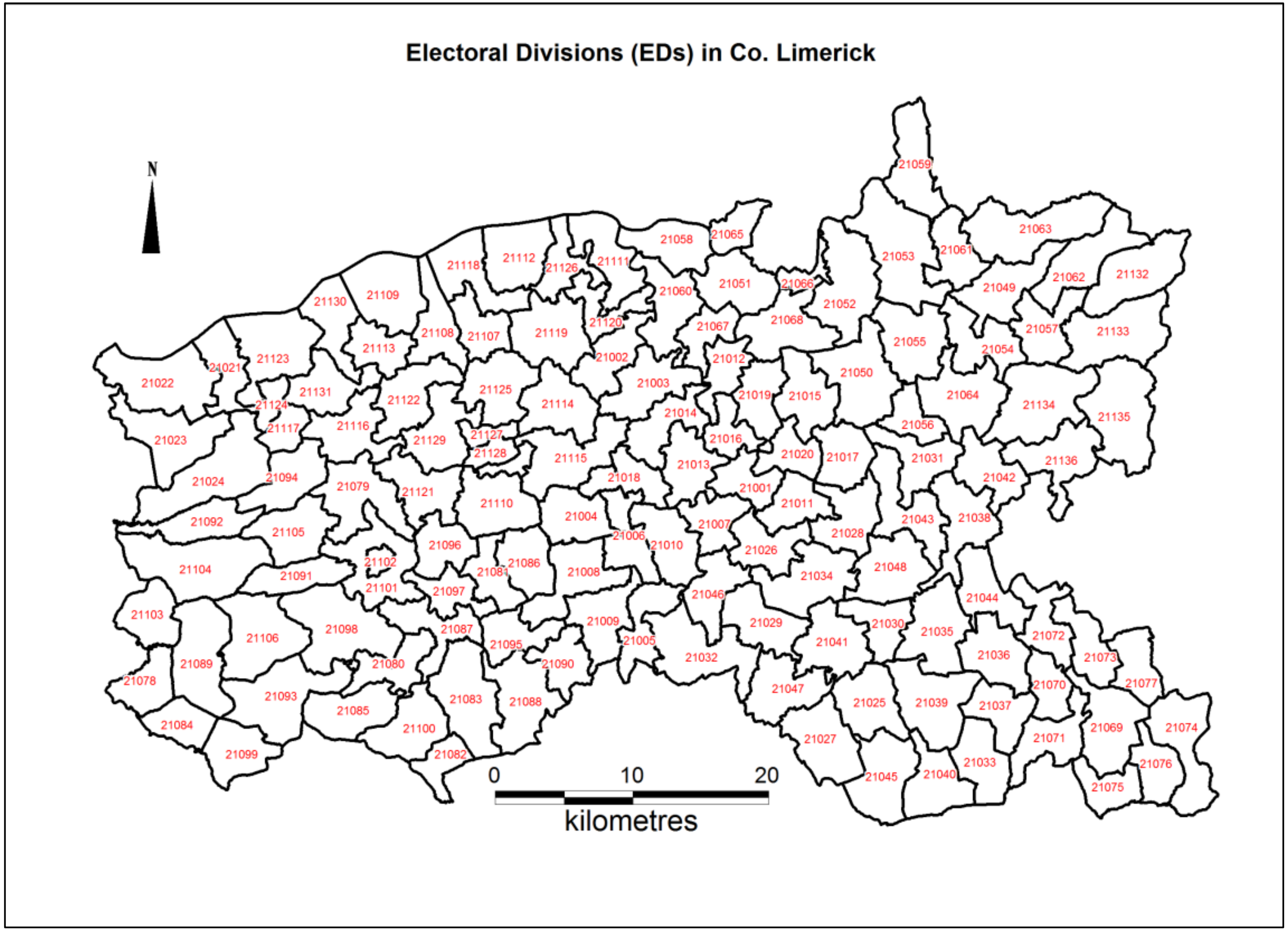
Appendix 6: Electoral Divisions (EDs) in Co. Monaghan



