

AN ANALYSIS OF THE LABOUR MARKET INTEGRATION OF  
IMMIGRANTS: EXAMINING THE ROLE OF GENDER,  
ETHNICITY, DISCRIMINATION AND RECESSION

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the  
degree of PhD

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## Summary

This thesis focuses on the labour market integration of migrants between 2004 and 2011, a period of unprecedented change in Irish society. The work analyses some of the factors that may influence migrants' labour market integration- namely gender, ethnicity, discrimination and recession. By drawing on data from two rich surveys, and including analysis of different labour market outcomes among several immigrant groups, over time, and across countries, the strength of the study is that it can examine labour market integration from various angles, with the aim that combining these aspects provides a deeper insight into the factors that drive integration and inequality.

The work incorporates four separate empirical chapters and an introduction and conclusion chapter, from human capital theory, compositional hypotheses are derived, which predict that differences in labour market outcomes can be attributed to differences in human capital among groups. From discrimination theories, contextual hypotheses are derived, which examine whether inequalities in outcomes exist, and can be ascribed to in-group preferences and prejudices against groups. Overall, the study finds evidence of success for some migrant groups, and evidence of marked and ongoing penalties for others.

Chapter two examines whether immigrants' experience higher levels of self-reported labour market discrimination than natives. This study is the first, to my knowledge, to examine changes in migrants' self-reported labour market discrimination over the course of the Great recession. The work finds that migrants' do experience higher levels of discrimination, and discrimination varies among national-ethnic groups, in particular the Black African group report experiencing high levels of discrimination in the workplace, and when looking for work. It is interesting to find that discrimination did not increase in the context of recession, and overall discrimination when looking for work actually decreased. The study also finds evidence of the integration of some immigrant groups in the labour market, particularly for White EU-13 and White UK migrants', groups who have a more established history of migration to Ireland and are more culturally similar.

The analysis in chapter three extends on this work, and examines whether immigrant groups experience inequalities in their labour market outcomes compared to natives, especially in the context of recession. A further contribution of this work is that it extends on knowledge of ethnicity, and the outcomes of the 'non-EU' group in Ireland. Most of the research and academic discussion on migration in Ireland has not included ethnicity, and this work was the first in Ireland to examine ethnic disadvantage over the recession. Findings show that both the Black African and White New Member States groups experience marked disadvantage in their economic outcomes in both 2004

and 2010. However, disadvantage only increased above and beyond that of natives for male migrants' from the New Member States.

Chapter four examines gender differences in the occupational attainment of recent Polish migrants' in Ireland. Another contribution of this work is that it expands on our understanding of gender differences in migrants' labour market incorporation, and employs Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition methods to examine in more detail the factors that influence gender differences. Findings in Ireland do not reveal a significant gap in male and female occupational attainment, however females experience disadvantage in returns to their human capital, and results do not provide support for traditional human capital theories of lower female capital. It is suggested that the labour market situation in Ireland at the time of study may be a contributing reason for parity in migrants' occupational attainment.

Chapter five of the analysis extends on this work and examines gender differences in the occupational attainment of recent Polish migrants in Germany, the UK and the Netherlands, to place Irish findings in an international context. To date no study has assessed the gender differentials in the occupational outcomes of the same migrant group across countries. The comparative findings show that females experience lower occupational attainment in the Netherlands, Germany, and the UK, further cementing the idea that findings in Ireland are related to the economic situation at the time of study. The finding of female advantage in human capital endowments (in Germany and Ireland) and parity in human capital endowments (in the Netherlands and the UK) calls into question the more general hypotheses on females' lower investment in human capital. The comparative analysis finds weak support for the effect of family, and no support for the effect of 'tied mover' status on female outcomes across countries. In all countries of study, a substantial portion of the gender gap in occupational attainment remains unexplained and cannot be attributed to differences in human capital, or due to gender differences in the effect of children and family.

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## 1. Introduction

Advances in technology and increasing globalisation of the world mean we now live in an era of increasing migration and rapidly changing societies, this new era has been identified as the 'Age of Migration'- a period during which international migration has accelerated, globalised, feminised, politicised and societies have become more diverse and complex (Castles et al., 2005; Favell, 2008). Europe especially has seen a vast change in migration patterns in recent years, due to the accession of European Union New Member States, and a sharp and ongoing increase in the asylum seeking population. The consequences from the growing share of immigrants in European societies has been the focus of much public interest and debate. Expanding immigrant populations presents social, cultural and economic challenges to European societies. Of major concern among Government, policymakers, and society at large, is the economic position of immigrants. The disadvantaged status of immigrants is widely known: in general immigrants lag behind natives in economic, educational, social and political areas. In economic areas they tend to have higher unemployment rates, lower occupational attainment and lower wages (Constant et al., 2009). There is an expansive literature outlining the mechanisms that influence immigrants disadvantage in the labour market, which operate on an individual and societal level (cf. Van Tubergen et al. 2004).

Ireland has undergone a period of mass transformation in recent years both in its economy, and in the size of the immigrant population, and it has evolved into a multi-ethnic society with a large established, and permanent immigrant population. In particular the expansion of the European Union (EU) in 2004 led to vast changes in the makeup of Irish society, the proportion of foreign-born residents doubled in the last decade, and now surpasses the proportion observed in countries with long immigration histories such as the United States, United Kingdom, France or Netherlands (OECD, 2015a). Overall Ireland experienced the highest percentage increase in its population between 2001 and 2011 in the European Union (CSO, 2012). Despite the recent economic recession, migration will continue to be important in the future both in Ireland and internationally, because of the economic need for certain types of labour, and people's desire to migrate in order to improve their life-chances (King, 2012). Moreover, the recent and ongoing migrant crisis in Europe will surely continue to evolve, and the migrant population of European countries will, no doubt, continue to increase as a result.

Although in recent years the research on migrants' labour market integration in Ireland has expanded considerably, there are several gaps in knowledge and research reflecting the relatively recent nature of migration to the country. With this in mind this thesis aims to examine aspects of

migration which to date have been understudied. The approach here is to go beyond a single case focus, or research question, and instead to investigate multiple research questions, and a range of potential influential factors on migrants' integration: how discrimination, gender, ethnicity and the recession influence migrants' labour market success in Ireland. The rationale for examining these is that while previous work has found that they impact on migrants' labour market integration, there remain several gaps in our understanding of their impact on migrants' economic integration both in Ireland and abroad. To date the influence of ethnicity on migrants' labour market outcomes is under-researched in Ireland, and to my knowledge there exists no research on the impact of the recession on migrants' self-reported labour market discrimination. The literature on gender differences in migrants' economic integration is still relatively under-developed, and there is little work that looks at this in a comparative context. Given the recency of the Great Recession, work is only just developing on the impact of the economic downturn on migrants' economic incorporation, and there is a gap in our understanding of the impact of the recession on migrants' economic outcomes. The strength of the study is that it can examine labour market integration from various angles by including analysis of different labour market outcomes among several immigrant groups, over time, and across countries. However a weakness of this study is that it only can examine changes in the labour market integration of immigrants in a relatively short timeframe, and therefore any findings of the impact of the recession may not yet be fully visible.

To situate this study a brief overview of the concept of immigrants' labour market integration is provided, followed by an introduction to the theoretical framework, an overview of migration to Ireland, and the economic context. The aims of this study and its contribution to the literature are then outlined. The specific research questions and how they relate to gaps in the literature, relevant theories and research, are presented in each of the individual analysis chapters, alongside the methodology and data used.

### **1.1 Understanding Migrant Labour Market Integration- A Brief Overview**

The term 'integration' is often used to describe the incorporation of immigrants into the host country society, however defining integration is not necessarily straightforward. Heckman (2005, p. 15) defined integration as the "long-lasting process of inclusion and acceptance of migrants in the core institutions, relations and statuses of the receiving society". Penninx (2010, p. 11) defined integration as "the process of becoming an accepted part of society", both as an individual and as a group. At a very basic level, when immigrants move to a country they have to adapt to, and find a place in, the host society, both in the practical sense (a home, employment, income, access to education and health services), but also in the social, cultural and political sense (McGinnity et al., 2011). The integration of immigrants is extremely important as it allows immigrants to contribute

to the economic, social, political and cultural life of the host country. Unsuccessful integration can lead to persistent disadvantage and exclusion of immigrant groups, and can have impact on the host country both in an economic and social sense (see chapter 2 for further detail).

Constant and Zimmermann (2005) note that theories and policy debates on immigration focus mainly on three areas- the determinants of migration; the impacts of immigrants on the native population; and the integration and performance of migrants in the host country economy, the focus of this thesis is on the latter. This work applies the term integration in an economic sense to define the labour market success of immigrants in Ireland, and does not touch on aspects of social or cultural integration. Labour market or economic integration is one of the central processes of migrant integration, economic integration relates to participation and achievement in the labour market of the host country. Integrating immigrants into the host country labour market is vital for promoting social cohesion and the economic growth of host countries, and allows migrants to become independent citizens, thus optimising outcomes for the receiving economy, the community, and the migrants themselves (McGinnity et al., 2014a; OECD, 2015a).

## **1.2 Theoretical Framework**

Most theoretical work on international migration is grounded in the human capital approach, and the human capital model of migration serves as a framework for this thesis. Human capital theory is derived from the neoclassical school economic model. In this model, individuals are assumed to seek to maximise their own economic interests, and accordingly make investments in education and training with the motivation of returns in future income (Tan, 2014).

Human capital comprises all knowledge, attributes and skills that increase an individual's productivity and achievement in the labour market, including age, gender, education, work experience and language skills (Becker, 1985; Morawska, 2007). These skills are labelled human capital because humans cannot be separated from their knowledge, skills, or values in the way that they can be separated from their financial and physical assets (Becker, 1975). The principal explanation of human capital theory states that these characteristics can be innate or acquired but ultimately contribute towards a worker's productivity. Investment and mobilisation of capital will enhance one's outcomes, and yield economic and social returns at the individual and societal level (Lin, 2000; Tan, 2014). Ultimately the theory posits that individuals with higher productivity are rewarded with higher pay, and it is assumed that human capital increases through time spent in the labour market (Becker, 1985).

Human capital is widely applied as a central theoretical framework in many disciplines, however although widely used the definition of human capital theory is broad, and is not without its

disadvantages. The theory is limited in its vision of differences in outcomes and enumeration, and does not take into account more difficult to observe factors including effort, working conditions, discrimination and labour market imperfections. Many of the forms of human capital are immeasurable, and measurable aspects may not be translated equally, or utilised at all times. For example workers with similar human capital may be enumerated differently because jobs differ in terms of their productivity and pay (Acemoglu and Autor, 2011). Furthermore workers can have different amounts of skills/human capital because of innate differences, such as differences in the quality of training, differences in motivation and also differences in labour market conditions. The concept also focuses on the individual, and by restricting it's analysis to individual preferences and abilities, it formally excludes the relevance of class and class conflict to explain labour market phenomena (Bowles and Gintis, 1975).

Any study of inequality between migrant groups must make a clear distinction between causes of inequality derived from actual differences in human capital and causes that are linked more directly to other sources (Midtbøen, 2015). Nevertheless the application of human capital theory is fundamental in understanding migrants' labour market integration, and the classic established economic theory of why people migrate is simply an application of the human capital model. Sjaastad (1962) was one of the primary scholars to use human capital theory to ground migration, and argued that a prospective migrant assesses the value of the opportunity available in the market at the host country relative to the value of the opportunity available in the market in their home country, subtracts away the costs of moving, and ultimately chooses the destination which maximises earnings (Bodvarsson and Van Den Berg, 2013). Migration is seen as an investment into human capital, and the influence of human capital on migrants labour market outcomes is well documented (Becker, 1975; Sanders and Nee, 1966).

While human capital theory is a central tenant to this thesis, its limitations prohibit it from being the only theory utilised, the original economic model of migration does not distinguish between personal and family decisions, or the influence of gender, ethnicity or any other forces in explaining differences in outcomes (Bodvarsson and Van den Berg, 2013). To examine gender differences in outcomes I extend on human capital theory, which focuses on individual level differences, and draw on the 'tied mover' and 'family investment' theories, which examine the role of the household and family on migrant economic success (Morawska, 2007). To examine the influence of discrimination and ethnicity on migrants' labour market integration, I draw on theories of discrimination, and in-group preference and prejudice against groups (Becker, 2010; Brekke and Mastekaasa, 2008; Phelps, 1972). These theories are discussed in more detail in the appropriate chapters.

Structural forces in the sending and receiving country also influence immigrants' labour market integration, particularly the labour market and institutional context in the host country, and the norms in the country of origin labour market (Khoudja and Fleischmann, 2015; Kogan, 2006; Massey, 2015). Immigrants' may lack knowledge about potential openings in the labour market, lack contacts, may not be familiar with the recruitment process in the country, or they may simply have different preferences that lead them to apply for different types of jobs (OECD, 2013). These factors can work alongside processes mentioned earlier such as differences in human capital, networks, language skills, and the host country and macro-level context. It is beyond the scope of this analysis to measure the role of these processes on immigrants' labour market integration, as such factors are not readily identified in Irish labour force survey data, however it is acknowledged that they are bound to play a contributing role in differences in outcomes among immigrant groups.

The work here focuses on differences in human capital, returns to human capital, the contribution of human capital to immigrants' economic attainment, and differences in outcomes between groups. Successful labour market integration involves immigrants experiencing the same levels of economic success as comparable natives, however unfortunately it is often not that straightforward. Work in Ireland and internationally has shown that immigrants experience disadvantage in the host country labour market- see for example McGinnity et al. (2013) and Zimmermann et al. (2008). There are many potential explanations as to why immigrants face particular difficulties in integrating into the labour market and the host-country society at large (OECD, 2013). These causal processes are shaped by structural forces which operate at the individual, group, national, and international level. Scholars in the area have deemed this composition and context effects, and the success of migrants on the labour market is affected by various directly observable factors (such as education, language skills, work experience) and more intangible factors (ethnicity, gender, discrimination, recession) (Van Tubergen et al., 2004). Contextual effects which play a role include the economy, immigration policies, the presence of left wing parties in the government, and the size of the immigrant community (Van Tubergen et al., 2004). Of particular importance are observable factors including education, work experience, language skills, age at the time of migration, and length of stay in the host society- see for example Chiswick and Miller (2002). More difficult to measure factors including social, cultural, and religious norms, immigrants' own view of themselves, differences in motivation, and intergenerational mobility, are also important drivers of non-integration (Constant et al., 2009).

The successful integration of migrants is of vital importance both for the host society and the migrants themselves, international findings show that the consequences of failed integration may manifest in a variety of ways- from early school-leaving, poverty, crime, residential segregation, to

greater social unrest (Junger-Tas, 2001; Nouwen et al., 2015; Williams and Collins, 2001). The immigrant community in Ireland is now very large and heterogeneous, with increasingly diverging challenges and needs (OECD, 2015b). An improved understanding of the processes that influence on migrants' labour market integration is relevant for our understanding of immigrant integration at large. It is vital to identify any barriers to immigrants' successful incorporation into the host country society before long-term polarisation and marginalisation occurs for some groups in society, and there is a relatively rare opportunity in Ireland to do this before a large second generation is established. The second generation in Ireland is still relatively small compared to countries with an established migration history such as the UK, however it is growing rapidly (OECD, 2015a; Röder et al., 2014).

### **1.3 Immigration to Ireland and the Economic Context**

Ireland has experienced extensive migratory change in the past two decades, prior to the mid-1990s Ireland was a country with a long history of net emigration, but a period of economic growth from the early 1990s attracted returning Irish emigrants and other immigrants (McGinnity et al., 2014a). In 2004 the enlargement of the European Union led to massive growth in inward migration, Ireland was among only three countries that allowed citizens of the New Member States (NMS)<sup>1</sup> immediate access to its labour market (Barrett et al., 2014). The enlargement of the EU coupled with a growing economy led to a particularly sharp increase in migrants from the NMS, the inflow increased from 34,000 in 2004 to 85,000 in 2007, at which point they accounted for about half the total immigrant inflow. In 2007, overall net inward migration peaked at over 150,000 persons, and by 2008 NMS nationals were the largest group of immigrants, accounting for 5.5% of the total population. Nationals of the older EU States, including the UK, accounted for less than 4% of the population, and those from the Rest of the World, accounted for another 3.5% (O'Connell and Joyce, 2013). Accordingly, about three quarters of all immigrants in Ireland in the latter years of the last decade were Europeans, and mostly White, while about one in four were of more diverse nationality and ethnicity.

Large scale growth in immigration in Ireland was coupled with drastic changes in the economic climate. The rise in immigration to Ireland was not only driven by the accession of the EU New Member States, but was also driven by increasing labour market demand due to extensive growth in the economy. In 2004 Ireland was experiencing extraordinary growth in the labour market and a housing boom. This economic expansion was driven by an increase in available credit, high levels

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<sup>1</sup> New Member States that acceded in 2004 and 2007, i.e. Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia.



of house-building and subsequently rapidly rising property prices. Complementing this property boom was enormous overall growth in GDP, and the labour market, where the number employed rose from approximately 1.4 million at the beginning of 1998 to just over two million by the end of 2007, an increase of almost 50% (Barrett and McGuinness, 2012). The Irish economy moved into a deep and prolonged recession in 2008, following two decades of extensive growth, the subsequent downturn was dramatic. The crisis was multi-dimensional entailing the bursting of a property bubble; a sharp decrease in GDP; a banking collapse; marked contraction in economic activity; a state fiscal crisis; a bank bailout; and mass unemployment (Barrett and McGuinness, 2012; O'Connell, 2013). The economic collapse was accompanied by substantial migratory flows, yet a modest decline in the immigrant population because substantial out-migration, mainly of NMS nationals, was offset by substantial in-migration, mostly from the same region. Whilst inflows declined with the start of the recession in 2008, the growth in the proportion of non-Irish nationals continued, increasing from just under 6% of the total population in 2002, to almost 13% in 2008 before falling to 12% in 2012. Overall the non-Irish population increased by 143% between 2002 and 2011 (CSO, 2012). Immigration from most countries declined after the end of the boom period. In the year to April 2014 the number of immigrants from the NMS was down to about 10,000 (about 16% of total immigration). During the same period the number of immigrants from the Rest of the World (excluding the EU) increased to 25,500 in 2013-14 (37% of the total immigrant population) (O'Connell and Joyce, 2015).

In order to provide an understanding of the gaps in the literature that this thesis aims to fill, section 1.4 briefly outlines the research findings to date on immigrants' incorporation into the Irish labour market. The successive chapters will provide a more in-depth account of the relevant research, the appropriate theories that drive the investigation, and the areas in which this study aims to contribute towards the knowledge on, and understanding of, migrants' labour market integration both in Ireland and internationally.

#### **1.4 Migrant Labour Market Disadvantage in Ireland**

The role of immigrants in meeting the demand for labour in the booming Irish economy between 2004 and 2007 is clearly evident. The number of non-Irish nationals in employment rose from less than 9% in 2004 to almost 16% of total employment in 2007. Immigrant workers were appealing to employers to fill critical labour market needs, and also because they brought new skills, work by Moriarty et al. (2012) found that employers in some sectors reported that they developed a preference for migrant workers due to their work ethic, low costs, and potential. The subsequent economic recession led to a sharp rise in unemployment both for immigrants and natives, however the impact of the economic downturn was particularly severe for immigrants, with a higher rate of

job loss (Barrett and Kelly, 2012). Total employment fell by 13% between the end of 2007 and 2011, but it fell by 21% among non-Irish nationals (O'Connell and Joyce, 2015). In 2012 the unemployment rate was 14.5% among Irish nationals, but 17.7% among non-Irish nationals (McGinnity et al., 2013).

Immigration research in Ireland to date has shown that immigrants experience disadvantage in the Irish labour market, even when differences in potentially influential variables such as age and education are controlled for (Barrett and Kelly, 2012; McGinnity et al., 2014b; Turner, 2010). Typically immigrants experience higher unemployment and lower wages, and tend to be over qualified for their jobs, even highly skilled migrants tend to be in occupations below their skill level, suggesting 'occupational gaps' and a problem with 'brain waste' (Barrett and Bergin, 2007; Barrett et al., 2006). However research has shown that not all groups fare badly in their economic outcomes, some immigrant groups are advantaged in their outcomes compared to natives- these groups are highly skilled and occupy professional occupations, and are mainly from English speaking countries outside of Europe, and Western Europe (Barrett and McCarthy, 2007; O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008; Röder et al., 2014). Less work exists on the success of immigrants in the labour market over time, reflecting the recent nature of migration and lack of longitudinal data available in Ireland. Research by Barrett and Duffy (2008) found little evidence to suggest improvement in labour market outcomes with longer residence in the country. However work by Mühlau (2012) found evidence of improvements in labour market outcomes over time for Polish migrants in Dublin.

Although in recent years the research on migrants' economic outcomes in Ireland has expanded, there are several gaps in the literature that highlight the need for further research. Whilst research has found evidence of disadvantage for migrants' in the labour market, less work has focused on the factors that influence disadvantage, this is likely due to the recency of migration literature in Ireland. As mentioned previously, this work aims to add to the knowledge on the role of gender, ethnicity, discrimination and the recession on migrant labour market integration. In particular, I examine the impact of the recession on migrants' self-reports of discrimination, ethnic differences in migrants' economic incorporation, and gender differences in migrants' economic incorporation both in Ireland and across European countries. Most of the research and academic discussion on migration in Ireland has not included ethnicity, or where it has, it has not considered ethnicity with nationality, or examined differences in ethnic outcomes over time. Moreover, due to limitations with Irish data, there has been little in-depth investigation of differences in the economic incorporation of the very heterogeneous non-EU group.

There has been some investigation by scholars in the field into the impact of gender on migrants' economic assimilation (Barrett and Kelly, 2012; Mühlau, 2012), yet to my knowledge the role of

gender, and factors that are traditionally found to influence gender differences in migrant outcomes, have not been the central focus of investigations on migrants' economic incorporation in Ireland. It is important to identify and investigate gender differences in outcomes because recent research has highlighted important gender differences in the migration process including differences in occupational transition, risk of unemployment and occupational attainment (Del-Rio and Alonso-Donato et al., 2012; Donato et al., 2014), and it cannot be assumed that the processes that influence on male and female labour market integration operate in a similar fashion for both genders.

Research on the experience of discrimination in Ireland has found that immigrants experience labour market discrimination (McGinnity et al., 2006; O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008). The impact of the recession on reports of discrimination has not yet been investigated, and it is important to investigate this as the marked changes in the economic and demographic make-up of Irish society in this time frame create a context in which the literature has found promotes discriminatory behaviour among natives, and for perceptions of ethnic competition to grow. By investigating these areas, the study does not only contribute to the documentation of the economic situation of immigrants in Ireland, but also contributes to our general understanding of the processes that influence migrants' labour market integration, since the different outcomes are strongly linked to prominent theories of how migrants integrate into labour markets.

Finally, whilst work is emerging on the impact of the recession on immigrants' economic incorporation (Barrett et al., 2014; Barrett and Kelly, 2012; Mühlau, 2012) there are still large gaps in our understanding of the impact of the recession on immigrants' labour market integration, and differences in outcomes among national-ethnic groups in the recession. The work here focuses on the labour market integration of immigrants in Ireland between 2004 and 2011, a period of unprecedented change in Irish society. The final chapter extends on this and examines the labour market integration of immigrants in Germany, the Netherlands and the UK in 2010/2011. Each chapter examines a distinct aspect of migrant labour market integration, with the aim that combining these aspects provides a deeper insight into the mechanisms that drive integration and inequality. The chapters aim to test theoretical arguments as to whether, and why, groups and individuals differ in their labour market integration, to understand whether traditional theories behind the operation of barriers and drivers to integration can be applied in the Irish context, and to more readily identify the factors that impede or enhance migrants' labour market integration.

### **1.5 Data Used in This Study**

This thesis draws on two rich datasets to perform analysis of migrants' labour market integration. Chapters two and three draw on Special modules of the Quarterly National Household Survey,

produced by the Central Statistics Office (CSO). The main purpose of the QNHS is to provide data on Ireland's labour force, and the CSO obtain samples that represent the population by geographical region, age, sex and broad nationality. The design of the QNHS is a two-stage stratified cluster sample design, and the CSO stratifies the country by geographical region and population density. The CSO recruit large sample sizes and employ randomisation to achieve samples that are representative of the population, however as complete stratification is not used, and as the survey suffers from non-response and random variation, nevertheless the response rate is typically over 90 per cent (Duong Nguyen and Murphy, 2016). The survey however is not wholly suited to surveying the migrant population as response rates are typically lower.

While the main purpose of the QNHS is the production of quarterly labour force estimates, there is also provision for the collection of data on social topics through the inclusion of special survey modules. In the fourth quarter of 2004 the QNHS included an Equality Module. This extra set of questions was asked of approximately 24,600 QNHS respondents. This sub-sample was aged 18 years and over and was interviewed directly. In the fourth quarter of 2010 a module on the topic of equality and discrimination among people was again included in the QNHS. This time the module involved just over 16,800 respondents aged 18 years and over. The 2010 Equality Module was a repeat of the 2004 module, with some additions to the questionnaire (CSO, 2011).

Chapters four and five of the thesis draw on analysis from the Socio-Cultural Integration Processes<sup>2</sup> survey (SCIP). The SCIP project is the first cross-national survey among new immigrants in Europe and consists of two-waves collection of approximately 7,000 recent migrants of selected immigrant groups in Germany, the Netherlands, Ireland and the UK. The sampling method chosen in the four countries depended on the national data sources available to identify newly arrived immigrants, and although the data collection employed very different strategies, it was ensured that the data was harmonised across countries. In Germany and the Netherlands, data from local or central registry offices were utilised, in Ireland and Great Britain respondent-driven sampling (RDS) and chain referral methods were used (Gresser and Schacht, 2015), more information about the data used is available within the according chapter.

## **1.6 Situating the Study- Aims and Research Questions**

A vast range of factors that influence labour market integration can be studied, and it is beyond the

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<sup>2</sup> See Claudia Diehl, Merove Gijssberts, Ayse Guveli, Matthias Koenig, Cornelia Kristen, Marcel Lubbers, Frances McGinnity, Peter Mühlau, and Lucinda Platt (2015). Socio-Cultural Integration Processes of New Immigrants in Europe (SCIP) - Data file for download. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne.

scope of any one study to incorporate all of these aspects, or look at these aspects in total. Key scholars in the field of migration have noted that a full understanding of contemporary migratory processes will not be achieved by relying on the tools of one discipline alone, or by focusing on a single level of analysis (King, 2012; Massey et al., 1993). The work incorporates four empirical chapters which examine the compositional effects of gender, ethnicity and nationality, and the contextual effects of discrimination on immigrants' labour market incorporation. Its central investigation focuses on how integration is related to the labour market context in the receiving country, how integration is related to labour market discrimination, gender inequalities in migrant integration, differences between national/ethnic groups, and differences across countries. Chapters two and three focus on the outcomes of multiple origin groups in Ireland, Chapter four focuses on the outcomes of the same origin group in Ireland, chapter five places Ireland in an international context and compares the outcomes of the same origin group in multiple destinations. The final chapter provides an overview of the main findings, limitations of the study, and offers some conclusions.

A strong advantage of the study is that it draws on two rich datasets which allow for an investigation of the economic incorporation of different origin groups in the same destination, and the same origin group across multiple destinations. The advantage of examining both is that one can derive a more rounded understanding of differences between groups, and across countries. Previous work both in Ireland and internationally has highlighted that there is good reason to believe that there will be marked differences between immigrant groups in their economic integration. A further strength of the study is that by examining the incorporation of the same origin group across countries, one can understand more wholly whether the outcomes found in Ireland are unique to the labour market situation at the time.

From human capital theory, compositional hypotheses are derived, which predict that differences in labour market outcomes can be attributed to differences in human capital among groups. From discrimination theories, contextual hypotheses are derived, which examine whether inequalities in outcomes exist, and can be ascribed to in-group preferences and prejudices against groups. To situate this study, a very brief outline of the main issues within each chapter is provided. Each individual chapter presents the relevant literature and theoretical framework, and areas in which the work complements gaps in the literature. Broadly there are three main research questions:

- 1) Do immigrants in Ireland experience higher rates of reported labour market discrimination than natives? Does discrimination increase over the recession?

Chapter two of this thesis focuses on the self-reported experience of labour market discrimination of immigrant groups in Ireland, and measures whether non-Irish nationals experience higher rates

of self-reported discrimination than Irish natives, the extent to which discrimination varies across different national-ethnic groups, and whether discrimination increased between 2004, during an economic boom, and 2010, in the midst of a severe recession. Measuring discrimination is important as researchers have argued that the position immigrants obtain in the labour market is affected by the level of discrimination they experience (Model and Ladipo, 1996; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996, 2001). The actual prevalence of discrimination is often difficult to assess, since the disadvantage of immigrants may be attributable to many other factors (OECD, 2013). The work here utilises two unique special modules of the Irish labour force survey (QNHS), which focus on equality and the self-reported experience of discrimination in the Irish labour market.

Research is scarce on the experience of labour market discrimination in periods of economic recession, especially in the Great Recession. Ireland presents an interesting backdrop in which to examine reports of labour market discrimination, this is because the distinct changes in society outlined above, create a context in which the literature has found promotes discriminatory behaviour among natives, and for perceptions of ethnic competition to grow. In particular, this study investigates the role of ethnicity on outcomes, and merges nationality with ethnicity to form national-ethnic groups. Research which includes ethnicity is still relatively rare in Ireland, due to limitations with publically available data. This chapter adds to our understanding of whether certain ethnic groups experience discrimination in the labour market, and whether disadvantage presents along racial lines. This may contribute to more rigorous and nuanced approaches to the analysis of nationality and ethnicity in future Irish research.

- 2) Do immigrants experience disadvantage in the Irish labour market? Does immigrant disadvantage increase with the recession?

Chapter three of the thesis further expands on the understanding of ethnicity and migrants' labour market outcomes in Ireland, and investigates whether ethnic disadvantage found in international labour markets is found in Ireland, and whether disadvantage increases over the course of the recession. This work employs a more detailed breakdown of nationality than previously used in Irish research on migration, and also includes ethnicity in the analysis. This offers a unique insight into the role of ethnicity on labour market outcomes in Ireland, and also expands on our knowledge of the outcomes of the very heterogeneous non-EU group who often are referred to as the 'Rest of the World' group in Irish labour market research to date. Patterns of migrants labour market integration are examined here in relation to occupational attainment and risk of unemployment, to examine if, and which, groups experience ethnic penalties in the labour market. To my knowledge this will be the first research to specifically examine ethnic penalties in migrants' labour market outcomes in Ireland, and how they change over the course of the recession. This serves to highlight

any disadvantage experienced by national-ethnic groups- measuring nationality alone may miss disadvantage of minority groups which may present along racial lines, and may be a result of prejudice or discrimination.

- 3) Is there a gender difference in the economic incorporation of recent Polish migrants in Ireland? Are findings in Ireland reflected in the German, Dutch and UK labour markets?

Finally, chapters four and five of this thesis investigate gender differences in the economic incorporation of recent Polish migrants, and aim to understand whether female migrants experience disadvantage in the labour market, as has been found in the growing body of literature on gender differences in migrants' labour market outcomes (Adsera and Chiswick, 2007; Donato et al., 2014; Fleischmann and Höhne, 2013). Less is known about gender differences in the economic outcomes of migrants in Ireland, especially in the outcomes of new migrants who arrived in 2010/2011 during a labour market crisis which had a strong gender dimension. The analysis here forms two parts, the fourth chapter looks at gender differences in recent Polish migrants' occupational attainment in Ireland, and the factors that influence gender differences. The fifth chapter extends on this analysis and looks at gender differences in recent Polish migrants' occupational attainment in Germany, the Netherlands, Ireland and the UK, to examine whether trends witnessed in Ireland are found elsewhere. By looking at Ireland in a comparative perspective it is hoped that one can gain more of an understanding of the consideration of the role of economic factors, migrant selection, and differences in human capital across countries, and how these may influence any gender gaps in attainment.

The work will extend on the growing literature on gender differences in migrants' labour market incorporation, and utilises unique cross-national harmonised data which enables the analysis of outcomes of the same origin group across multiple destinations, and allows for analysis of factors not routinely available in Irish data. Furthermore, the work applies decomposition methods to examine differences in occupational attainment, this serves to provide a more in-depth analysis of the factors that influence differences in outcomes. To date no study has assessed the gender differentials in the occupational outcomes of the same migrant group across countries, moreover, studies that analyse comparable origin groups in different destination are still rare, and allow for a clearer understanding of how the societal context shapes integration (Diehl et al., 2015)

## **2. Discrimination in the Irish Labour Market: Nationality, Ethnicity and the Recession<sup>3</sup>**

Research has found that immigrants suffer multiple disadvantages in the Irish labour market, with lower employment, higher unemployment and lower wages than Irish nationals (Barrett et al., 2014; Barrett and McGuinness, 2012; Turner, 2010). The Great Recession led to a dramatic deterioration in the Irish economy after 2008. In general, immigrants are more exposed to the consequences of economic downturns and this is also the experience in Ireland. Against this backdrop of disadvantage experienced by immigrant groups, this chapter investigates whether immigrants are more likely to report experience of discrimination in the labour market; whether such reported discrimination differs by nationality and ethnicity and whether the incidence of discrimination increases in the adverse labour market conditions of the recession.

Previous research shows that immigrants, in common with other groups that suffer disadvantage in the labour market, are more vulnerable to falling employment levels and rising unemployment during recession in Ireland (McGinnity et al., 2013) as elsewhere (Hoynes et al., 2012). However, to my understanding, no work has focused on the impact of the Great Recession on work-related discrimination. Discrimination is commonly understood as differential treatment on the basis of group membership that unfairly disadvantages one group over another (Al Ramiah et al., 2010; Russell et al., 2009a). This study focuses on differences in self-reports of discrimination when looking for work and in the workplace. Self-reports, in common with other methods of measuring discrimination, are not without their limitations. They may be biased upwards or downwards, and are unlikely to pick up indirect discrimination (OECD, 2013). The analysis employs robust data, nevertheless it is acknowledged that reports of discrimination on their own cannot conclusively establish the prevalence of labour market discrimination.

### **2.1 Theoretical Approaches to Discrimination**

Existing research shows persistent disadvantage of immigrant groups in the labour market both in Ireland (Barrett and Kelly, 2012; McGinnity et al., 2013, 2014a; McGinnity et al., 2011; McGinnity et al., 2014b) and internationally (Borjas, 1985). A number of causal factors have been attributed as reasons for disadvantage, including differences in human capital, the transferability of human

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<sup>3</sup> A version of this chapter has been published as a working paper Kingston, G., McGinnity, F. and O'Connell. P (2013) 'Discrimination in the Irish Labour Market: Nationality, Ethnicity and the Recession' WP2013/23, and as a journal article, Kingston, G., McGinnity, F. and O'Connell. P (2015) 'Discrimination in the Irish Labour Market: Nationality, Ethnicity and the Recession', in *Work, Employment and Society*, Vol. 29 (2). A previous version of this chapter was presented at the annual meetings of the European Consortium of Sociological Research (Stockholm, 2012), the Fourth NORFACE Migration Conference (April, 2013), and the American Sociological Association (San Francisco, 2014).



capital, and language skills (Berthoud, 2000). However, only some of these disadvantages can be explained by differences in socio-economic characteristics such as differences in human capital. Part of the disadvantage often remains unexplained, one possible source of such persistent disadvantage may be discrimination against immigrants and their offspring (OECD, 2013).

Discrimination has its roots in historical and present day inequalities and societal norms. It is commonly understood as differential treatment on the basis of group membership that unfairly disadvantages one group over another (Al Ramiah et al., 2010; Russell et al., 2009a). Correll et al. (2010, p. 46) define discrimination as 'behaviour directed towards category members that is consequential for their outcomes and that is directed towards them not because of any particular deservingness or reciprocity, but simply because they happen to be members of that category'. Measuring discrimination and the extent of discrimination is difficult, as discriminatory behaviour is rarely observed directly (Blank et al., 2004), methods of measuring discrimination will be discussed in more detail in section 2.2. While measuring the extent of discrimination is challenging, identifying the underlying causes or mechanisms is even more so. There exists a body of literature on the reasons for, and the mechanisms behind discrimination. Much of the research in the area focuses on the role of individual motivations in discrimination, though these are often difficult to measure empirically (Reskin, 2003).

Classic works on discrimination emphasise the role of prejudice or racial animus as the foundation of discrimination, with negative feelings and beliefs influencing subsequent behaviour towards that group (Pager and Shepherd, 2008). Different authors have different emphases: Becker (1957), in his ground-breaking theory of discrimination, postulates that some employers and economic agents have a 'taste for discrimination', where they exercise a personal prejudice, or taste, against/for a particular group. This discrimination takes the form of a willingness to pay a price to avoid interaction with members of that group, even if securing outcomes creates economic inefficiencies (Guryan and Charles, 2013; Smith, 2012). Disadvantage can arise from taste-based discrimination when employers favour the population without a migration background.

Evidence to date finds that typically, though not always, groups may experience higher rates of discrimination if they are more visibly and/or culturally different. In the US Coleman et al. (2008) find that nearly all Black workers who report experiencing discrimination in work also show statistical evidence of wage discrimination. European evidence suggests that immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa are most likely to perceive discrimination followed by immigrants from North Africa, Latin America and Asia (OECD, 2013).

Prejudice may not always be explicit, implicit prejudice may inform behaviour, which is a form of racial bias that actors are not even consciously aware of (Al Ramiah et al., 2010). Another variant of preference or prejudice-based discrimination places greater emphasis on 'in-group favouritism', a tendency to treat in-group and out-group members differently. There is also a long tradition of research on inter group relations in social psychology. Under the social identity perspective (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) group members are motivated to protect their self-esteem and achieve a positive and unique social identity. The motivation of attaining a distinct social identity group means members discriminate against the other through either directly harming the outgroup, or giving preferential to an ingroup, thus executing 'ingroup bias' (Al Ramiah et al., 2010; Tajfel, 1970). Coser (1956) distinguished between two types of intergroup conflict: the "rational" and the "irrational", the former reflecting genuine competition between groups, and the latter being emotive and psychologically based.

Tajfel and Turner (1986) found that categorisation as a group member can lead to ingroup bias, the favouring of ingroup members over outgroup members in evaluations and allocation of resources. The bias is demonstrated in the labour market in preferential treatment of the in-group in resource allocation (e.g. in hiring decisions) (Brekke and Mastekaasa, 2008; Quillian, 2006). McGinnity and Lunn (2011) argue that even relatively mild in-group favouritism, which does not contain an element of aggression or negative emotion, can result in substantial discrimination in the allocation of resources.

Alternative approaches to discrimination challenge the idea that prejudice is at the root of discrimination, 'statistical discrimination' posits that differential outcomes for immigrant groups are due to information problems (Phelps, 1972). Decisions result from insufficient information on the part of employers about minority groups, and this informational deficiency can be particularly acute at labour market entry (Brekke and Mastekaasa, 2008). While preference-based discrimination relies on the presence of prejudice, statistical discrimination results from employers' lack of information about a minority group: employers use race or migration as a heuristic guide to evaluate job applicants in the absence of adequate information (Pager and Shepherd, 2008). Accordingly, when choosing a person for a role, employers will choose a candidate who they believe to be of the highest quality, or are of the least risk, which in a large pool of potential candidates tend to be people of similar background (Cornell and Welch, 1996). Here employers may find it harder to assess the productivity of immigrants than natives, thus yielding a larger extent of statistical discrimination against immigrants (Phelps, 1972). The statistical approach has close parallels to the literature in social psychology on stereotyping. Stereotypes are beliefs about a group, for example that they are lazy, intelligent, violent, that are used as a proxy for missing

information. Whereas social psychologists see stereotypes as 'faulty and inflexible generalisations', statistical discrimination approaches sees these 'group estimates' as a rational response to uncertainty (Pager and Shepherd, 2008). The assumption of both is that discrimination may be reduced over time if employers gain more accurate information about immigrant/minority groups, encounter such groups more often and the groups gain labour market experience in a country. It is implied that over time, immigrant groups and employers will gain more knowledge and understanding of each other.

Sociological approaches to discrimination highlight how individual-level explanations may be mediated by organisational or national factors (Reskin, 2003). Characteristics of organisations, such as personnel practices, may restrict the biasing effects of either cognitive or attitudinal biases (Reskin, 2000). One important example of this is the use of formal procedures in an organisation for recruitment and promotion. Formal procedures reduce the opportunity to employ individual discretion in the recruitment process and this may be linked to increased representation of minorities in the organisation and fairer conditions (Pager and Shepherd, 2008). While such procedures do not always reduce or eliminate discrimination, formal procedures could be associated with less discrimination. For example in the United Kingdom, minorities are over-represented in the public sector where research suggests discrimination is much lower than in the private sector (Heath and Cheung, 2006). Research in Ireland is limited, but suggests that formalised procedures are more common in larger firms and in certain sectors and occupations (Russell and McGinnity, 2011).