Legend for Map of Electoral Divisions (EDs) in Co. Monaghan

ID	Electoral Division		ID	Electoral Division
34001	Carrickmacross Urban		34036	Clones Rural
34002	Castleblayney Urban		34037	Cormeen
34003	Clones Urban		34038	Currin
34004	Monaghan Urban		34039	Dawsongrove
34005	Ballymackney		34040	Drum
34006	Bocks		34041	Drummully
34007	Carrickmacross Rural		34042	Killeevan
34008	Corracharra		34043	Killynenagh
34009	Crossalare		34044	Lisnaveane
34010	Donaghmoyne		34045	Newbliss
34011	Drumboory		34046	St. Tierney
34012	Drumcarrow		34047	Anketell Grove
34013	Drumgurra		34048	Bellanode
34014	Enagh		34049	Bragan
34015	Inishkeen		34050	Caddagh
34016	Kilmurry		34051	Castleshane
34017	Kiltybegs		34052	Clones
34018	Loughfea		34053	Clontibret
34019	Raferagh		34054	Derrygorry
34020	Annayalla		34055	Drumhillagh
34021	Ballybay Rural		34056	Drumsnat
34022	Ballybay Urban		34057	Emyvale
34023	Bellatrain		34058	Enagh
34024	Broomfield		34059	Figullar
34025	Carrickaslane		34060	Glaslough
34026	Carrickatee		34061	Killylough
34027	Castleblayney Rural		34062	Kilmore
34028	Church Hill		34063	Monaghan Rural
34029	Creeve		34064	Rackwallace
34030	Cremartin		34065	Scotstown
34031	Greagh		34066	Shanmullagh
34032	Laragh		34067	Sheskin
34033	Mullyash		34068	Tedavnet
34034	Aghabog		34069	Tehallan
34035	Anny		34070	Tullycorbet

Appendix 7: Electoral Divisions in Co. Limerick



Legend for Map of Electoral Divisions (EDs) of Co. Limeri

ID	Electoral Division	ID	Electoral Division	ID	Electoral Division	ID	Electoral Division
21001	Abbeyville	21043	Knockainy	21085	Cleanglass	21127	Rathkeale Rural
21002	Adare North	21044	Knocklong	21086	Cloncagh	21128	Rathkeale Urban
21003	Adare South	21045	Particles	21087	Danganbeg	21129	Riddlestown
21004	Ballingarry	21046	Rockhill	21088	Dromcolliher	21130	Shanagolden
21005	Ballyagran	21047	Tobernea	21089	Dromtrasna	21131	Shanid
21006	Ballygrennan	21048	Uregare	21090	Feenagh	21132	Bilboa
21007	Ballynabanoge	21049	Abington	21091	Garryduff	21133	Doon South
21008	Ballynoe	21050	Ballybricken	21092	Glenagower	21134	Grean
21009	Castletown	21051	Ballycummin	21093	Glengort	21135	Oola
21010	Coolrus	21052	Ballysimon	21094	Glensharrold	21136	Templebredon
21011	Crean	21053	Ballyvarra	21095	Kilmeedy		
21012	Crecora	21054	Caherconlish East	21096	Knockaderry		
21013	Croom	21055	Caherconlish West	21097	Mahoonagh		
21014	Dunnaman	21056	Caherelly	21098	Monagay		
21015	Fedamore	21057	Cappamore	21099	Mountcollins		
21016	Garrane	21058	Carrig	21100	Mountplummer		
21017	Grange	21059	Castleconnell	21101	Newcastle Rural		
21018	Kilfinny	21060	Clarina	21102	Newcastle Urban		
21019	Kilpeacon	21061	Clonkeen	21103	Port		
21020	Rathmore	21062	Doon West	21104	Rathronan		
21021	Fleanmore	21063	Glenstal	21105	Rooskagh		
21022	Glin	21064	Kilmurry	21106	Templeglentan		
21023	Kilfergus	21065	Limerick North Rural	21107	Askeaton East		
21024	Kilmoylan	21066	Limerick South Rural	21108	Askeaton West		
21025	Ardpatrick	21067	Patrickswell	21109	Aughinish		
21026	Athlacca	21068	Roxborough	21110	Ballyallinan		
21027	Ballymacshaneboy	21069	Anglesborough	21111	Ballynacarriga		
21028	Bruff	21070	Ballylanders	21112	Castletown		
21029	Bruree	21071	Cullane	21113	Craggs		
21030	Bulgaden	21072	Duntryleague	21114	Croagh		
21031	Cahercorney	21073	Galbally	21115	Dromard		
21032	Colmanswell	21074	Kilbeheny	21116	Dunmoylan East		
21033	Darragh	21075	Kilglass	21117	Dunmoylan West		
21034	Dromin	21076	Knocknascrow	21118	Iveruss		
21035	Emlygrennan	21077	Riversdale	21119	Kilcornan		
21036	Glenbrohane	21078	Abbeyfeale	21120	Kildimo		
21037	Griston	21079	Ardagh	21121	Kilscannell		
21038	Hospital	21080	Ballintober	21122	Lismakeery		
21039	Kilfinnane	21081	Ballynoe West	21123	Loghill		
21040	Kilflyn	21082	Boola	21124	Mohernagh		
21041	Kilmallock	21083	Broadford	21125	Nantinan		
21042	Kilteely	21084	Caher	21126	Pallaskenry		