While much research on discrimination relates to decisions and behaviours at the level of individuals or small groups, the societal, institutional and national context is also important (Pager and Shepherd, 2008). Structural discrimination can refer to laws and cultural institutions that impose different rules on different groups, when it comes to access to certain services institutions and goods. For example, structural discrimination may occur where public sector employment is restricted to natives, or where immigrants without host country nationality are not eligible for community housing (OECD, 2013). The most obvious example in Ireland is that non-Irish EU nationals can reside and work in Ireland with similar rights to Irish nationals, whereas non-EU nationals face very different regulations. Regulations also changed during the period this study examines: prior to EU enlargement in 2004, there was a significant group of immigrants from outside the EU working under the Employment Permit system with a diversity of skill levels. Following enlargement, Irish policy was to meet labour shortages from within the EU, and to reserve the Employment Permit system to meet identified skill shortages, typically in highly-skilled occupations. While this restricted non-EU immigration into Ireland, it also meant that non-EU

immigrants working in Ireland tended to be more highly educated than immigrants from Eastern Europe post 2004 (McGinnity et al., 2013).

Another element of research on 'structural discrimination' focuses on the legacies of discrimination, and how differences may relate to past policies and practices. This has most resonance in countries with a long history of immigration and past discriminatory policies (e.g. the US), however it does highlight one potential source of discrimination in Ireland. Immigrants who come to Ireland seeking political asylum or protection are not allowed to work while their application is being processed. In theory this period should be short, but in practice applications can be drawn out: as of February 2015 there were 7,937 people in the asylum system, of whom 55% were in the system for five years or more (Working Group on the Protection Process, 2015). Some national/ethnic groups in Ireland are more closely associated with political migration such as Black Africans. For example, in 2013 the largest group of asylum applicants were from Nigeria (13%) (ORAC, 2014). Immigrants who have had an extended period in the asylum system and, as a consequence, have been excluded from the labour market, may have suffered poorer job prospects. Even if individuals have not been excluded from the labour market, employers may still think that this is the case, leading to unequal treatment. While the QNHS survey does not interview asylum seekers, or identify refugees, it is expected that some of the migrants within the sample will be refugees, and therefore are former asylum seekers who will have spent prolonged periods of time out of the labour market whilst in the Direct Provision system.

Different perspectives on discrimination also differ in their understanding of the impact of social and economic context, in particular there are different perspectives on the impact of a rapid rise in the population of national/ethnic minorities associated with immigration. From the intergroup contact perspective (Blau, 1977) as the presence of minority groups in the workplace increases, workers will have more opportunities to interact with members of other racial and ethnic groups. Such interaction allows workers from all racial/national groups to acquire information about each other, and gain personal experience with them, making them less likely to indulge in racial stereotypes and biases. As employers gain information about groups this may over-ride previously held expectations. This supports the idea of statistical discrimination where over time employers' information deficit on groups will dissolve, and they will be less inclined to make recruitment decisions based on statistical decisions. One would expect that if statistical discrimination is present, it will be more likely to present when a person is looking for work and of less relevance in the workplace, as in the workplace employers will have had time to learn about the productivity of the individual and or group.

Preference or prejudice-based approaches to discrimination are less positive about the impact of a growth in the proportion of immigrants in a country on discrimination. Blumer (1958) places more emphasis on how groups compete for scarce resources and later work in this area focuses on how the role of competition may vary in different economic and cultural contexts and between ethnic groups (Quillian, 2006). Researchers focusing on anti-immigrant attitudes of the majority population argue that an increase in the share of immigrants can lead to intensified perceptions of ethnic threat due to increased economic competition and identity-based cultural conflict (Quillian, 2006; Schneider, 2008). For example, economic or social competition can lead to discriminatory behaviour and create attitudes of prejudice, which lead to discrimination which in turn creates new economic or social disparities, creating a cyclical process (Tajfel, 1970). Ethnic competition approaches would suggest that perceived competition between social groups for scarce resources such as jobs and housing, may lead to attempts at exclusion of one group by another, which could provide an underlying rationale for discriminatory behaviour (Coenders and Scheepers, 1998; Olzak, 1994).

No previous research exists in Ireland or elsewhere on the impact of the Great Recession on discrimination in the labour market, although there is evidence that immigrants were hit hard in Ireland (McGinnity et al., 2013) and elsewhere (Hoynes et al., 2012). In a deep recession, with increased competition for scarce resources, immigrants may be especially likely to be perceived as competing with members of the host society (Esses et al., 2001). Individuals may perceive more threat and competition from minorities particularly if the economic context entails competitive conditions (Schneider, 2008). Smith (2012) found that competition for scarce resources can also lead actors without otherwise discriminatory attitudes to aggressively discriminate against groups. Coenders et al. (2008) found that ethnic discrimination became more widespread in periods of high immigration and when the unemployment level had risen strongly. There is some support for this argument in Ireland, where overall attitudes to immigrants in Ireland have become more negative in the period between 2004 and 2010 (McGinnity et al., 2013).

## **2.2 Measuring Discrimination and Previous Research**

Most definitions regard discrimination as differential or unequal treatment of the members of a group on the basis of their group membership (Pager and Shepherd, 2008). For example profiling on the basis of race or ethnicity is discrimination regardless of whether it is based on reason, actual experience, or prejudice (Lang and Lehmann, 2011). Unemployment has been shown to be higher among immigrants than natives in Europe (Fleischmann and Dronkers, 2010) and in Ireland (McGinnity et al., 2014a). Immigrants and other minorities also tend to be over-educated i.e

employed at occupational levels below their skill level in the UK (Rafferty, 2012) and in Ireland (Barrett and Duffy, 2008; Turner, 2010; Voitchovsky, 2014). There is also evidence of a substantial wage penalty, once characteristics have been adjusted for, where immigrants earn less than Irish nationals these penalties vary by national group (Barrett and McCarthy, 2007; Barrett et al., 2014). A key first question is whether non-Irish nationals experience higher rates of discrimination in the labour market than Irish nationals. In the light of the theoretical discussion and previous research on discrimination in Ireland, and internationally, the first hypothesis is that non-Irish nationals experience higher rates of discrimination than Irish nationals, both while looking for work and in the workplace (H1).

While much of the international research on unequal treatment among immigrants focuses on both nationality and ethnicity (Rafferty, 2012), most Irish research focuses on nationality (Barrett and McCarthy, 2007; McGinnity et al., 2013). Irish evidence on the impact of ethnicity is more limited, although O'Connell and McGinnity (2008) show that immigrants of Black race are more likely to experience unemployment and lower level occupations. The analysis in this chapter and chapter three, aims to expand on the knowledge of ethnicity in relation to the labour market experience of immigrant groups in Ireland.

Most studies of unequal labour market outcomes among immigrants take account of differences in other factors, such as gender, education and experience. The question remains as to whether the unexplained residual differences in labour market outcomes between immigrant and nationals can be attributed to discrimination. The difficulty with such residual approaches however, is that other influential human capital differences may not be captured in the data, resulting in inaccurate, and potentially inflated estimates of possible discrimination (Pager and Shepherd, 2008). For example, differences in language skills or the quality of work experience are rarely measured. One alternative strategy is to measure discrimination directly through field experiments. McGinnity et al. (2009) conducted the first field experiment measuring discrimination in Ireland, and found that candidates with Irish names were more than twice as likely to be called to interview as candidates with clearly non-Irish names but otherwise equivalent CVs. However, there were no significant differences within the immigrant group, specifically in the degree of discrimination faced by candidates with Asian, African or German name and results applied broadly across all sectors and occupations tested (McGinnity et al., 2009; McGinnity and Lunn, 2011). The experimental method provides powerful evidence of discrimination, but has weaknesses in that it is limited to certain sectors and occupations, and the groups under study at a particular point in time.

Self-report studies ask respondents about their experience of discrimination and can be collected

in large-scale representative surveys, they allow for comparison between the experience of minority and majority populations. This method plays an important part in tracking change and stability in discrimination over time. However, self-reports are subjective. They do not provide direct observation of discrimination and instead rely on assessments of the individual. The measures presume that the participants involved in the research are conscious of their evaluations and behavioural tendencies (Al Ramiah et al., 2010). The assessment of the individual may vary depending on the perspective of the respondents, their expectations and the information available to them (Blank et al., 2004). Strong survey design can minimise this weakness. All questions relating to experiences of discrimination in the survey used in this study are designed to limit bias in response. For example, respondents are informed of the legal definition of discrimination, and are given a timeframe and context in which discrimination may have taken place.

The measure of perceived subjective discrimination is not proof of objective discrimination in outcomes. Self-reports of discrimination may be subject to incomplete information and bias. As Russell et al. (2010) discuss, there is no independent arbitrator to assess whether discrimination took place according to a set of defined criteria and evidence. Subjective discrimination may be under-reported where a person has no knowledge of his/her rights and does not perceive the act of discrimination as discrimination, but also may be over-reported where a person perceives discrimination that is not necessarily discrimination. For example, previous research has found that highly educated people report more discrimination in a range of situations, despite being objectively advantaged, due to a greater awareness of their rights (McGinnity et al., 2006). Discrimination can be viewed as personal, when really it is due to institutional factors; for example, people may feel discriminated against if they did not succeed in an interview, when in fact it may be because they did not have the right qualifications, knowledge or experience for the job.

The main weakness of the self report measure of discrimination stems from its inherent subjectivity. As events may be misinterpreted or overlooked, perceptions of discrimination may over or underestimate the actual incidence of discrimination. Respondents might not always identify discrimination where it occurs, or prematurely attribute disadvantages to discrimination which are actually a result of other factors. External factors such as the public discourse about immigration and integration in the host country, as well as social norms within different immigrant groups may influence perceptions of discrimination (OECD, 2012). The measurement of self-reported perceived discrimination is thus prone to over or understate its actual extent.

Previous research using self-reports in Ireland found higher rates of reported discrimination among national/ethnic minorities than among White Irish in 2004, in both looking for work and in the

workplace, here Black respondents reported particularly high levels of discrimination (O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008). This echoes findings by McGinnity et al., (2006) on the experience of racism and discrimination in a range of settings, including the workplace, where Black Africans reported the most discrimination of the immigrant groups. While one cannot rule out that there are ethnic/national differences in the propensity to report discrimination, previous research in the US comparing self-reports of wage discrimination and actual wage penalties suggests that any 'over-reporting' was actually more likely among White respondents (Coleman et al., 2008). The second research question asks whether the experience of discrimination varies among national-ethnic groups. The second hypothesis is that there will be variation in the extent of discrimination between groups (H2). Approaches to discrimination highlighting racial prejudice would suggest that visibly different groups, Black Africans and Asians, and non-White Europeans experience greater discrimination. However, approaches that emphasise economic competition might suggest that NMS nationals would also experience discrimination, particularly while looking for work, as they constitute the largest group of immigrants in the labour market during the period. Furthermore, this group tend to have lower levels of educational attainment than other immigrants, and may be competing for low-skilled jobs (McGinnity et al., 2013). While non-EU immigrants have the clearest restrictions on conditions of work, selective immigration policies, as noted above, means that they tend to be more highly educated than NMS nationals, whose immigration is not restricted.

The final question examines differences in discrimination over time. Here there is uncertainty on possible outcomes, because, between 2004 and 2010, the number and proportion of immigrants in the labour market increased substantially, and Ireland experienced a deep recession. Given the severity of the economic shock and the deterioration in the labour market, it may be expected that discrimination against non-Irish nationals increased over the course of the recession (H3).

With applications far exceeding vacancies, employers can 'afford' to select candidates on the basis of nationality/ethnicity. This would be consistent with in-group favouritism and economic competition approaches. It would also be consistent with a decline in openness to immigration and in willingness to accept immigrants of different race/ethnicity, and from poorer countries, observed in the Irish population between 2006 and 2010 (McGinnity et al., 2013). However, these negative tendencies may be offset to the extent that, over time, employers become more familiar with immigrants, as suggested by statistical discrimination approaches. Whether such familiarity is sufficient to counteract the impact of in-group favouritism and increased competition for resources is unclear. Economic approaches highlight that discrimination entails costs for employers. Using ethnicity or nationality as a basis for recruiting or rewarding workers, rather than using human capital differences, is an inefficient use of human resources - a luxury that employers cannot afford



in a recession, therefore a final opposing hypothesis is that discrimination will not increase over time as employers become more familiar with immigrants (H4).

An important advantage of this study is that it is based on two national surveys that collected detailed information about the experience of discrimination, as well as a range of relevant socio-demographic indicators, during a booming economy and in the midst of a deep recession. Different theoretical perspectives generate different expectations about how the experience of discrimination might change. The data permits examination of a series of research questions comparing different types of discrimination experienced by Irish nationals and non-Irish nationals at different phases of the business cycle.

### **2.3 Methodology**

This study utilises self-reports of discrimination to measure the experience of discrimination while looking for work, and in the workplace in Ireland. The work draws on two large-scale nationally representative surveys on the experiences of discrimination, carried out by Ireland's Central Statistics Office (CSO) in 2004 and 2010. These surveys were collected as special modules of the Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS), which is the official source of labour market indicators for Ireland. The QNHS is undertaken by the CSO, its main objective is to provide estimates on short-term indicators of the labour market such as employment and unemployment. The survey is continuous and targets all private households in the state, the results are weighted to agree with population estimates broken down by age, sex and region. The QNHS is voluntary, and no imputation for non-response currently takes place on the QNHS, either for entirely missing households or missing data for particular individuals. Proxy interviews are allowed to obtain data for respondents who are not present in the house at time of interview. Up to 50% of interviews are proxy interviews where information has been provided by another resident of the household due to unavailability of the person in question (CSO, 2015). While the main purpose of the QNHS is the production of quarterly labour force estimates, there is also a provision for the collection of data on social topics through the inclusion of special survey modules, these modules cover a range of subjects including health, sports and education. The Equality modules asked individuals whether they had experienced discrimination across a range of life domains over the previous two years. Respondents were shown the legal definition of discrimination in Ireland, and informed that when the term discrimination is used it refers to this legal definition only. This analysis focuses specifically on two questions relating to self-reports of work-based discrimination:

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

Yes

No

Not applicable (don't work, haven't been working in the past 2 years)

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

Yes

No

Not applicable (don't work, haven't been working in the past 2 years)

The analysis is restricted to the working age population (18-64), and is based on the eligible population: respondents who answered 'not applicable' to the question are excluded from the analysis.

Measuring immigrants in Ireland is not entirely straightforward, reflecting the recent nature of a changing population in the country. There are no large-scale immigrant specific surveys, and the current main data sources have their limitations (O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008; Röder, 2011). The term nationality is commonly used to define immigrants in Irish research, which may be problematic as it misses second generation immigrants and naturalised citizens. However, as most immigration into Ireland is relatively recent, the numbers are not large (McGinnity et al., 2013). The Equality modules are particularly useful for this research purpose because, unusually in Irish official statistics, the surveys also collect information on ethnicity. This analysis combines nationality and ethnicity to form national-ethnic groups.<sup>4</sup> These groups are created on the grounds that they are comparable, have similar access to the Irish labour market and exhibit similar labour market trajectories.<sup>5</sup> Ethnicity is asked in the Census, however it is not included in the standard QNHS.<sup>6</sup> The specific ethnicity question in the Equality module questionnaire was:

***What is your ethnic group?***

White Irish, Irish Traveller, Any other White background

Black or Black Irish, African, Any other Black background

Asian or Asian Irish, Chinese, Any other Asian background

Other, including mixed background

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<sup>4</sup> As part of the analysis all models were run with ethnicity and nationality as separate categories, however this did not have an effect on results.

<sup>5</sup> Some of the national-ethnic groups are still somewhat ethnically diverse, however the groups are comparable in terms of their labour market experience and cultural background

<sup>6</sup> Ethnicity has been collected in the Census since 2006

The responses to this question are grouped to distinguish: ‘White’ (97.5 per cent of cases), ‘Black’ (0.8 per cent), ‘Asian’ (0.9 per cent) and ‘Other’ (0.7 per cent). Merging ethnicity with nationality allows for a more detailed analysis, and generates eight national-ethnic groups, outlined in Table 2.1<sup>7</sup>: White Irish, White UK, White EU-13<sup>8</sup>, White NMS, White non-EU, Black African, Asian, and Minority ethnicity EU.

**Table 2.1 National Ethnic Groups Composition**

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

Source: QNHS Equality Module, Q4 2004 and 2010. \* Relates to EU-10 (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) in 2004 data and EU-12 (EU-10 plus Bulgaria and Romania, which joined the EU in 2007) in the 2010 data.

Table 2.2 outlines the sample size of the national-ethnic groups in 2004 and 2010. Out of a total sample of 16,821 in the 2010 Equality Module, 1,651 individuals are non-Irish nationals, this equates to 10% of the total population sample. This is a lower proportion than the CSO (2012) estimate of the non-Irish population, who estimated that 12% of the population were non-Irish nationals in 2010. Migrants are often under-represented in surveys as they can be a hard to reach group, although the QNHS data provide the most comprehensive picture of migrants in Ireland, apart from the Census, the possibility remains that the sample could be misrepresentative. Furthermore, the sample does not include illegal immigrants, and asylum seekers, and therefore may underestimate

<sup>7</sup> A small and diverse unallocated residual group of a combination of minority ethnicity that did not lend itself to a meaningful classification was excluded (0.5% sample).

<sup>8</sup> EU-13 refers to the ‘Old’ EU15 Member States excluding Ireland and the UK: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden.

disadvantage experienced by migrant groups in the labour market. Nevertheless, work by Barrett and Kelly (2008) found that the QNHS provides a reliable profile of Ireland’s immigrants.

**Table 2.2 National Ethnic Groups, 2004 and 2010**

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

Source: QNHS Equality Module, 2004 and 2010

The primary objective of this study is to evaluate the association between discrimination and ethnicity, nationality, and recession. The analysis examines whether, if given the same characteristics as the White Irish group, non-Irish nationals report labour market discrimination at higher rates than Irish nationals. The analysis employs binary logistic regression models with Average Marginal Effects (AME), as the dependent variable is a binary outcome variable measuring the prevalence of discrimination. It is understood that binary logistic models are sensitive to scaling problems, the coefficients of standard logistic models are sensitive to bias due to inability to account for unobserved heterogeneity because estimates are affected by omitted variables. Logistic regression models are subject to scaling problems, for example it is likely that different factors influence the experience of discrimination for minority groups compared to natives, therefore differences in the residual variance across ethnic groups are potential sources of scaling bias in the analysis (Khoudja and Fleischmann, 2015). AME average the conditional effects across groups, in effect, the method compares hypothetical populations that have the exact same values on the other independent variables in the model (Williams, 2012). This means that they are invariant to the exclusion of covariates that are unrelated to covariates already in the model. Ultimately AME are suited to this analysis because they are comparable across groups, samples, time and models (Mood, 2010). The study employs separate models for 2004 and 2010, and a pooled model of 2004 and 2010 data with interaction terms is used to test for significant differences over time.

## 2.4 Measuring Change over Time

A logistic regression model with interaction terms is run on pooled data in order to test for significant differences over time. Interaction terms are used in the pooled model to measure whether discrimination significantly increased or decreased over time for national-ethnic groups. It is understood that interaction terms in logistic regression models cannot be interpreted in the same fashion as interaction terms from Linear regression models, in non-linear models the interaction effect is conditional on the independent variables, consequently the significance of the coefficient is unreliable. Therefore, the Stata user-written command 'inteff' is used to compute the correct marginal effect of a change in the two interacted variables, which calculates the statistical significance of the entire cross derivative. Here, the interaction is estimated on the cross-partial derivative and computes the correct standard errors (Norton et al., 2004).<sup>9</sup> Significant interaction effects indicate that discrimination has increased or decreased for a national-ethnic group between 2004 and 2010.

### *Dependent Variables*

Discrimination when looking for work and discrimination in the workplace are the dependent variables of the study. The binary variable is coded 1 if the person has experienced discrimination, 0 if not. All analysis is based on the population 'at risk'. The population at risk of discrimination while looking for work is the working age population (aged 18-64) who were at work or looking for work in the past two years. The analysis of discrimination in the workplace is confined to those who were employees at the time of the survey.<sup>10</sup>

### *Independent Variables*

The key focus is on differences in the experience of discrimination across national-ethnic groups. The models control for gender<sup>11</sup>, age, education, and duration of residence in country as they are all considered in the literature to be potentially influential covariates.