Appendix 8: Post-Primary Student Nationality Profile in Co. Monaghan

Absolute Number of Post-Primary Students by Place of Birth in Co. Monaghan

School	Ireland	UK	Poland	Lithuania	Other EU	Rest of World	Total
St. Macartan's (Monaghan Town)	651	2	7	24	7	4	695
St. Louis (Monaghan Town)	531	0	8	42	8	3	592
Monaghan Collegiate	205	4	2	1	12	10	234
Colaitse Oireall (Monaghan Town)	147	4	0	0	0	0	151
Beech Hill (Monaghan Town)	618	7	12	24	65	19	745
Ballybay Community college	265	0	0	10	4	1	280
Largy College (Clones)	428	8	1	14	24	12	487
Our Lady's Castleblayney	589	5	1	8	5	9	617
Castleblayney College	282	3	0	12	10	2	309
Patrician High School (Carrickmacross)	358	0	1	2	4	3	368
St. Louis (Carrickmacross)	529	8	3	3	4	13	560
Inver College (Carrickmacross)	448	3	13	29	21	8	522
Total	**5051**	**44**	**48**	**169**	**164**	**84**	**5560**

Percentage of Post-Primary Students by Place of Birth in Co. Monaghan

School	Ireland (%)	UK (%)	Poland (%)	Lithuania (%)	Other EU (%)	Rest of World (%)
St. Macartan's (Monaghan Town)	93.66	0.28	1.00	3.4	1.00	0.57
St. Louis (Monaghan Town)	89.69	0	1.35	7.09	1.35	0.50
Monaghan Collegiate	87.60	1.70	0.85	0.42	5.12	4.27
Colaitse Oireall (Monaghan Town)	97.35	2.64	0	0	0	0
Beech Hill (Monaghan Town)	82.95	0.93	1.61	3.22	8.72	2.55
Ballybay Community college	94.64	0	0	3.57	1.42	0.35
Largy College (Clones)	87.88	1.64	0.20	2.87	4.92	2.46
Our Lady's Castleblayney	95.46	0.81	0.16	1.29	0.81	1.45
Castleblayney College	91.26	0.97	0	3.88	3.23	0.64
Patrician High School (Carrickmacross)	97.28	0	0.27	0.54	1.08	0.81
St. Louis (Carrickmacross)	94.46	1.42	0.53	0.53	0.71	2.32
Inver College (Carrickmacross)	85.82	0.57	2.49	5.55	4.02	1.53
Total	**90.84**	**0.79**	**0.86**	**3.03**	**2.94**	**1.51**

Source: Data for this figure has been collated from Appendix 4 in *Youth Work: Diversity Audit Co. Monaghan* (McCabe, et al., 2011)