It is expected that newly arrived immigrants experience higher unemployment rates regardless of the business cycle (Price, 2001). This disadvantage is expected to decline as immigrants gain more knowledge and experience of, and establish networks in, new labour markets (Brekke and Mastekaasa, 2008). However, previous Irish research has found mixed evidence of occupational

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<sup>9</sup> For detailed information see Mood (2010) and Norton et al., (2004).

<sup>10</sup> The self-employed group are excluded from the analysis.

<sup>11</sup> It is not possible to disaggregate analysis by gender with the current dataset as this makes for small cell sizes, the analysis of gender differences in immigrants experience of labour market discrimination is a subject for future research.

assimilation as a function of time spent in the country (Barrett and Duffy, 2008; Mühlau, 2012). Recent migration is measured by including a dummy variable coded 1 if the individual has been resident in Ireland for two years or less, and 0 if they have been resident for longer. Further analysis on duration spent in country was tested, but yielded no significant effects, here groups were separated into 'old' and 'new' migrant groups, and also a scale duration variable was tested but no significant differences were found. The included variable was thus coded as binary to isolate the 'new' migrant group within the analysis, as outlined, it is expected that recently arrived immigrants are a vulnerable group within the labour market.

Aside from the control for duration resident in the country, all control variables included are for the entire working population aged 18-64, so any effects of age, gender etc. are based on the full sample, and reflect patterns among the majority White Irish population. The models of discrimination in the workplace control for sector of employment, as working conditions may affect the experience of discrimination. Sectors of employment are agriculture/forestry, construction, trade, transport, accommodation/food, information/communication, financial, professional/scientific, administration/support, public administration/defence, education, health/social work and other sectors. Firm size was also tested,<sup>12</sup> as the literature outlines that firm size can have important influence on discrimination (Reskin, 2000), but here it had no effect on results. It may be expected that there are more formalised and transparent recruitment processes in the public sector, this may have a mitigating effect on the experience of discrimination. The QNHS does not provide information on whether a respondent works within the public or private sector, the health, education and public administration sectors are often used as a proxy for public sector, however as a sector effect is not found in this work it implies that there is not a public/private difference to be found.

By controlling for certain characteristics one can evaluate how work based discrimination varies, and assess which groups are more vulnerable to discrimination, and investigate the effects of combinations of these characteristics, ensuring that some possible influences, net of discrimination, are controlled for. However this is not a dedicated survey of immigrants, so it does not include all relevant variables in the analyses like host language proficiency, ethnically constrained social networks, and declining work motivation due to expectations of discrimination, all of which have been linked to immigrants' experience in the labour market (Perreira et al., 2007). It is important to note that rates of discrimination reported in this survey module are based on the perception of

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<sup>12</sup> Firm Size was tested and had no effect on results.

the respondents, as discussed above.

## 2.5 Results

Table 2.3 shows rates of self-reported discrimination, when looking for work and in the workplace, in 2004 and 2010. Overall, nearly 6% of respondents reported having experienced discrimination when looking for work in 2004 and 2010 and about 5% reported having experienced discrimination in the workplace. Rates of discrimination were substantially higher among non-Irish nationals in both periods, although discrimination fell for most non-Irish national groups between 2004 and 2010, particularly in looking for work.

**Table 2.3 Discrimination in the Workplace and Looking for Work (%)**

	Looking for Work (%)		In the Workplace (%)		N of cases	
	2004	2010	2004	2010	2004	2010
White Irish	5	5.3	4.3	4.5	23,047	15,095
Minority EU	9.4	17	16.3	11.2	475	355
White EU-13	10.6	5.2	9	4.6	188	147
White NMS	8.4	6.5	11.1	9.4	161	644
White Non-EU	18.7	7.3	10.4	11.1	275	150
Asian	7.7	6.6	17.9	11.3	97	111
Black African	20.7	22.6	11.6	28.5	100	104
White UK	8.6	8.3	6.5	5.6	144	119
All	5.7	5.8	4.8	5.2	24,487	16,725

Source: QNHS Equality Module

Rates of discrimination when looking for work rose substantially for the Minority ethnicity EU group between 2004 (9.4%) and 2010 (17%), and rose by just under 2 percentage points for the Black African group, who experienced an extremely high rate of discrimination when looking for work in both years (nearly 23% in 2010). Discrimination when looking for work rose by 0.3 percentage points for the White Irish group but was at a low rate of 5.3%, discrimination when looking for work decreased for all other national-ethnic groups in this timeframe. Discrimination in the workplace rose by nearly 17 percentage points for Black Africans between 2004 and 2010, and in 2010 the Black African group experienced extremely high rates of discrimination in the workplace (29%). Discrimination in the workplace increased by less than 1 percentage point for the White non-EU

group and White Irish group, and decreased for all other national-ethnic groups in this period. These results support the expectation that discrimination is higher for visibly different groups, the analysis in the next section will examine whether this discrimination remains when differences in characteristics such as education are controlled for.

## **2.6 Analysis of Discrimination When Looking for Work**

Table 2.4 shows the results of a logistic regression model of discrimination when looking for work. The model controls for gender, age, education, unemployment, inactivity and duration of residence in Ireland. The results confirm that non-Irish nationals did experience significant rates of discrimination compared with the Irish group, in both 2004 and 2010, this finding provides support for the hypothesis that non-Irish nationals experience significant discrimination compared to natives (H1).

The decrease in the marginal effect for the non-Irish group indicates that discrimination had decreased in 2010, the interaction effect shows that this change over time is significant. This supports the hypothesis (H4) that discrimination did not increase during the recession, in fact it significantly decreased, nevertheless discrimination was still higher for the non-Irish group in 2010.



**Table 2.4 Logistic Regression with Average Marginal Effects (AME) - Discrimination When Looking for Work (SE)**

	2004 Dy/dx	2010 Dy/dx	2004– 2010 Significant Difference
<b>Ref: White Irish</b>			
Non-Irish	0.06*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	Yes
<b>Ref: Male</b>			
Female	-0.02*** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	
<b>Ref: Resident &gt; 2 years</b>			
Resident <2 years	-0.01 (0.01)	0.04* (0.02)	
<b>Ref: 25-44</b>			
Under 25	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	
Age 45-64	0.00 (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	
<b>Ref: No formal/Primary Education</b>			
Lower Secondary	-0.03*** (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	
Upper Secondary	-0.04*** (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	
Post Secondary	-0.02** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	
<b>Ref: Employed</b>			
Unemployed	0.11*** (0.01)	0.09*** (0.01)	
Inactive	0.04*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)	
Constant	-2.82*** (0.15)	-3.99*** (0.22)	
Pseudo R Squared	0.10	0.07	
N of Cases	7,334	5,388	

Source: QNHS Equality Module, 2004 and 2010. Note: Significance probabilities for the coefficients: \*\*\* p < .001, \*\* p < .01, \* p < .05. Standard Errors in Parenthesis.

The inactive and unemployed groups are more likely to report discrimination when looking for work. The Inactive group were also significantly more likely to experience discrimination when looking for work in 2004 and 2010. One would expect that these groups are more at risk of discrimination as it is more likely that they are looking for work compared to the unemployed group. However an

alternative perspective to this may be that this group may be more likely to report discrimination as they may use it as a rationalisation strategy to understand why they are experiencing unemployment. One may attribute lack of success in the labour market to external forces such as discrimination. While current unemployment had a strong positive association with the experience of discrimination while looking for work, this had decreased slightly in 2010 and this change over time is significant. Females were less likely to experience discrimination in 2004 but not in 2010, the 45-64 age group were more likely in 2010. Those resident in Ireland for 2 years or less were more likely to experience discrimination in 2010, so recent entrants to a booming labour market did not report higher levels of discrimination than earlier immigrants, but recent arrivals during the recession did, perhaps reflecting the severe deterioration in the labour market. All education groups were significantly less likely to experience discrimination compared to the primary educated group in 2004. This goes against previous findings by McGinnity et al., (2006), however work across OECD countries found that low-educated immigrants are more prone to feeling discriminated against than medium and highly educated persons (OECD, 2012).

Table 2.5 shows summary results of discrimination when looking for work, the findings support the expectation that levels of discrimination vary among groups, with some groups experiencing much higher discrimination than others (H2). Results from the model show that after controlling for differences in education and other demographics, Black Africans still encountered very high rates of discrimination in both 2004 and 2010, while there was some increase in discrimination experienced by Black Africans over time, this is not statistically significant. EU nationals of minority ethnicity also reported high levels of discrimination and this may have increased over time, although the increase is not statistically significant. These two groups vary in nationality but share minority ethnicity, suggesting that ethnicity is a common factor in their experience of discrimination.

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**Table 2.5 Discrimination when Looking for Work among National-ethnic Groups, Summary**

	2004	2010	2004– 2010
	Dy/dx	Dy/dx	Significant Difference
<b>Ref: White Irish</b>			
Minority EU	0.05** (0.21)	0.09*** (0.02)	No
White EU-13	0.06*** (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	No
White NMS	0.04 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	No
White Non-EU	0.08*** (0.01)	0.00 (0.03)	Yes
Asian	0.04 (0.03)	0.00 (0.04)	No
Black African	0.08*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)	No
White UK	0.04*** (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	No
Constant	-2.82*** (0.15)	-3.98*** (0.23)	
Pseudo R Squared	0.10	0.09	
N of Cases	7,334	5,388	

Source: QNHS Equality Module, 2004 and 2010. Note: Other covariates reported in Table 2.4 controlled for. Significance probabilities for the coefficients: \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ . Standard Errors in Parenthesis.

White Non-EU nationals reported high rates of discrimination in 2004, but not in 2010, and this change is statistically significant. This is the only group that experienced a decline in their share of the population in the timeframe. It cannot be ruled out that those who were discriminated against left the country. The effect may also reflect a shift in the composition of non-EU immigrants in the Irish labour market following a policy change after EU Enlargement. Non-EU immigrants working in Ireland in 2010 were more likely to have been recruited into high-skilled occupations with identified skills shortages, and thus encountered less discrimination than in 2004. However, this effect does not hold for the Black African group, strengthening the argument that ethnicity is particularly salient when looking for work.

White EU-13 nationals and UK nationals experienced higher discrimination than White Irish nationals in 2004, but this appears to have declined by 2010. While this change is not significant, it

would be consistent with a statistical discrimination interpretation in which employers become increasingly familiar with European workers and their qualifications and skills (H4).

## **2.7 Analysis of Discrimination in the Workplace**

Table 2.6 confirms that non-Irish nationals were more likely to experience discrimination in the workplace in 2004 and 2010, this again supports the hypothesis that non-Irish nationals experience significantly higher levels of labour market discrimination than Irish nationals (H1).

The average marginal effects (AME) for non-Irish nationals show that discrimination remained constant over time, and the change is not statistically significant. Again this does not support the expectation that discrimination among non-Irish nationals would increase during recession (H3). The results demonstrate that females experienced high rates of discrimination at work throughout the period. There is a weak effect of sector, with a higher risk of experiencing discrimination in transport in 2004, and a lower risk in construction in 2004, and no significant sectoral effects in 2010. Sector does not influence discrimination among national ethnic groups.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> The impact of occupation on experience of discrimination at work was tested, but did not yield any significant effects

Table 2.6 Logistic Regression with Average Marginal Effects (AME), Discrimination in the Workplace<sup>14</sup>

	2004	2010	2004–2010
	Dy/dx	Dy/dx	Significant Difference
<b>Ref: White Irish</b>			
Non-Irish	0.04*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	No
<b>Ref: Male</b>			
Female	0.02*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	
<b>Ref: Resident &gt; 2 years</b>			
Resident <2 years	0.00 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	
<b>Ref: 25-44</b>			
Under 25	-0.01 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.00)	
Age 45-64	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	
<b>Ref: No formal/Primary Education</b>			
Lower Secondary	-0.02** (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	
Upper Secondary	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	
Post-Secondary	0.01 (0.01)	0.00	
Constant	-3.15*** (0.19)	-3.37*** (0.26)	
Pseudo R squared	0.02	0.03	
N of Cases	9,987	6,428	

Source: QNHS Equality Module, 2004 and 2010. Standard Errors in Parenthesis Note:  
Significance probabilities for the coefficients: \*\*\* p < .001, \*\* p < .01, \* p < .05

Table 2.7 demonstrates that discrimination in the workplace is quite pervasive and persistent. The Minority EU, Asian, White NMS, Black African and White Non-EU groups all experienced discrimination in the workplace in 2004. Discrimination persisted in 2010 for the White NMS, White Non-EU and Black African groups. There is some indication that rates of discrimination fell for some groups, but the decline is not statistically significant, so contrary to expectations (H3), there is no evidence to suggest that discrimination in the workplace increased during the recession.

<sup>14</sup> Select results, results for Sector are available in Appendix Table A2.1

The Black African group showed much higher rates of discrimination than among the White Irish group in 2004 and 2010. It is clear from this study that the Black African group are faring particularly badly in the Irish labour market both when looking for work and in the workplace, and there is no evidence to suggest that this is due to economic sector or occupation. Part of their manifest disadvantage may be attributed to the long-term effects of an asylum system that consigns asylum seekers to protracted periods of exclusion from Irish society and the labour market. This group of immigrants usually has less favourable labour market outcomes due to less positive selection processes, and greater difficulties in adapting to new environments resulting from stressful experiences surrounding their migration (Fleischmann and Dronkers, 2010). Unfortunately, the QNHS does not provide information on the visa/residency status of non-Irish nationals, so it is not possible to measure how many Black Africans are refugees, and therefore former asylum seekers. It could also be that employers assume that Black Africans were asylum seekers and had long periods out of the labour market, a form of stereotyping.

The White UK and EU-13 groups do not differ significantly from the White Irish in reported experience of discrimination in the workplace. UK nationals have been coming to Ireland for decades and therefore may be less likely to experience discrimination in the workplace because they are more integrated. EU-13 nationals are a relatively more recent but privileged group of immigrants in Ireland, typically highly skilled and with higher average incomes than Irish nationals (McGinnity et al., 2013). Overall the results do not support the expectation that ethnic competition led to an increase in discrimination (H3), as reports of discrimination in the workplace have remained relatively stable over time, or decreased for some groups (H4).

**Table 2.7 Discrimination in the Workplace among National-ethnic Groups, Select Results**

	2004	2010	2004–2010
	Dy/dx	Dy/dx	Significant
			Difference
<b>Ref: White Irish</b>			
Minority EU	0.06*** (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)	No
White EU-13	0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	No
White NMS	0.07*** (0.02)	0.04*** (0.01)	No
White Non-EU	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	No
Asian	0.06** (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	No
Black African	0.08** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.02)	No
White UK	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	No
Constant	-3.21*** (0.19)	-3.40*** (0.27)	
Pseudo R Squared	0.03	0.03	
N of Cases	9,987	6,428	

Source: QNHS Equality Module, 2004 and 2010

Note: Other covariates reported in Table 2.6 controlled for. Significance probabilities for the coefficients: \*\*\* p < .001, \*\* p < .01, \* p < .05. Standard Errors in parenthesis

## 2.8 Conclusion

This study investigates the experience of discrimination in the Irish labour market, and examines the extent to which discrimination varies across different national ethnic groups, and whether discrimination increases between 2004, during an economic boom, and 2010, in the midst of severe recession. This is the first research to examine the impact of economic crisis on the experience of self-reported discrimination in the labour market. Overall, the results demonstrate that non-Irish nationals do experience higher rates of discrimination in looking for work, and in the workplace, in both boom and recession. There is substantial variation in discrimination across national-ethnic groups. In looking for work, ethnicity is particularly important, and the results demonstrate that

Black Africans and EU nationals of minority ethnicity are much more likely to experience this form of discrimination. This supports theories of racial prejudice and the expectation that visibly different groups experience greater discrimination. The findings do not lend support to the ideas that emphasise economic competition, here it was expected that NMS nationals would also experience discrimination when looking for work, as they constitute the largest group of immigrants in the labour market during the period, results demonstrate that this group do not experience discrimination in looking for work in 2004 or 2010.

In the workplace, the findings demonstrate that most national-ethnic groups, apart from White UK and White EU-13 groups, are more likely than White Irish to experience discrimination in 2004. By 2010 the Black African, White NMS and White Non-EU groups experience more discrimination than White Irish nationals. The finding that non-Irish nationals experience higher rates of discrimination than Irish nationals is consistent with previous research on immigrants' experience of discrimination in Ireland (McGinnity et al., 2006; McGinnity and Lunn, 2011; O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008).

Contrary to expectations, there is no evidence that discrimination increased significantly in the context of recession and a growing immigrant population. To date there is no research available on the experience of discrimination over recession, however the findings support work by Antecol and Cobb-Clark (2010) who find little evidence that racial hostility is related to economic vulnerability within a community. In looking for work, the gap in reported discrimination between non-Irish nationals and White Irish fell between 2004 and 2010. In the workplace the gap between non-Irish nationals and White Irish remained relatively stable. One can thus reject the hypothesis that a labour market crisis and an increase in the proportion of immigrants, leads to an increase in perceived ethnic competition for jobs and thus to an increase in discrimination against immigrants, as posited with in-group favouritism and economic competition approaches.

Why did reports of discrimination not increase during recession? Perhaps by 2010 immigrants have gained more experience and knowledge of the Irish labour market, and have established networks (Brekke and Mastekaasa, 2008). Attitudes to immigrants and immigration in Ireland had become more negative by 2010 (McGinnity et al., 2013), but immigrants were not, for the most part, scapegoated in public debates during the recession. It may also be that those who perceive ethnic competition are those who are unemployed, or inactive, this analysis concentrates on discrimination by employers and employees, thus ruling out discrimination by this group.

Why do reports of discrimination in recruitment among non-Irish nationals fall on average? In 2004 Ireland was a relatively new country of immigration, and employers may not have had experience



with immigrant groups. By 2010 this would have changed. The fall in discrimination while looking for work provides some support for a statistical discrimination approach: over time as immigrant groups become more established, employers become better able to identify the work-related characteristics of immigrant job applicants. However alternative factors could influence the decrease in discrimination, for example the economic climate may affect the perception of discrimination, in a time when unemployment is high, migrants may be less likely to attribute unemployment to discrimination, or if in work may be less likely to report discrimination due to the unstable labour market. Actual discrimination may differ to self-reported in this way, self-reported discrimination could be influenced by and or/susceptible to environmental and personal circumstances, accordingly actual discrimination could potentially change at a different rate to self-reported discrimination over time.

Visibly different ethnic groups, in particular Black African and Minority ethnicity EU groups report very high rates of discrimination when looking for work, and their experience of discrimination did not decrease over time. This is consistent with discrimination based on racial prejudice, and a preference for White immigrants. Whatever the explanation, this finding, combined with high rates of unemployment and low rates of employment among these groups suggest these groups are particularly vulnerable.

Caution must be applied in interpreting the results as entirely positive, the QNHS is cross-sectional, and not longitudinal, therefore it is not possible to determine if any patterns of improved outcomes are the result of integration, cohort effects, selective out-migration, particularly of East Europeans, or changing immigrant (self) selection (Barrett and Duffy, 2008). Furthermore, discrimination could occur unbeknown to the respondent, for example a person may attribute an unsuccessful job application to unsuitability for the role, when in fact it was due to discrimination on the employers' behalf. Frijters (1998) argues that job uncertainty and scarcity encourages groups of individuals to recruit persons from within their own groups, in an attempt to secure scarce jobs and ensure future labour market success for their own group.

Nevertheless, this study has shed light on the experience of discrimination in Ireland during a period of large scale change in the demographic and economic environment in Irish society. In chapter three of this thesis I extend on the analysis of immigrants' integration into the Irish labour market, and examine unemployment and occupational outcomes of national-ethnic groups in 2004 and 2010.

## 2.9 Appendix

**Table A2.1 Sector Results for Logistic Regression of Discrimination in the Workplace**

<b>Ref: Industry</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2010</b>
Agriculture/Forestry	0.00 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.05)
Construction	-0.04** (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)
Trade	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Transport	0.03** (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Accommodation/Food	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)
Information/Communication	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Financial	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)
Professional/Scientific	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)
Administration/Support	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.02)
Public Administration/Defence	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Education	0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
Health/Social Work	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Other	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Constant	-3.15*** (0.19)	-3.37*** (0.26)
Pseudo R squared	0.02	0.03
N of Cases	9,987	6,428

This table presents extended results of table 2.6

Source: QNHS Equality Module, 2004 and 2010. Standard Errors in Parenthesis Note:

Significance probabilities for the coefficients: \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$

### **3. The Labour Market Position of Immigrants in Ireland: Examining the Role of Ethnicity and Recession**

As immigration is a reasonably new phenomenon in Ireland there is a relative lack of knowledge of ethnic disadvantage in the Irish labour market, there exists little work that examines the relationship between ethnicity and migrants' labour market outcomes because ethnicity is not readily available in Irish labour force data. Research in the UK and the US has repeatedly demonstrated ethnic disadvantage in the labour market, this is often called an 'ethnic penalty', whereby some minority groups experience net disadvantage, after controlling for their educational qualifications and work experience (Berthoud, 2000; Byars-Winston et al., 2015; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Coleman et al., 2008).

The work in chapter two found evidence that immigrants experience higher rates of discrimination in the workplace, and when looking for work than natives in Ireland, yet self-reported discrimination did not rise over time in the context of recession and an increasing immigrant population. The findings show that the experience of discrimination varies among national-ethnic groups, in particular the Black African group report experiencing high levels of discrimination in work and when looking for work. The analysis in this chapter examines whether the disadvantage experienced by some groups extends to inequalities in their labour market outcomes. Work to date suggests that members of some ethnic groups might suffer even greater penalties during recession (Clark and Drinkwater, 2008; Khattab and Johnston, 2015).

This chapter utilises the QNHS Equality data employed in chapter two to perform detailed analysis of migrants' labour market integration. The chapter examines 1) Whether immigrants experience higher levels of unemployment than natives 2) Whether immigrants report significantly lower occupational attainment compared to natives 3) Whether there is variation in outcomes among immigrant groups 4) If immigrants' occupational attainment and unemployment risk changed significantly in the context of recession 5) Whether any changes in immigrants' unemployment risk or occupational attainment over time vary among males and females.

The study aims to fill gaps in the knowledge on migrants' labour market integration in Ireland, and the work adds to the migration literature in a number of different ways. Primarily it employs a more detailed breakdown of nationality than previously used in Irish research on migration, this will allow for the consideration of ethnic differences in employment and occupational outcomes, and will extend on the knowledge of the labour market integration of non-European groups in Ireland. This will be the first work, to my knowledge, to specifically examine how ethnic disadvantage in

migrants' labour market outcomes in Ireland change over the course of the recession. This serves to highlight any disadvantage experienced by national-ethnic groups in their labour market outcomes, and will help to add to the understanding of the penalties some ethnic groups face.

### **3.1 Defining Ethnicity in Ireland**

Immigration is a relatively new episode in Irish demography, and while substantial research exists on immigrants' labour market outcomes, the majority of studies on Ireland use nationality as the identifier of minority groups. As outlined in chapter two, data collection on immigration in Ireland reflects the relatively recent nature of migration in the country, there are no large-scale immigrant specific surveys, and existing data sources are limited in terms of their sample size and representativeness (Röder, 2011). Nationality is primarily used as an indicator of immigrant status as data on ethnicity is not readily available in Irish labour force survey data- this leaves a gap in our understanding of ethnic differences in immigrants' labour market outcomes in the Irish labour market. This is unlike research in the UK, which mainly uses ethnicity as an indicator of minority group membership (Demireva and Heath, 2014).

Ethnicity itself is not a readily defined criterion, Berthoud (1998, p. 54) argues that ethnicity is a "multi-faceted phenomenon based on some or all of several possible ingredients: physical appearance, subjective identification, cultural and religious affiliation, stereotyping and social exclusion". There is much debate around the measurement, or assignment of ethnicity, it is often criticised and seen as an arbitrary measure- for example in the UK the Asian categorisation masks significant demographic, socio-economic, religious and cultural differences among the main ethnic groups of Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi origin (Phillips, 2009). In Ireland the Census measure of ethnicity, introduced in 2006, has been criticised as "racialisation in practice", as it categorises and quantifies people along 'racial' lines and is a complex blend of ethnicity, race and nationality (King O'Riain, 2006). Nevertheless, measuring nationality alone may miss disadvantage of minority groups, especially disadvantage that might be due to prejudice or discrimination.

It is important to examine labour market outcomes using ethnicity as it extends on the understanding of the labour market integration of minority groups in Ireland, especially when disadvantage presents itself along racial lines, as evident in the analysis in chapter two. The findings here demonstrated that the Minority ethnicity EU and Black African groups experience significant discrimination when looking for work, this supports the idea of prejudice against visibly different groups. This chapter utilises data which allows for the examination of both ethnicity and a wider range of nationalities than readily available in Irish migration research, and allows for us to investigate the difference between non-EU national groups that are usually grouped as a single

'non-EU' category.<sup>15</sup> Descriptive analysis by McGinnity et al., (2013) using a more detailed breakdown has found substantial differences in the labour market outcomes of the non-EU groups. This work will extend on this analysis and will investigate whether these difference remain when we control for differences in education and other characteristics.

### **3.2 Immigrant Disadvantage in the Labour Market**

As outlined in section 1.3 work has found that non-Irish nationals experience higher levels of unemployment, and earn less than natives in Ireland, even when accounting for characteristics such as age and education (Barrett and McCarthy, 2007; Barrett and Kelly, 2012; Barrett et al., 2014; Turner, 2010; McGinnity et al., 2014 a,b). Immigrants in Ireland are typically over qualified for their job, even highly skilled migrants tend to be in occupations below their skill level, suggesting 'occupational gaps' and a problem with 'brain waste' (Barrett et al., 2006; Barrett and Duffy, 2008; Barrett and Bergin, 2007). There exists substantial evidence that NMS migrants face particular disadvantage in their employment, unemployment, wages, and occupational outcomes, in spite of their high levels of education (Barrett and Kelly, 2012; Turner, 2010; Voitchovsky, 2014). Emerging work has shown that the African group also experience large disadvantage in the labour market, with high unemployment rates and low employment rates (McGinnity et al., 2013, 2014a,b). Less is known about the processes that influence disadvantage of this group, as it has only in recently been possible to identify this group in Irish labour force survey data. However, as stated in chapter two, it is suggested that part of this groups disadvantage may be a manifest of long periods in the asylum system in which they are prohibited from engaging in the labour market.

In general, there is less knowledge about the labour market integration of non-European groups as until recently they were not readily identified in Irish data, and were mainly clustered together as one heterogeneous 'non-EU' or 'Other' group. This category represents an extremely diverse group who have different routes of migration, motivations, qualifications, cultural norms and language skills. While all nationals of the European Economic Area (EEA) may migrate to Ireland to take up employment without restriction, managed labour migration policy relates to workers from outside the EEA (McGinnity et al., 2013). Differences in the selection, human capital, and entry routes of these groups will ultimately influence labour market outcomes. For example the Irish healthcare system relies heavily on international medical graduates from a wide range of countries, in particular from Asia, we would expect these groups to experience higher than average occupational

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<sup>15</sup> The classification is based on the country codification in the EU Labour Force Survey from 2011 onwards. The non-EU groups are: 'Africa'; 'North America, Australia and Oceania'; 'Asia', which comprises South, South-East and East Asia; and 'Rest of Europe and Rest of World', which comprises Candidate, EFTA and Other European countries, Central America and the Caribbean, South America and the Near and Middle East.

attainment (Kingston et al., 2015). It is also expected that large differences will exist among the non-EU group in terms of their English skills, the North American and Australian groups are native English speakers and it is envisioned that this will have a positive influence on their labour market outcomes. In their analysis of immigrants' outcomes in the Irish labour market in 2004 O'Connell and McGinnity (2008) found language to be important, and detected no difference between migrants from English speaking countries and Irish nationals in their risk of unemployment, while non-Irish nationals from non-English speaking countries suffered an occupational gap, those from English speaking countries did not.

Work by McGinnity et al. (2014a) found substantial difference between non-European migrant groups in their unemployment rates in 2013. Nationals from North America, Australia and Oceania reported extremely low unemployment rates, the Asian group also showed a relatively low unemployment rate, whilst the African group experienced extremely high rates of unemployment. What is not known is whether these rates of unemployment remain after controlling for demographic differences such as education? This analysis will extend on this work and include ethnicity as indicator of migrant group status. While the categories of national-ethnic groups used in this analysis still mask a wide within group variety, it is hoped that disaggregating the 'non-EU' group allows for a more in-depth understanding of, and expands on, the labour market integration of minority groups in Ireland.

### **3.3 Theoretical Approaches to Immigrant Disadvantage**

As mentioned above there exists expansive literature outlining the mechanisms that influence immigrants disadvantage in the labour market, which operate on an individual and societal level. Differences in outcomes are most often explained by differences in the level of, quality of and recognition of immigrants' human capital. Human capital comprises all knowledge and skills that increase an individual's productivity and achievement in the labour market (Becker, 1985). In the economic literature, human capital theory has been the primary explanation for immigrants' economic integration and mobility. Human capital theorists have demonstrated that immigrants with greater human capital are more successful in the labour market than those with less human capital (Borjas, 1987). However, the translation of human capital to the host country is not always straightforward, and migrants often have difficulty translating their human capital, and receiving appropriate returns to their human capital.

Migrants risk of unemployment and labour market disadvantage can be attributed to structures in the labour market which influence on disadvantage, and economic cycles, it goes without saying

that the risk of unemployment is higher during economic recessions. Dual labour market theorists suggest that migrant disadvantage in the labour market occurs because of segmented labour markets where the labour market is split between 'primary' and 'secondary' jobs (Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Edwards et al., 1975). In the primary sector jobs are mainly highly skilled, stable, offer high financial incentives and have strong prospects for career advancement, often in capital intensive sectors. In the secondary sector jobs are typically low quality and insecure, there is little mobility between segments. Primary jobs are predominantly occupied by well educated men, the secondary sector is dominated by women ethnic minorities, young people and other groups (Bettio and Verashchagina, 2013). Immigrants typically assimilate into the secondary labour market where jobs are temporary, poorly paid, and of low prestige (Piore, 1979), although work has found that the secondary sector appears to be less prevalent in Western Europe than in the United States (Portes and Böröcz, 1989). The secondary sector is more vulnerable to economic impact during recession as it plays a buffer role, jobs are more easily lost and temporary contracts not renewed, ensuring that those with primary jobs at the 'core' of the labour market are protected (McGinnity et al., 2013).

Migrant selection into host countries also impacts on differentiation of outcomes, selection influences motivation and labour market behaviour within a host country (Kangasniemi and Kauhanen, 2013; Massey, 2015). It has been shown that the likelihood of migration decreases with age and normally increases with education level (Bauer and Zimmermann, 1999). Migrant networks are usually regarded as helpful for the labour market integration of recently arrived immigrants, research in the US emphasises how networks aid immigrant incorporation, however networks can strengthen and weaken over time and therefore can have disparate effects on incorporation (Hagan, 1998). Kalter and Kogan (2014) find that while social networks can indeed be beneficial for rapid employment entry, they do not guarantee any high occupational status within this employment.

The disadvantage in the labour market position of immigrants is expected to decrease with time spent in the host country, as immigrants gain more knowledge of the labour market, and invest in training and language skills (Chiswick, 1980). According to Chiswick's U-shaped curve, immigrants' occupational attainment usually takes an initial dip on arrival in the host country, but increases with time spent in the country as immigrants gain more country specific human capital (Chiswick, 1978). However disadvantage does not necessarily disappear over time, particularly for some groups, it is often found that immigrants who are more similar to the majority in the host society tend to incorporate more rapidly into the host country economy than those who are less similar (Wanner, 1998).

Ethnic disadvantages in the labour market are well established in the international literature. A large body of work in the UK has shown that ethnic minority groups tend to suffer from an 'ethnic penalty', whereby they experience net disadvantage, after controlling for their educational qualifications and experience in the labour market (Berthoud, 2000; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Heath and McMahon, 1991; Khattab and Johnston, 2015; Modood, 2004; Owen, 2003). This literature argues that an ethnic penalty hinders the occupational success of ethnic minorities during the job search, hiring and promotion process- as a result ethnic minorities have a lower income, higher unemployment and are obstructed in transferring their education and experience into comparable occupational outcomes (Heath and Li, 2007). According to Berthoud (2000), the penalties in the labour market faced by ethnic minorities can take one or more of the following types: lower earnings, longer period of unemployment, lower returns on their qualifications and slower progress and job promotion. Previous research in the UK has found that disadvantage exists in the form of unemployment (Heath and Cheung, 2006), wages (Longhi and Platt, 2008) and occupations (Brynin and Longhi, 2015). The extent of ethnic penalties varies among groups- numerous studies have shown that Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean, and Black African groups experience higher unemployment rates, greater concentrations in lower occupations, and earn less than British and other White groups (Heath and Cheung, 2006; Modood and Khattab, 2015). Ethnic disadvantage is not limited to lower educated groups, work has found that Black African and Pakistani/Bangladeshi graduates are among the least likely to work in graduate jobs (Rafferty, 2012). The ethnic penalty also extends to the second generation where net disadvantages exist for Black African, Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups in the labour market with respect to unemployment, earnings and occupational attainment (Heath and Cheung, 2006). In fact, work by Heath and Li (2007) found little evidence in the UK of catching up for most disadvantaged groups (Black Africans, Black Caribbean's, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis) over the life cycle, generations, or historical time. In contrast the various White groups had relatively little catching up to do and show trajectories that are fairly similar to those of the White British majority population.

Findings on ethnic penalties in the UK suggest that it is the non-White groups who experience particular disadvantage in the labour market, with White immigrant groups being better integrated (Lymeropoulou, 2013). In the US too work has repeatedly shown evidence of ethnic disparities in the labour market, with Black Americans more likely to experience unemployment, earn lower wages, to experience lower wage growth, and to accumulate less wealth compared to White Americans (Altonji and Blank, 1999; Coleman et al., 2008). In a longitudinal analysis of occupations and the labour market, Byars-Winston et al., (2015) found that Black, Hispanic, and American Indian



men and women were more likely to be absorbed into occupations typically associated with low skill, low wages, and low status.

In general the work to date on ethnic penalties suggests that disadvantage exists among ethnic groups which may reflect racial and/or ethnic disadvantage, if not discrimination because of racial characteristics (Portes and Böröcz, 1989). It is largely accepted that discrimination reinforces ethnic penalties, however there are many processes which operate beyond discrimination to maintain disadvantage (OECD, 2013). In the UK some of the ethnic penalty can be attributed to cultural and religious penalties, which also undermine the employability and occupational outcomes of minorities (though more so for Muslims from some ethnic origins than others) (Johnston et al., 2010; Khattab and Johnston, 2013). Nevertheless, work by Johnston et al., (2010) has found that the ethnic colour penalty remains greater than the ethnic religion penalty, and that colour racism remains dominant.

### **3.4 Ethnic Penalties in Ireland**

There is less work available on ethnic penalties in the labour market in Ireland, again due to the recent nature of migration to the country. Analysis by O'Connell and McGinnity (2008) on the 2004 QNHS Equality module found lower employment rates among both Black and Asian respondents, their analysis found that in particular Black respondents are significantly more likely to experience unemployment and to occupy lower level occupational positions, even when education and work experience are controlled for. Their study focused on ethnic penalties among immigrants in Ireland in 2004, when Ireland was relatively new to immigration, what is not known is whether these ethnic disadvantages remained in place, or whether disadvantage subsided over time if immigrants become more integrated into the labour market by 2010. The first research question in this study investigates whether some national-ethnic groups experience an ethnic penalty in the Irish labour market, in the form of higher levels of unemployment, and lower occupational outcomes, than the White Irish group. In line with previous findings on disadvantage in the Irish labour market, a first hypothesis is that ethnic penalties exist in the Irish labour market for immigrants (H1). Disadvantage will exist in the form of migrants experiencing significantly higher rates of unemployment than natives, and significantly lower occupational attainment.

Previous work has found strong variation between minority groups in terms of their ethnic penalties (Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Johnston et al., 2010), and work to date suggests that it is the non-White groups who experience the most disadvantage in the labour market (Heath and Cheung, 2006; Lymperopoulou, 2013). A second research question investigates whether ethnic penalties

differ among national-ethnic groups? Findings from previous literature suggest that there will be variation in the extent of ethnic penalties between groups, with some groups experiencing larger penalties than others, and indeed some groups faring better than natives in terms of their labour market outcomes (H2). It is posited that, mirroring findings in the UK and the US, disadvantage will appear among ethnic lines in Ireland, with groups who are visibly different experiencing more disadvantage in the labour market. The findings from chapter two demonstrate that discrimination appears among ethnic lines, with the Black African and Minority ethnicity EU groups experiencing significant discrimination when looking for work in 2010. In particular, the Black African group experience labour market discrimination, accordingly we may expect for these visibly different groups to experience a 'penalty' in their labour market outcomes above and beyond other migrant groups (H3).

Nevertheless, the literature to date refers to ethnic penalties in countries with long established patterns of immigration, as mentioned, Ireland is a relatively new country of immigration, having formerly being a country of emigration, and has only recently experienced large-scale immigration. The findings in chapter two do not find support for the visibly different Asian group experiencing disadvantage in terms of discrimination, or of discrimination increasing with the recession. A competing hypothesis posits that ethnicity does not play as strong a role in Ireland in determining migrant labour market outcomes as it does in other countries. Work has shown that it is NMS migrants who face the most disadvantage in the Irish labour market (Barrett and Duffy, 2008; Barrett and Kelly, 2012; McGinnity et al., 2014b; Turner, 2010). As noted in chapter two, selective immigration policies mean that non-EU immigrants tend to be more highly educated/and or experienced than NMS nationals who have open access to the labour market. With this in mind, one may expect that White NMS nationals to encounter the highest level of unemployment and the lowest occupational outcomes in the labour market (H4).

It is known that the economic crisis more adversely impacted on migrant unemployment than the native born in the majority of OECD countries (OECD, 2013). In Ireland recent research has found that migrants have been negatively impacted on by recession with large scale job loss and outflows (Barrett and Kelly, 2012; McGinnity et al., 2014 a,b). What is less known is how the recession impacted on minority ethnic groups? This analysis will investigate whether the migrant penalty increased over the recession. In line with findings from research on immigrants' labour market disadvantage one would expect immigrants to fare worse in their labour market outcomes than natives in recession. In the UK work has found that members of various ethnic groups suffer even greater penalties during recession (Clark and Drinkwater, 2008). Work by Khatib and Johnston (2013) found that religious and ethnic penalties in unemployment increased post-recession. Given

the scale of the economic crisis one might expect ethnic penalties to increase, as unemployment rose dramatically in this time frame, a fifth hypothesis posits that unemployment risks significantly increased over time for some migrant groups compared to natives (H5).

While work by researchers in Ireland has demonstrated that immigrants experience lower occupational attainment than natives (Barrett and Duffy, 2008; McGinnity et al., 2011; Turner, 2010), less is known about whether immigrants' occupational attainment changed significantly over the course of the recession compared to natives. A final research question investigates whether migrants' occupational attainment decreased significantly compared to natives between 2004 and 2010, in a period of economic instability. Whilst this is a relatively short period of time to analyse, it was a period of dramatic change in the Irish labour market. The economic recession in Ireland affected some sectors more than others, the scale of the crisis was felt more deeply across the lower and middle parts of the wage distribution, and in general employees with lower wages, and in lower quality jobs, were more adversely impacted upon by unemployment (Mühlau, 2012; Nolan and Voitchovsky, 2016). There is some evidence that some immigrants' labour market position improved with time spent in Ireland, even during recession- Mühlau (2012) suggested that about 40% of Polish migrants in Dublin in 2008-2010 may have seen gains in terms of employment and occupational attainment, thus demonstrating an on-going process of labour market integration for some migrant groups. A final hypothesis is that migrants' occupational attainment did not drop significantly over the course of the recession compared to natives (H6), it is expected that job losses were more prevalent among those in lower occupations, and those in middle and upper level occupations retained their jobs.

Differences in migrants' unemployment risk and occupational attainment over time will be analysed among males and females, to examine whether any changes in migrant groups labour market outcomes differ by gender. It is known that the rapid rise in unemployment that took place over the downturn was not uniformly distributed across genders, and in general the labour market crisis in Ireland had a strong gender dimension. While employment fell for both men and women, the drop was much steeper for men, and particularly impacted upon young males, due in part to the collapse in the construction industry (McGinnity et al., 2014). This study will extend on these findings and investigates whether there is a difference among males and females in their risk of unemployment, and occupational attainment between 2004 and 2010. In the next section migrants' risk of unemployment and occupational outcomes pre-recession in 2004, and in a period of economic turbulence in 2010, are examined to shed light on these questions.

The aim of this chapter is to investigate whether an ethnic penalty exists in the Irish labour market,

and whether this changes over a period of economic stability, and subsequent collapse. The study utilises data from the large scale, nationally representative *Quarterly National Household Survey* (QNHS) modules on Equality to analyse unemployment and occupational outcomes among national-ethnic groups in Ireland in 2004 and 2010, for more information on this data see section 2.3. The analysis focuses on the labour market integration of eight national-ethnic groups, these groups are as defined in section 2.3, and are created on the grounds that they are comparable, have similar access to the Irish labour market and exhibit similar labour market trajectories.<sup>16</sup> The focus here is on the working age population aged 18-64, and migrant outcomes are compared to the native population.

In the analysis of unemployment binary logistic regression models are used, separate models are run for 2004 and 2010, and a pooled model of 2004 and 2010 data with interaction terms are used to test for significant differences over time in migrant male and females' risk of unemployment compared to natives. The Average Marginal Effects (AME) are reported, as the coefficients of standard logistic models are sensitive to bias due to inability to account for unobserved heterogeneity- see section 2.4 for further details (Mood, 2010). It is understood that interaction terms in logistic regression models cannot be interpreted in the same way as interaction terms from linear regression models, therefore the Stata command 'inteff' is employed run interaction terms, see section 2.4 for further details. Linear regression models are used to measure occupational attainment in 2004 and 2010, a pooled model with interaction effects is employed to examine whether there are any significant changes in male and female immigrants' occupations over time compared to Irish natives.

Using logistic regression and linear regression models allows for factors such as age, and human capital characteristics such as education to be controlled for. The focus is on the coefficients of the binary variables measuring group membership: if these are negative and significant, then this suggests disadvantage for this group compared to White Irish nationals. However, it is important to note that even after controlling for demographic and human capital variables a number of employment-related characteristics remain unaccounted for in the models. It is not possible to measure factors such as language skills, motivation, reliability and interpersonal skills in this data, all of which affect a person's employment and occupational outcomes (Pager and Shepherd, 2008). Furthermore, as this data is cross-sectional it is not possible to account for out-migration of groups who have experienced the most inequality in the labour market.

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<sup>16</sup> Some of the national-ethnic groups are still somewhat ethnically diverse, however the groups are comparable in terms of their labour market experience and cultural background.

### *Dependent Variables*

The dependent variable for model of unemployment is a binary variable coded 1 if the respondent is unemployed according to the ILO definition, and 0 if employed or 'active' in the labour market.<sup>17</sup> While the unemployed are included in this analysis, the analysis is restricted to respondents who are participating in the labour market, defined as 'active' by the ILO.<sup>18</sup>

The dependent variable for the model of occupational attainment uses the ISEI 'Socio-economic index of occupational status', which is a measure of occupational prestige. Occupation is widely used as an indicator of position within a system of social stratification (Fleischmann and Höhne, 2013). The ISEI-08 index is generated by the scaling of occupation unit groups to maximise the indirect effect of education on income through occupation, the measures are scaled from 10 to 90, with 10 being the lowest level occupation (Ganzeboom, 2010).<sup>19</sup> The ISEI-08 is an international index which has been derived on the basis of pooled ISSP waves from 2002-2007, on almost 200,000 men and women in 42 countries, the scale is derived from ISCO-08 and provides an up-to-date measure of socioeconomic status based on income and educational level. The ISEI-08 scale is an updated scale of the ISEI and was constructed on a data on women and men, previously only men were used to estimate the scale, earnings data were corrected for hours worked to adjust the different prevalence of part-time work between men and women in many countries. The scale is cross-validated and provides a valuable tool for international comparative analyses of the effects of occupational status (Ganzeboom, 2010).

Occupational status is used here as detailed income is not available in the QNHS data, moreover occupational status is a more detailed measure of social position, as income can be a misrepresentative measure of the nature of a job or qualifications needed or possessed by the individual. Occupations provide information about social standing, and occupational status is likely to be a better indicator of income over the long term than income information collected at any single point in time, because in the short-term income can be quite volatile (Hauser and Warren, 1996; Williams and Collins, 1995). In particular the ISEI scale is a more direct way of measuring human resources and economic rewards (Rose, 2005).

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<sup>17</sup> The ILO regards an individual as being in employment if he/she worked in the week before the survey for one hour or more for payment or profit, and includes all persons who had a job but were not at work in the week before because of illness, holidays, etc. The ILO defines an unemployed person as someone who, in the week before the survey, was without work but was available for work and had taken specific steps in the preceding four weeks to find work (i.e. was looking for work).

<sup>18</sup> It is acknowledged that this measure may miss some penalties that exist as it excludes 'discouraged workers' who have given up looking for work because of their repeated experiences of refusals.

<sup>19</sup> [http://www.harryganzeboom.nl/isco08/isco08\\_with\\_isei](http://www.harryganzeboom.nl/isco08/isco08_with_isei).

### *Independent Variables*

The models control for age, marital status, number of children, education and duration of residence in country, as they are all considered in the literature to be potentially influential covariates on labour market outcomes.<sup>20</sup> Recent migration is measured by including a dummy variable coded 1 if the individual has been resident in Ireland for two years or less, and 0 if they have been resident for longer. It is expected that newly arrived immigrants experience higher unemployment rates regardless of the business cycle (Price, 2001).

### **3.5 Results**

Table 3.1 shows the unemployment rates among national-ethnic groups in 2004 and 2010. The overall unemployment rate was relatively low in 2004 with an average unemployment of 5%. While most national-ethnic groups reported similar rates in 2004, substantial disadvantage exists for the African group who had an unemployment rate of 25%.

**Table 3.1 Unemployment Rates (ILO) of National-Ethnic Groups, Q4 2004 & 2010 (%)**

Unemployment %	2004	2010
White Irish	4.9	15.5
White UK	5.5	18.5
White EU-13	4.1	9.5
White NMS	5.4	21.9
White non-EU	8.0	21.6
Asian	5.7	12.0
African	25.4	36.4
Minority ethnicity EU	7.2	21.8
Total	5.0	16.1

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

By 2010 there was a marked increase in unemployment for all groups, with the average unemployment rate rising to 16%.<sup>21</sup> At this time the labour market in Ireland was in recession and unemployment was generally high, the unemployment rate for the White Irish group at this time was 15.5%. There is considerable variation in the unemployment rates of national-ethnic groups. The White EU-13 group report the lowest unemployment rate at 9.5%, followed by Asians at 12%. White EU NMS, Ethnic minority EU and Black African individuals recorded much higher rates of

<sup>20</sup> Previous sector of employment is available but yielded a high number of missing cases, and therefore was not included in the analysis

<sup>21</sup> The unemployment rate for the total population was 14.1% in Quarter 4, 2010, this rate is based on analysis on a sub-sample of the population.

unemployment. In particular, the Black African group again report very high unemployment at 36.4 %, this would suggest support for the hypothesis (H1) that an ethnic penalty exists in the Irish labour market. The question is will these results hold when statistical models are applied to control for factors such as differences in education level?

Table 3.2 demonstrates the mean ISEI score for national-ethnic groups in 2004 and 2010, the results show that the average occupational score increased by nearly 2 points in this timeframe, this means that the population, on average, moved into more prestigious occupations. It is suggested that this reflects the disproportionate loss of lower level jobs in the labour market, previous research on occupational changes in recession in the UK has found that individuals who have a high payoff to skilled work, such as educated workers, are less likely to downgrade, even during recession (Evans, 1999). There is no doubt that any changes in mean ISEI scores over time are dependent on the patterns of unemployment in the labour market. The recession in Ireland, as elsewhere in Europe, had a strong sectoral dimension, the collapse led to a sharp drop in employment in certain sectors, particularly the construction sector.

The findings in Table 3.2 show that again there is variation between national-ethnic groups in terms of their occupational scores. The mean occupational attainment for all national-ethnic groups remained stable or increased between 2004 and 2010, apart from the Black African group, whose mean occupational attainment decreased by 4 points. Yet it is the White NMS group who have the least advantageous position in the labour market in 2010 with a mean occupational score of 38 points, compared to 47 points for the White Irish group. In the next section statistical analysis of the unemployment and occupational outcomes of national-ethnic groups is applied to examine whether an ethnic penalty exists in the Irish labour market, whether this increased over time, and if there is variation in the ethnic penalty among national-ethnic groups once differences in education and other demographics are controlled for.

**Table 3.2 Mean Occupational Attainment of National-Ethnic Groups (ISEI), Q4 2004 and 2010**

Occupation (m)	2004	2010
White Irish	45.1 (15.4)	47.1 (15.7)
White UK	47.3 (15.1)	50.9 (16.1)
White EU-13	49.4 (14.9)	51.7 (16.3)
White NMS	36.9 (9.5)	38.1 (10.2)
White non-EU	47.0 (17.4)	46.7 (16.4)
Asian	44.8 (18.6)	45.3 (14.5)
Black African	44.6 (20.6)	40.8 (13.6)
Minority EU	43.7 (16.8)	46.3 (17.2)
Total	45.1 (15.4)	46.6 (15.6)

Source: CSO Equality, Quarter 4, 2004 & 2010. Standard Deviations are shown in parentheses.

### 3.6 Analysis of Unemployment

Table 3.3 shows the select results of a logistic regression model of unemployment in 2004 and 2010, interaction effects are included to examine whether there has been a significant change over time in the unemployment rates of male and female migrants. The interaction effects are run separately for males and females to analyse whether there is a gender difference in migrants' unemployment risks over time compared to White Irish nationals. The tables report the Average Marginal Effects (AME) results of the logistic regression model, the models control for age, education, family and marital status, and duration of residence in Ireland, as these are potentially explanatory confounders on differences in the risk of unemployment.

The results of the regression demonstrate that older age groups less likely to be unemployed than younger age groups, this supports findings by McGinnity et al (2014b) who show that young people were particularly impacted upon by the economic crisis in Ireland. Respondents with upper secondary and tertiary level education are less likely to be unemployed than those with primary level education. In 2004 married, widowed and divorced groups are less likely to be unemployed compared to the single groups, in 2010 married and widowed groups are less likely to be



unemployed. Couples with children, and lone parents are more likely to experience unemployment compared to respondents without children. There is no significant difference in the experience of unemployment for recently arrived immigrants in either 2004 or 2010.

**Table 3.3 Logistic Regression with Average Marginal Effects (AME), Risk of Unemployment<sup>22</sup>**

UNEMPLOYMENT	2004 Dy/Dx	2010 Dy/Dx	Interaction 2004- 2010 Significant Difference	
			Males	Females
<i>National Ethnic Group Ref: White Irish</i>				
White UK	0.011 (0.016)	0.060* (0.033)	No	No
White EU13	0.007 (0.026)	0.039 (0.040)	No	No
White NMS	0.113* (0.065)	0.083*** (0.021)	Yes	No
White Non-EU	0.056* (0.030)	0.0563 (0.046)	No	No
Asian	0.099 (0.072)	0.074 (0.054)	No	No
Black African	0.280*** (0.088)	0.250*** (0.060)	No	No
Minority EU	0.074* (0.040)	0.042 (0.048)	No	No
Observations	9,683	7,057		

Standard errors in parentheses \*\*\* p<0.00, \*\* p<0.03, \* p<0.05  
Source: QNHS Equality Module Q4 2004 and Q4 2010

The results of the analysis show that some national-ethnic groups experience significantly higher risk of unemployment compared to non-Irish nationals, this confirms the first hypothesis that some immigrant groups experience disadvantage or ethnic penalties in their labour market outcomes compared to natives (H1). Moreover, the findings confirm the expectation that there is variation in the risk of unemployment between national-ethnic groups (H2), not all immigrant groups experience significantly higher risk of unemployment compared to natives, and some groups experience bigger penalties than others. In 2004 the White NMS, White non-EU, Black African and

<sup>22</sup> Full Results available in Appendix Table A3.1

Minority ethnicity EU groups experience significantly higher risk of unemployment compared to natives. In 2010 the White UK, White NMS and Black African groups experience significantly higher risk of unemployment compared to natives. The findings provide some support for the hypothesis that visibly different groups experience the biggest ethnic penalties (H3). In 2004 the Minority ethnicity EU group experienced significantly higher rates of unemployment, however by 2010 the risk of unemployment for this group was not higher than Irish natives. Mirroring findings from chapter two, in both 2004 and 2010 the Black African group experience significant disadvantage, this group report the highest levels of discrimination in looking for work and in the workplace, and this reported discrimination is mirrored by their high risk of unemployment. However, disadvantage for ethnic groups does not only present along racial lines, and the results also provide support for the expectation that the White NMS group experience significant disadvantage in their risk of unemployment compared to natives (H4).

In terms of changes in migrants' risk of unemployment over time, the results demonstrate interaction effects to examine whether there is a significant difference in migrant males and females risk of unemployment over time- there exists little support for the hypothesis that unemployment rates increased significantly for migrants compared to natives between 2004 and 2010 (H5). Whilst the risk of unemployment is much higher for some immigrant groups, the risk of unemployment did not increase more sharply for immigrant groups with the exception of males from the NMS, for whom the risk of unemployment significantly increased over time. Unemployment does increase for some groups, however not at a higher rate than natives. This supports findings from previous work by McGinnity et al., (2014b) that suggests that migrants did not suffer disproportionately during the economic crisis but rather that pre-recession disadvantages, which were very considerable for some migrant groups, were maintained.

### **3.7 Analysis of Occupational Attainment**

Table 3.4 shows select results of a linear regression model of occupational attainment in 2004 and 2010, using the ISEI scale as a measure of occupational attainment, again the tables demonstrate interaction effects to examine whether there is a significant change in male and female migrants' occupational attainment between 2004 and 2010 compared to White Irish nationals. The results show that older age groups, and respondents with higher levels of education have higher occupational attainment in 2004 and 2010.

**Table 3.4 Linear Regression of Occupational Attainment with Interaction Effects<sup>23</sup>**

ISEI Occupation	2004	2010	Interaction 2004-2010 Significant Difference	
			Males	Females
<b>National-Ethnic Group Ref: White Irish</b>				
White UK	1.208 (1.031)	3.852*** (1.270)	No	No
White EU13	1.488 (1.701)	2.574 (1.867)	No	No
White NMS	-7.338** (2.711)	-9.718*** (0.877)	No	No
White Non-EU	1.532 (1.468)	-4.553** (1.781)	No	No
Asian	-2.532 (2.852)	-7.994*** (1.893)	No	No
Black African	-7.233** (3.435)	-9.223*** (2.334)	No	No
Minority EU	2.554 (1.978)	-2.284 (2.022)	No	No
Constant	31.51*** (0.999)	33.33*** (1.479)		
Observations	9,217	6,072		
R-squared	0.187	0.161		

Standard errors in parentheses \*\*\* p<0.00, \*\* p<0.03, \* p<0.05  
Source: QNHS Equality Module Q4 2004 and Q4 2010

The results show, reflecting findings on unemployment among national ethnic groups, that some national-ethnic groups experience disadvantage in their occupational attainment compared to White Irish natives, this finding supports the expectation that immigrants' experience inequalities in their outcomes compared to natives (H1). The analysis reveals that differences among national-ethnic groups also exist in the extent of their labour market penalties (H2), in 2004 the White NMS group and Black African group have significantly lower occupational attainment than the White Irish group. By 2010 the recession has clearly impacted on the occupational attainment of immigrant groups compared to White Irish nationals, with White NMS, White non-EU, Asian and Black African groups all reporting significantly lower occupational attainment than White Irish nationals. This is not unexpected-immigrants tend to work in the most precarious sectors of economies, meaning

<sup>23</sup> Full Results available in Appendix Table A3.2

that their labour market position is generally more vulnerable during a downturn (OECD, 2013). In 2010 the White UK group have significantly higher occupational outcomes than the White Irish group, scoring on average nearly 4 points higher on the occupational scale, this is not surprising as this group are similar to Irish natives in terms of their education, culture, language, and experience and have been coming to Ireland for decades.

The results demonstrate support for the idea that there is variation in the ethnic penalties experienced by minority ethnic groups, in 2010, the White NMS, White non-EU, Asian and Black African all experience lower occupational attainment than White Irish natives. The White non-EU group are, on average, in occupations nearly 5 points lower than natives, while the Asian group are nearly 8 points lower, the African group 9 points, and the White NMS group nearly 10 points lower. The findings show support for the idea that visibly different groups experience ethnic penalties in the labour market (H3) with the Black African and Asian groups experiencing significantly lower occupational attainment than White Irish nationals, however disadvantage is not only present for migrants who are visibly different, and as hypothesised (H4), the White NMS group experience large scale disadvantage in their occupational attainment. In fact, this group experience much lower occupational attainment than White Irish nationals in 2004 and 2010, nevertheless their disadvantage in occupational attainment is similar to the Black African group.

The results show that the economic recession clearly impacted on migrants' occupational attainment, with several groups experiencing a decline in their occupational attainment between 2004 and 2010. However, as expected, migrants' occupational attainment does not decrease significantly over time compared to Irish natives (H6). While some migrant groups do experience a decrease in their occupational attainment, no group experienced significant downgrading compared to Irish natives in this period. Nevertheless, one cannot control for outmigration of groups, in this time frame there was a large decrease in employment in certain sectors of the economy, estimations on outflows have shown that, for the year ending April 2012, the outmigration of NMS nationals from Ireland was particularly large (Barrett et al., 2014).

### **3.8 Discussion and Conclusion**

This chapter examines whether an ethnic penalty exists for immigrants in the Irish labour market, and asks whether some groups experience larger penalties than others; and whether labour market penalties increased over the course of the recession. This work adds to the literature because, to my knowledge, it is the first examination of ethnic penalties among non-Irish natives in Ireland, especially in the context of recession. Furthermore, this study expands on the categorisation of

immigrant groups in Ireland by including ethnicity within the analysis, and adds to the understanding of the outcomes of the very heterogeneous group 'non-EU' group. As Aspinall (2000, p.110) notes, some "defensible measurement of the ethnic composition of the population" is needed in order to monitor and address a multitude of aspects of society. Finally, this is the first detailed analysis of how immigrants' occupational position changes in recession, this helps to add to the understanding of the labour market integration of immigrant groups in Ireland, and the factors that influence economic outcomes.

The main research question in the study asked whether immigrants experience penalties in their labour market outcomes, overall the findings again show evidence of the existence of immigrant disadvantage, and support for the presence of penalties for some groups, even when differences in factors such as education are controlled for. As expected, the findings demonstrate differences between groups in terms of economic penalties, with some groups experiencing larger penalties in the labour market than others. Utilising a more detailed breakdown of nationality groups in Ireland shows there is marked difference among the non-EU groups in their outcomes. The findings demonstrate substantial labour market disadvantage for the Black African group both in their risk of unemployment and occupational attainment, this corroborates findings by Heath and Cheung (2006), who find marked inequalities in the UK for this group.

Why does this group fare so badly? Part of the disadvantage for this group may be attributed to labour market discrimination, findings in chapter two show that the Black African group report exceptionally high rates of discrimination both when looking for work, and in the workplace. There is no doubt someone's ethnicity can be a ground for discrimination against them in contexts such as employment (Modood and Khattab, 2015). However caution must be applied before attributing disadvantage wholly to discrimination, as it is not the only potential explanation for ethnic penalties (Hasmath, 2012). One cannot account for factors such as individual's social network, job search skills, language skills, or concentration in ethnic enclaves (Clark and Drinkwater, 2008). In particular, it is not possible to control for time spent out of the labour market which may be a specific issue for the Black African group in Ireland. As stated in chapter two, part of this groups disadvantage could be explained by the long-term effects of the asylum system in Ireland. Through the asylum seeking process applicants are restricted access to the labour market, there is no doubt that this time spent out of the labour market may adversely impact on long term employment prospects and outcomes. As of February 2015 there were 7,937 people in the asylum system, of whom 55% were in the system for five years or more (Working Group on the Protection Process, 2015). While the QNHS does not survey asylum seekers, it will include refugees, however the survey does not allow for the identification of refugees in the data. It is of vital importance that appropriate policies are

implemented to prevent the long-term polarisation of this group in the Irish labour market, targeted employment programmes that are sensitive to the complexities that refugees experience can help improve their employability (Phillimore and Goodson, 2006).

There is no support for the expectation that it is the non-White groups who experience the most disadvantage in the Irish labour market, unlike findings in the UK where non-White immigrants are found to face a higher risk of worklessness than White immigrants (Lymperopoulou, 2013). Results are mixed- visibly different groups do not necessarily fare worse than White Irish nationals, and both White and non-White groups experience penalties in the labour market. For example, in 2010 the White non-EU, Asian, White NMS and Black African groups all experience significantly lower occupational attainment than White Irish nationals. The findings show it is both the Black African and the White NMS groups who experience substantial disadvantage, both in their risk of unemployment and occupational attainment. The findings of disadvantage for the NMS group supports growing work that shows that immigrants from the NMS face penalties in the labour market (Barrett and Kelly, 2012; Barrett et al., 2014; McGinnity et al., 2013; Turner, 2010; Voitchovsky, 2014).

In particular NMS males experienced notable penalties, and were the only group to experience a significant increase in their risk of unemployment in the recession. Previous work has shown that the impact of the economic downturn was more severe on NMS males than females. Barrett and Kelly (2012) found that NMS males' employment outcomes deteriorated more compared to their female counterparts. Work by Mühlau (2012) found that during the crisis the position of Polish women improved strongly relative to Polish men in terms of occupations and wages. As least part of the reason for NMS male disadvantage is due to their concentration in industries that were especially impacted on by the recession, mainly the construction and manufacturing industries. In chapter four of this thesis I will investigate in more detail the labour market outcomes of NMS migrants, focusing on gender differences in the occupational outcomes of Polish migrants in Ireland, the largest migrant group in Ireland (CSO, 2012). This will help to shed light on the factors that influence gender differences in the labour market integration of this group. The finding that visible minorities do not fare worse than migrants from the NMS is unusual given that consistently across other countries visibly different migrants seem to face a universal additional disadvantage. However, given the concentration of this group in the construction and manufacturing industries, and the sharp collapse in these sectors, this finding seems less unusual. The disadvantage of this group is strongly linked to the positions that they occupied within the labour market.

A further purpose of this chapter was to examine whether immigrants' economic outcomes change

over the course of the recession. While the results show labour market disadvantage for immigrant groups, there is no substantial evidence that this disadvantage was above and beyond that of the general population, in the context of a substantial economic recession in the period of study. It should be noted though that this analysis concentrates on the early stage of the recession, and any findings of change over time are treated as tentative, given the short period of analysis. The results demonstrate little support for the hypothesis that unemployment significantly dropped for immigrants more so than natives. It is only White NMS males who experienced a significant increase in their risk of unemployment over time compared to White Irish nationals. Whilst occupational attainment decreased for some immigrant groups the overall drop was not higher for any immigrant groups compared to natives. In terms of occupational attainment, the analysis shows that all non-European groups also weathered the effect of the recession and experienced significantly lower occupational attainment than Irish nationals in 2010. This does not support findings from previous literature that migrants occupational attainment increases with time spent in the country (Chiswick and Miller, 2008). Perhaps these groups experience lower attainment due to differences in language skills, or difficulties in translating their human capital. However, we cannot control for out migration, as mentioned previously certain sectors of the economy were particularly impacted upon by recession, furthermore by 2010 austerity measures were firmly in place in Ireland including increased taxes, and cuts to services, perhaps those with 'good jobs' left, reflecting the transient nature of migration in Europe.

Why do immigrants experience ethnic penalties in Ireland? Work has shown that part of the disadvantage can be attributed to factors such as language skills, country specific human capital, and underutilisation of migrant qualifications (Barrett and Duffy, 2008; O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008). The analysis in chapter four will look more closely at investments in, and returns to human capital, to examine how these may influence migrants' occupational attainment. Nevertheless, some of the ethnic penalty exists outside of these factors, and may be assigned to discrimination against migrant groups. Work has shown that employer led discrimination exists in the Irish labour market (McGinnity and Lunn, 2011), this is supported by findings in chapter two, which show that some immigrant groups report experiencing higher levels of self-reported labour market discrimination than natives.

This chapter has provided insight into ethnic penalties in the Irish labour market and the impact of recession, showing evidence of penalties for some immigrant groups in the Irish labour market. This work expands on the understanding of immigrants' economic integration in Ireland and the interaction of ethnicity and migrants' labour market attainment.

### 3.9. Appendix

**Table A3.1 Logistic Regression of Unemployment with Average Marginal Effects (AME) Full Results**

UNEMPLOYMENT	2004	2010
<b>Age Ref: Under 25</b>		
Age 25-44	-0.036** (0.014)	-0.101*** (0.028)
Age 45-64	-0.042*** (0.014)	-0.127*** (0.030)
<b>Education Ref: Primary Education</b>		
Lower Secondary	-0.028*** (0.010)	-0.021 (0.025)
Upper Secondary	-0.040*** (0.009)	-0.082*** (0.023)
Post Secondary	-0.050*** (0.009)	-0.119*** (0.022)
<b>Marital Status Ref: Single</b>		
Married	-0.019** (0.008)	-0.041*** (0.0132)
Widowed	-0.0323*** (0.011)	-0.105*** (0.026)
Divorced	-0.018** (0.008)	-0.031 (0.021)
<b>Children Ref: No Child</b>		
Couple Child	0.013*** (0.004)	0.029*** (0.009)
Lone Parent	0.038*** (0.009)	0.079*** (0.018)
<b>Duration Ref: &gt; 2 years</b>		
Duration < 2 years	0.039 (0.025)	-0.025 (0.031)
<b>National Ethnic Group Ref: White Irish</b>		
White UK	0.011 (0.016)	0.060* (0.033)
White EU13	0.007 (0.026)	(0.039) (0.040)
White NMS	0.113* (0.065)	0.083*** (0.021)
White Non-EU	0.056* (0.030)	0.0563 (0.046)
Asian	0.099 (0.072)	0.074 (0.054)
African	0.280*** (0.088)	0.250*** (0.06)
Minority EU	0.074* (0.04)	0.042 (0.048)
Observations	9,683	7,057



**Table A3.2 Linear Regression of ISEI Full Results**

ISEI Occupation	2004	2010
<b>Age Ref: Under 25</b>		
Age 25-44	3.214*** (0.889)	3.429*** (1.206)
Age 45-64	3.864*** (0.931)	3.088** (1.256)
<b>Education Ref: Primary Education</b>		
Lower Secondary	3.586*** (0.544)	2.404** (0.970)
Upper Secondary	8.571*** (0.516)	6.996*** (0.907)
Post Secondary	16.92*** (0.488)	15.43*** (0.866)
<b>Marital Status Ref: Single</b>		
Married	1.292** (0.509)	1.174** (0.577)
Widowed	0.144 (1.256)	-1.056 (1.790)
Divorced	2.622*** (0.747)	1.540 (0.988)
<b>Children Ref: No Child</b>		
Couple Child	-1.237*** (0.363)	-1.601*** (0.447)
Lone Parent	-2.898*** (0.623)	-3.644*** (0.770)
<b>Duration Ref: &gt; 2 years</b>		
Duration < 2 years	-3.318 (1.661)	0.326 (1.867)
<b>National Ethnic Group Ref: White Irish</b>		
White UK	1.208 (1.031)	3.852*** (1.270)
White EU13	1.488 (1.701)	2.574 (1.867)
White NMS	-7.338** (2.711)	-9.718*** (0.877)
White Non-EU	1.532 (1.468)	-4.553** (1.781)
Asian	-2.532 (2.852)	-7.994*** (1.893)
African	-7.233** (3.435)	-9.223*** (2.334)
Minority EU	2.554 (1.978)	-2.284 (2.022)
Constant	31.51*** (0.999)	33.33*** (1.479)
Observations	9,217	6,072

## **4. Decomposing Gender Differences in the Occupational Attainment of Recent Polish Migrants in Ireland**

It is expected that recent immigrants will typically experience initial labour market disadvantage on arrival in the host country, but usually, over time, immigrants also gain labour market experience and knowledge, become more acculturated and integrated in the labour market and their occupations (Chiswick and Miller, 1997). The findings from chapters two and three show that migrants from the NMS experience disadvantage in the Irish labour market compared to Irish natives, both in their experience of self-reported work based discrimination, and in their occupational and unemployment outcomes. Overall this group experience higher risk of unemployment, and lower occupational attainment than Irish natives. In particular, the risk of unemployment for males from the NMS significantly increased over the recession, compared to natives.

This work draws on the first wave of Socio-Cultural Integration Processes (SCIP) survey of new Polish migrants to Ireland, conducted in 2010/2011, to analyse whether there is a gender differential in the occupational attainment of recent Polish migrants in the Irish labour market. A growing body of literature on gender differences in the labour market incorporation of migrants has found that female migrants often experience a “double disadvantage” (gender and migrant status) in their labour market outcomes (Antecol, 2000; Cotter et al., 1995; Donato et al., 2014; Fleischmann and Höhne, 2013; Powers and Seltzer, 1998; Raijman and Semyonov, 1997). This disadvantage has been attributed to a range of factors including (but not limited to) differences in human capital, occupational segregation, tied mover and family status, and difficulties in translating human capital (Baker and Benjamin, 1997; Del Río and Alonso-Villar, 2012; Duleep and Dowhan, 2002). This study will extend on the growing literature on gender differences in migrants’ labour market incorporation, and will examine the factors that influence differences between male and female occupational attainment in Ireland. Little is known in Ireland about the labour market incorporation of new migrants who arrived during a labour market crisis which had a strong gender dimension. This chapter seeks to understand the economic incorporation of recent Polish migrants who arrived in Ireland in 2011/2012, and whether traditional patterns of female disadvantage appear, or to the contrary, male migrants experience disadvantage compared to females.

This study adds to the literature in a number of ways, primarily it analyses gender differences in recent migrants’ occupational outcomes. Work on gender differences in migrants’ labour market outcomes is still rare in Ireland, reflecting the recent nature of immigration to the country. The SCIP survey provides a rich source of data that allows analysis of factors not routinely available in Irish

data, including the pre-migration experience, expressed migration motivations, language skills, and how these impact on post-migration structural integration. Moreover, the chapter applies decomposition methods to examine differences in occupational attainment. This method is often used in the economics literature to assess the mechanisms that influence the gender wage gap, however it is rarely used to look at differences in occupational outcomes. The method estimates how differential distributions of individual characteristics such as human capital contribute towards the occupational gap and measures the element of the gap that is due to males and females earning a different return to their given characteristics. This serves to provide a more in-depth analysis of gender differences in outcomes. Specifically, the chapter examines 1) Gender differences in migrants' occupational outcomes 2) The role of human capital on male and female outcomes 3) The influence of family and 'tied mover' status on migrants' labour market attainment. This work will serve to add to our understanding of the factors that influence the labour market integration of the largest migrant group in Ireland.

#### **4.1 Polish Migrants in Ireland**

Ireland has experienced extensive migratory change in the past two decades, linked to changing economic conditions and the expansion of the European Union (McGinnity et al., 2014a). The number of foreign residents increased from 224,300, or 6% of the total population in 2002, to 575,600, or 12.8 % in 2008, before falling back to 550,400, or 12% in the wake of the economic crisis in 2012 (O'Connell and Joyce, 2013). Following EU enlargement in 2004 and 2007 there was substantial immigration from the New Member States (NMS). Ireland was one of the few countries to allow immediate access to its labour market to accession states without restrictions, making it a popular destination for Polish migrants (Okólski, 2010; Röder, 2011). Polish migrants quickly became the largest group of migrants, and increased from 63,276 persons in 2006 to 122,585 in 2011, a 59,309 increase over the period. In 2011 Poles nearly 23% of all non-Irish nationals were Polish nationals (CSO, 2012).

Important pull factors that initially attracted Polish migrants to Ireland were the buoyant economy with relatively high wages and wide availability of work (Grabowska, 2003), and English as the primary spoken language, as it is popular and widely taught in Poland (Krings et al., 2013; Kropiwienc and King-O'Riain, 2006). Initially the vast majority of Polish immigrants to Ireland were male. In 2006 nearly two-thirds of all Poles were male, however by 2011 the balance had shifted to 51.7% males and 48.3% females (CSO, 2012). NMS<sup>24</sup> immigrants who moved to the UK and Ireland were

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<sup>24</sup> Aside from the Census data, Polish migrants are less readily identified in Irish data as the CSO aggregates them into the NMS groups, in this case the work here refers to literature that use 'NMS' as a proxy for Polish

similar in many respects: mainly young, often highly educated, with high levels of labour market participation (Okólski, 2010; Voitchovsky, 2014).

Work suggests that NMS migrants rapidly incorporated into the Irish labour market and NMS did not seem to displace Irish workers (Doyle et al., 2006). Instead, research by Turner (2010) found that the Irish workforce experienced occupational upgrading between 2002-2006, and immigrants, in particular from the NMS, moved into low skilled occupations to replace them. Research on migrants' incorporation in Ireland increasingly found that NMS migrants experienced particular disadvantage in the labour market, with lower earnings and occupations (Barrett and Duffy, 2008; Barrett et al., 2012). However this work concentrated on migrants early outcomes, and work by Mühlau (2012) found that Polish migrants experienced a considerable improvement of their occupational status in the first three years of their stay in Ireland.

Ireland's economic crisis from 2008 onwards led to large employment losses for both nationals and non-nationals, however job losses among NMS nationals were particularly acute (Barrett and Kelly, 2012; Barrett et al., 2014). In many sectors, NMS workers appear to be displaced by other, mainly indigenous workers (Mühlau, 2012). The analysis in chapter two supports findings of disadvantage experienced by NMS migrants, and shows that NMS migrants report experiencing significantly higher workplace discrimination in 2004 and 2010. The findings from chapter three further corroborate findings from the work to date, and show that NMS migrants experience significantly higher risk of unemployment than Irish natives, and the occupational attainment of this group was on average 9 points lower than Irish nationals in 2004 and 2010, even when differences in characteristics are controlled for. Findings show that in particular NMS males were disadvantaged in this time frame, and their risk of unemployment increased significantly compared to natives between 2004 and 2010.

Why do NMS migrants in Ireland experience such disadvantage in the labour market? Despite having a relatively similar educational profile to Irish workers, they disproportionately occupy jobs at the lower level of the occupational ladder, in manual, casual, low-paid, and temporary roles (McGinnity et al., 2011; Röder et al., 2014). In 2011 over 28% of NMS workers were employed in elementary occupations, compared to less than 7% of Irish, or other EU workers, and 14% of workers from outside of the EU (CSO, 2012). Disadvantage was even stronger for more highly

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migrants, as is common in Irish migration research to date. It is hoped that in the future, as the migrant population in Ireland grows, data disaggregation will become more detailed and this group will be more readily identified in Irish labour force survey data.

educated NMS migrants, or those at the upper end of the earnings distribution (Barrett et al., 2014). It is posited that NMS migrants may face initial disadvantage as they more readily take up jobs below their qualification level as they are expected to be provisional, at least initially (Krings et al., 2013; Voitchovsky, 2014). Migrants may also expect their stay in Ireland to be temporary and consequently take jobs of lower positions, transitory migration may ultimately contribute towards inequalities in the labour market as it weakens incentives for workers and employers to invest in country specific human capital including language and job training (Barrett et al., 2013).

In 2010 Ireland re-entered a phase of significant net emigration (McGinnity et al., 2014a), due to the collapse of the labour market in a severe recession. Whilst there was out-migration of NMS nationals, there was still significant in-migration. The census results show that of the 53,267 persons who arrived in Ireland in the year prior to April 2011, 33,340 were non-Irish nationals, most of whom were of European nationality, with the largest number being Polish nationals (4,112 persons or 12% of new arrivals were Poles) (CSO, 2012). Less is known about the labour market outcomes of the migrants who arrived during recession, when the economy was still extremely unstable and unemployment was high, this study will expand on the knowledge of this group and the factors that influence their structural integration.

The recession in Ireland had a strong gender dimension, and male dominated industries were especially affected by the collapse. A key characteristic of the latter part of the economic boom was a property boom, which was associated with very high rates of male employment in construction (McGinnity et al., 2014b). As many Irish construction workers moved into semi-skilled job positions, there was a particular demand for less-skilled construction labourers, and a rapid increase in migration helped to fill these roles. By the end of 2007, migrants accounted for 17% of the total construction workforce, migrant employment in the sector was not confined to low-skilled occupations, migrants' were also occupying higher-skilled positions such as engineers, site managers and quantity surveyors (Bobek et al., 2008). In the latter years of Ireland's economic boom, the economic growth was increasingly characterised by rapidly rising property prices and house building, as the global credit crunch took hold in 2007/08, house prices began to decline, and this led to a rapid fall in house-building and other building activity (Barrett and McGuinness, 2012). Compared with natives, non-Irish nationals faced a slightly greater threat from job losses in the construction, the manufacturing, and the wholesale and retail sectors (McGinnity et al., 2014b). The bottoming out of the construction industry led to a sharp drop in employment in the sector, more than 162,000 construction jobs were lost between 2007 and 2012, this particularly adversely impacted on males. Males were also concentrated in the agriculture and manufacturing industries that subsequently faced a high rate of job loss (McGinnity et al., 2014b). Whilst females' labour

market outcomes were also impacted upon by the recession, research suggests that gender segregation within the Irish labour market helped to protect female employment rates, the lower rate of job losses in education, health and public administration may have resulted in a somewhat lesser impact of this recession on female employment (McGinnity et al., 2014b; Russell et al., 2014). However, the embargo on public sector employment, which was introduced in the health services in 2007 and spread across the sector in 2008, will have particularly impacted upon females as they more heavily rely on public sector roles, and there is no doubt that females experienced disadvantage in their labour market position recession too (Duvvury and Finn, 2014).

#### **4.2 Gender and Migrants' Labour Market Outcomes**

A growing body of work that analyses gender differences in migrants' labour market outcomes has shown that the labour market incorporation of migrant men and women is not uniform in its pattern (Demireva, 2011; Donato et al., 2014; Fleischmann and Höhne, 2013). Seminal work in Canada and Israel found that some migrant women experience a "double disadvantage" (gender and migrant status) in the labour market compared to their native born counterparts and males (Boyd, 1984; Raijman and Semyonov, 1997). Work has found that female disadvantage varies greatly between ethnic groups, (Adsera and Chiswick, 2007; Fleischmann and Höhne, 2013), and also vary across countries (Donato et al., 2014). While some migrant women experience a "triple disadvantage" (Gender, ethnicity and migrant status), other work has found a "single disadvantage" (migrant/female status), or that some female migrant groups outperform both native born women and men (Rebhun, 2008). Female disadvantage often appears in transition to the host country, a body of work has shown that migrant women are more likely to experience downward mobility in their occupational attainment compared to males (Powers and Seltzer, 1998; Simón et al., 2011; Vidal-Coso and Miret-Gamundi, 2014) and thus are less likely to experience subsequent upward mobility, even with similar education levels to males (Raijman and Semyonov, 1997; Stier and Levanon, 2003).

In Ireland, research that examines the labour market incorporation of migrants by gender has found evidence of both male and female disadvantage in their labour market integration. Work by Barrett and Kelly (2012) found that female immigrants from Central and Eastern EU countries were less likely to be employed compared to their Irish counterparts or also compared to their male compatriots and that the economic downturn significantly impacted on male and female NMS employment chances. However, the effect was more severe on NMS males compared to females (Barrett and Kelly, 2012). Work by Mühlau (2012) on the economic incorporation of Polish migrants in Dublin found that between the years of economic crisis of 2008 and 2010, the position of Polish

women improved strongly relative to Polish men, in terms of the change of employment, occupational status and wages. This was because more males in high paid and prestigious roles lost their jobs during recession, job losses among women were fewer and those who lost their jobs were generally in poorer quality jobs. This meant that the gender gap in Polish migrants' employment and earnings narrowed in this timeframe, and females' average occupational status was higher than males in 2010.

The first research question examines whether there is a significant gap in the occupational attainment of recent Polish migrant males and females. In general, it is expected that there will be a gender gap in occupational outcomes, given the gender differences described in the literature on the labour force incorporation of immigrants. One hypothesis is that there will be a significant gender gap in migrants' occupational attainment, with females experiencing lower attainment than males (H1), which is line with previous findings on migrant female disadvantage (Boyd, 1984; Rajzman and Semyonov, 1997). Yet, given findings from previous research on the economic incorporation of Polish and NMS migrants in Ireland, and findings in chapter three which showed that male NMS migrants were more adversely impacted upon by recession than females, disadvantage may not be as evident. Male employment and male dominated industries were more impacted upon in the Irish recession, this could mean that males may transition into lower occupations than they traditionally would do in a stable or buoyant labour market.

### **4.3 Theoretical Framework**

Predominant neoclassical economic theory of labour markets attributes differences in male and female labour market attainment due to differentials in the distribution of human capital. Human capital constitutes all knowledge and skills that increase an individual's productivity in the labour market (Becker, 1985). In the economic literature, human capital theory is the primary explanation for immigrants' economic integration and mobility. Human capital theorists have demonstrated that immigrants with greater human capital (or work-related skills) are more successful in the labour market than those with less human capital (Powers and Seltzer, 1998). The translation of human capital is seen as a key determinant in immigrants' labour market success in the host country. In general studies have found low returns to education and experience from country of origin, when compared with host country education and experience (Kossoudji, 1989; Schoeni, 1998).

Traditional human capital theory posits that females have lower human capital than males, as investments in education, work, and on-the-job-training appear less profitable to females (Blau et al., 2006; Mincer, 1962). Females may invest less due to the division of labour within the family,

due to stronger preference for family work, or may have less incentive to invest in human capital if their husband already has sufficient resources (Dustmann and Schmidt, 2001; Mincer and Polacheck, 1974). Moreover, females typically amass less work experience due to working, on average, fewer hours in their lifetime (Polachek, 2004). Differentiations in human capital lead to gaps in occupational attainment, and ultimately contribute towards gender wage gaps. Work on the gender pay gap in Ireland by McGuinness et al. (2009) found that higher levels of educational attainment among females served to reduce the gender wage gap, however educational attainment was insufficient to compensate for the effects of work experience and this contributed towards the gap. A second research question investigates whether gender differences in occupational attainment are related to gender differences in the distribution of human capital. In line with human capital theory it is hypothesised that if a significant gap in male and female occupational outcomes exists, part of the gap in occupational attainment will be due to females having lower human capital than males, as that they invest less in human capital due to differences in preferences and the allocation of household and family tasks (H2). Human capital is measured through level of education, years of schooling in the English language, work experience in Poland, and investments into language skills both in Poland and in Ireland. If females have lower capital than males, and this contributes towards a gender gap in occupational outcomes, this will be evident in a negative female endowment.

The gender dimension of migrants' economic incorporation is often attributed to the role of the family (Becker, 1991). Differentiation of gender roles tends to allocate housekeeping, child rearing and other caring tasks to women, thus influencing earnings and occupational differences between men and women (Becker, 1991; Budig and England, 2001; Cobb-Clark and Kossoudji, 2000; Lewis, 2001). Research on migration traditionally focuses on the household as a key to understanding gender differences in migrant labour market outcomes (Stark, 1984), with the model of the patriarchal family being the dominant discourse (Morokvasic, 1984). The family investment model posits that female labour market motives are of a secondary focus (Baker and Benjamin, 1997; Duleep and Dowhan, 2002). Females are more often found to be 'tied movers' who display household utility maximising behaviour, participating in moves that result in a net loss for themselves in employment and earnings, but positive net returns for the family (Mincer and Polacheck, 1974). The 'tied' spouse makes labour market choices on the basis of what maximises family earnings, which puts them in a less favourable economic position than comparable foreign-born 'primary movers' or native-born women, and in turn leads to lower wages and lower occupational attainment, and contributes to gender differences in earnings (Adsera and Chiswick, 2007; Cooke, 2008; Cooke et al., 2009). The family migration literature has traditionally presumed that migrant wives are disproportionately cast into the role of the tied migrant (Cooke, 2008).



However Bielby and Bielby (1992) argue that decisions made by the family are less to do with the preference of the 'tied mover' and more related to gender role beliefs. Work to date has found that family migration is usually associated with reduced employment and earnings among married women, and economic decisions often favour husbands absolute occupational status (Cooke et al., 2009; Lichter, 1980).

A final research question investigates whether the presence of family influences on gender differences in occupational outcomes, it is expected that family plays out differently for male and female labour market outcomes. Traditional explanations for gender inequalities in the labour market have found that the presence of children negatively influence female attainment. Attributed reasons for this female disadvantage include time spent out of the labour market and females prioritising roles that are compatible with family commitments. Moreover, it is expected that 'tied' spouses, whose labour market outcomes are of secondary focus and who make career moves that maximise the outcomes of their family will have lower attainment. A final hypothesis is that family characteristics will play out differently for males and females, with the presence of children negatively effecting female occupational attainment, with no effect on male attainment (H3). The role of family will be investigated through marriage, the presence of children, and motives for moving. While it is not possible to directly test 'tied movers' within the data, it is put forward that respondents who report that their main motivation for moving is for family reasons are 'tied movers'.

This chapter examines gender differences in the occupational outcomes of recent Polish migrants to Ireland, and the factors that may influence on any gender differentials in migrants' occupational attainment. It is acknowledged that gender differences in migrants' labour market outcomes will also result from factors that are not investigated here. A predominant explanation for gaps in occupational outcomes is that they are due to occupational segregation within the labour market (England, 1981; Roos and Reskin, 1990). Women tend to cluster in occupational fields in different types of jobs and sectors in Ireland (Russell et al., 2009b), and internationally (Charles and Grusky, 2004). Variations in male and female labour market incorporation will also be influenced by the institutional context within Ireland. Tax and welfare policies influence gender differences in the labour market, as will access to childcare and benefit systems (Kesler, 2006; Pascall and Lewis, 2004). It is expected that these factors will influence male and female labour market incorporation, and the labour market decisions that migrants make. However it is beyond the scope of this study to analyse these factors.

#### 4.4 Data and Methodology

This chapter utilises the first wave of the Irish Socio- Cultural Integration Processes (SCIP) data. The Norface SCIP project studies integration trajectories of new immigrants in four European countries: Germany, the Netherlands, Ireland and Great Britain. Its substantive focus is on migrants' socio-cultural integration and the experiences of new migrants. The first wave of data was collected between October 2010 and November 2011. The cross-national harmonised data collection allows for analysis of new migrant trajectories and early socio-cultural integration (Luthra et al., 2014). New Polish immigrants in Ireland were surveyed in the Dublin area, a multiplicity of sampling methods was used, largely combining an adapted version of Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) along with various strategies of directly and indirectly approaching members of the target population with chain referral methods (Gresser et al., 2014). Chain-referral methods were used as RDS was not a feasible method due to the rapid decrease in Polish immigration after the onset of the economic crisis. Consequently, strategies of directly and indirectly approaching members of the target population were used, alongside chain referral methods where respondents were recruited through existing respondents and existing contacts (Gresser and Schact, 2015).

Sampling conditions included that respondents had arrived and remained in their host country for not longer than 18 months, had arrived from their country of origin and intended to stay for longer than a limited number of months in the host country. Overall 1056 respondents were included in the first wave. A second wave was carried out 18 months later, this study focuses on the first wave of data only as there are not enough cases in the second wave to perform meaningful analysis, furthermore it is felt that 18 months is too short a period to detect changes in the labour market position of immigrants. It is acknowledged that due to sampling limitations, the samples may not be fully representative of new Poles. However, without register data it is near impossible to create a representative sample of new migrants, and research has found that RDS sampling is the best possible measure in this situation (Frere-Smith et al., 2014; Luthra et al., 2014).

The focus of the study is on the occupational attainment of Polish males and females within the Irish labour market. Previous research suggests that measuring gender inequality in terms of occupational status is a more reliable measure of long term economic position than either income or earnings (Seibert et al., 1997; Zimmerman, 1992). It is acknowledged that occupational status can only be analysed among the subsample of employed persons. This may miss initial gender disadvantage of selection into employment. This raises concerns that the estimation of the returns for endowments for women is downwardly biased as women with poor labour market prospects may decide not to participate. Heckman (1980) has created a method to control for these selection

effects, but the use of a Heckman selection model to control for potential bias is not appropriate in this case as there is not sufficient information to strongly identify the selection and outcome processes separately. If selection is believed to be present in the data, then the quality of the inferences depends on the identification of the selection and outcome equations (Brandt and Schneider, 2007). Exclusion restrictions are variables that affect the selection process but not the substantive equation of interest, models with exclusion restrictions are superior to models without exclusion restrictions because they lend themselves to a more explicitly causal approach to the problem of selection bias (Bushway et al., 2007). In order to select an appropriate restriction, one has to identify factors that affect one variable but do not affect a second variable. In the case of this analysis it is not possible to identify such a restriction, removing any of the present variables would render a poorly identified model, which can lead to biased inferences and incorrect conclusions about the presence and effects of selection (Brandt and Schneider, 2007). Instead separate regression models of employment were run for males and females, the results show that married males are more likely to be employed, and males who move for family reasons are less likely to be employed. There is no significant determinant on the probability of females' selection into employment, therefore results from the regression model find that selectivity is not an issue with this data.<sup>25</sup>

Gender differentials in labour market outcomes across countries are examined using the Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition method. This technique is used to decompose mean differences between two groups based on linear regression models (Blinder, 1973; Jann, 2008). The standard application of this technique is to divide the wage gap between men and women into a part that is explained by differences in determinants of wages, such as education or work experience, and a part that cannot be explained by such group differences (Blau and Kahn, 1992; Jann, 2008). Here the method is applied to occupational status as a measure of labour market success. Differences in attainment and the contributing factors are measured between males and females. I utilise a three-fold decomposition model, as specified through the 'Oaxaca' command in Stata (Jann, 2008).

A Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition first estimates separate linear regressions for the two groups and then performs the decomposition. It then estimates the difference between the average male and average female occupational status (i.e. the gap in occupational attainment), and quantifies the element of the gap that is due to females having less favourable characteristics than males (endowments effect); the second term measures the element due to females receiving a different 'return' for given characteristics (coefficient effect); the third term is the interaction of differences

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<sup>25</sup> See Appendix Table A4.1

in endowments and coefficients (interaction effect)- “accounting for the fact that differences in endowments and coefficients exist simultaneously between the two groups” (Jann, 2008, p. 455). The coefficient portion arises from differentials in how the predictor variables (such as education) are associated with the outcomes for males and females. This part would remain even if the advantaged group (i.e. females/males) were to attain the same average levels of measured predictor variables (i.e. education) as the disadvantaged group. This part of Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition is sometimes thought to reflect discrimination, however alternative determinants that may potentially influence the findings may not be fully captured in the data. For example, information on previous employment history, sector of occupation, and time out of the labour market is not available in the data. In addition, discrimination may influence the explained component of the gender gap where it determines the unequal distribution of the observable characteristics between men and women (McGuinness et al., 2009).

It is acknowledged that there are many sources of potential bias with the decomposition, furthermore the “unexplained” part of the decomposition is sensitive to the choice of arbitrary reference category omitted from the regression model with categorical and dummy variables. The decompositions are not invariant to the scale of variables, and the choice of the reference group may affect the ratio of explained to unexplained portions of the gap (Altonji and Blank, 1999). Normalisation may avoid the problem of omitted reference categories yet it complicates the economic interpretation of the decomposition results (Gardeazabal and Ugidos, 2004). This analysis uses dummy variables without constraints and instead accounts for sensitivity by ensuring that there is justified clear motivation for the choice of reference category. Previous research has argued that if there are theoretical reasons to define a reference group, the original Oaxaca method can be applied (Fortin et al., 2011; Kim, 2013). The decompositions are then estimated using a specification that includes variables which have been found in the literature to account for gender differences in outcomes, including ‘human capital’ characteristics and ‘family’ characteristics. Missing cases are excluded from the analysis. However missing cases are small in number, therefore further analysis of missing data was not needed.

#### *Dependent Variable*

Labour Market disadvantage is modelled using the ISEI- Socio-economic index of occupational status, which is a measure of occupational prestige. Wage is often used as a measure of success in employment career, however detailed wage data is not available and occupation is also widely used as an indicator of position within a system of social stratification (Fleischmann and Höhne, 2013; Powers and Seltzer, 1998). The ISEI index is generated by the scaling of occupation unit groups to maximize the indirect effect of education on income through occupation (Ganzeboom, 2010;

Ganzeboom and Treiman, 1996).<sup>26</sup> More information on the ISEI index and its construction are outlined in more detail in section 3.4.

### *Independent Variables*

*Demographics:* Gender is the main variable of interest in the study. Here females are the reference category and all outcomes compare the returns to female characteristics. Females are chosen as the reference category as the analysis focuses on whether disadvantage exists for female migrants, as has been found in previous research (Rajman and Semyonov, 1997). Disadvantage will potentially occur when females receive lower returns to given characteristics such as education. Age is included in the analysis as a continuous squared term.

*Human Capital:* Human capital is measured by combining characteristics including education level, language skills, investments into language skills, and previous work experience, as a combined cluster that determines the gender difference in returns to these characteristics. It is expected that gender differences in the level of, and returns to, human capital will contribute towards gender gaps in attainment. The economic success of the immigrant in the destination country is to a large extent determined by their educational background (Dustmann and Glitz, 2011), and education level is expected to play an important role on occupational outcomes. Education is measured through three binary dummy variables: primary to secondary level, comprehensive/technical education, and tertiary level education, primary to secondary level education is used as the reference category.

The SCIP survey includes information on the respondents training in the English language, and investments into English language skills in Poland. Previous research has stressed the importance of proficiency in the host country language in explaining the employment and occupational success of immigrants, as possessing stronger language skills increases the variety and quality of jobs that immigrants can apply for (Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003; Leslie and Lindley, 2001). A scale variable measuring years of schooling in English is included as a measure of potential knowledge of the host country language, it is acknowledged that this is an arbitrary measure of language skill, nevertheless it offers insight into the influence of language training on labour market outcomes. Investments made are measured by creating a combined binary variable of respondents who made efforts to improve language skills before migration in Poland through language classes, self-study, consuming media, everyday interactions, working, family and friends, speaking English and after migration in

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<sup>26</sup> [http://www.harryganzeboom.nl/isco08/isco08\\_with\\_isei.pdf](http://www.harryganzeboom.nl/isco08/isco08_with_isei.pdf)

Ireland through the same channels. Those who did not make efforts to improve on language skills were used as a reference category, as it is expected that investments into human capital will positively impact upon economic outcomes. Self-reported language skills are also available in the SCIP data, however this measurement is not used here as this is a measure of language skills at the time of survey, when migrants are already employed and may have accumulated language skills through their workplace and/ or networks. I am interested here in the influence of human capital acquired in the host country and its effect on occupational position.

A measurement of whether the respondent had previously worked in Poland was also included in the analysis to capture human capital, as an indicator of previous work experience. Respondents were not employed in Poland are the reference category, as it may be expected that previous work experience will positively impact upon occupational outcomes, although work by Friedberg (2000) in Israel found very low returns to work experience accumulated in the migrants' country of origin.

*Family:* Family status is included in the model as a potentially influential predictor of female labour market disadvantage. Here the presence of children, marriage status and an indicator of whether the respondent moved for family reasons, are combined to measure the effect of family on occupational attainment. The presence of children is measured using a binary variable: respondents who have no children are the reference category, to whom outcomes of respondents who have one child or more are compared. In line with the literature, it is expected that the presence of children will negatively impact on female occupational outcomes due to the differential distributions of household tasks and care between men and women and time spent out the labour market due to childrearing (Evans, 2002). While it is not possible to explicitly measure time spent out of the labour market, or gender differentials in the distribution of household tasks, it is suggested that the presence of children will negatively impact upon female occupational attainment. Marital status is included as a measure of family, with single respondents included as the reference category. A dummy variable measuring whether a respondent moved for family reasons is included in the model. In this question respondents were asked of their primary reason for moving, responses offered were for economic, marriage, to join or follow family, educational, political or no specific reason. The dummy here is coded as 1 if the respondent moved to join or follow family, and 0 if they moved for other reasons. In line with the 'tied mover' theory, it is expected that female respondents who moved for family reasons will have lower occupational attainment, as they prioritise the outcomes of their partner and family.

Table 4.1 displays the demographic breakdown of the SCIP sample, the sample are predominantly young: the mean age of males is 31 and the mean age of females is 30 years of age. The majority

of the sample is single (76% males and females), slightly more males (29%) than females (27%) have one or more children. More females (25%) than males moved for family reasons (11%). Stronger gender differences can be found in relation to education: whilst the majority of male (46%) and females (41%) respondents possess 'no primary to secondary' education, 25% of males and 40% of females possess tertiary level education. Both males and females have similar levels of schooling in the English language (around 7 years), while slightly more females (48%) made investments into language skills in Poland than males (44%). Slightly more males (55%) made investments in language skills in Ireland. The descriptives suggest that recent Polish migrants to Ireland have high levels of human capital, with 95% of males and 91% of females having previous work experience in Poland. However it is not possible to examine the quality of this work experience.

**Table 4.1 Mean Values and Proportions of SCIP Sample Demographics**

	Males	Females
N	507	550
Proportion	48	52
Age (M)	31	30
Marital/Family Status		
Single/Separated/Widowed	76	76
Married/partner	24	24
1+ Child	29	27
Move for Family Reasons	11	25
Human Capital		
No, primary, Secondary	46	41
Comp, technical ed	29	19
Tertiary	25	40
Years of schooling in Host Country Language	7	8
Investments in Poland	44	48
Investments in Ireland	55	52
Employed in Poland	95	91

Source: SCIP Wave One

#### **4.5 Occupational Distribution of the SCIP sample**

In order to gain a better understanding of the occupations migrants are in, and to aid with the interpretation of the ISEI scale of prestige, table 4.2 shows the occupational distribution of the SCIP sample and the most common jobs for males and females within these categories. The table shows that the majority of males and females are concentrated in the lowest occupation category of 10-20 points, the most common jobs for males in this category are agriculture and farm labourers. For women the most common jobs are cleaners and agricultural labourers. Around 37% of males are in roles in the second lowest 21-30 point category, compared to 33% of females, the most common

jobs for males in this category are transport labourers and street workers, and for females waitresses and child-care workers.

**Table 4.2 Occupational Distribution of Males and Females and Typical Jobs within These Categories**

ISEI	Males	%	Females	%
10-20	Ag and farm labourers	37.5	Cleaners, ag labourers	41.2
21-30	Transport labourers, street workers	37.0	Waitresses, child-care workers	33.2
31-40	Shop assistants, craft workers	13.4	Shop assistants, hairdressers	15.1
41-90	Programmers, travel stewards	12.1	Clerical support, travel Stewards	10.5
N of Cases	381		325	

Source: SCIP Wave One

Over 70% of males and females are concentrated in occupational roles that are classified as 30 points and under on the occupational prestige scale. These roles are of low prestige and generally need a low level or no qualifications, and pay poorly. The concentration of the sample in jobs of low prestige is likely a reflection of the labour market situation at the time of study. This group arrived in Ireland in 2011 when the economy was in the midst of a severe recession and there had been a collapse in many of the industries that migrants typically move into, particularly agriculture, manufacturing and construction. Typical roles in the higher prestige categories that males and females occupy include shop assistants and travel stewards, roles which do not generally require technical qualifications. It is uncertain whether this is a reflection of disadvantage for Polish migrants in their translation of human capital, or is symbolic of the labour market and high unemployment in this timeframe. Moreover, it could be related to selection of migrants into Ireland at a time of severe economic recession. Chapter five will extend on this analysis and examine the average occupational attainment of recent Polish migrants in Germany, the Netherlands and the UK to investigate the jobs that recent Polish migrants attain in these countries.

Descriptive results show that there is a similar gender distribution across occupational categories, and there does appear to be a striking gender imbalance in terms of male and female occupational attainment. In the next section I employ a Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition method to examine in more detail whether there is a significant gender gap in recent Polish migrants' occupational attainment, and if such a gap exists, the factors that contribute to gaps in outcomes.

## 4.6 Results

Table 4.3 displays the results of the Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition of male and female occupational



attainment, measured using the ISEI occupational prestige score.<sup>27</sup> Here females are the reference group, the analysis compares female outcomes to males. A higher endowment in human capital means that females have higher human capital than males.<sup>28</sup> Traditionally decomposition models use males as the reference group, however in this analysis I am interested in the factors that may contribute to female disadvantage in the labour market, therefore females are used as the reference group. Accordingly, a positive endowment in the results means that females have higher endowments than males, and a negative endowment means that females have significantly lower endowments.

**Table 4.3a Blinder-Oaxaca Decomposition of Migrants Occupational Attainment (ISEI)**

Female ISEI	25.72***		
	(0.678)		
Male ISEI	27.26***		
	(0.757)		
Difference	-1.540		
	(1.016)		
	<b>Overall</b>	<b>Human Capital</b>	<b>Family</b>
Endowments	1.749**	2.124***	-0.113
	(0.705)	(0.698)	(0.246)
Coefficients	-2.059**	-2.960**	-0.185
	(1.000)	(1.958)	(0.852)
Interaction	-1.231*	-1.285**	-0.109
	(0.637)	(0.622)	(0.309)

Standard errors in parentheses \*\*\* p<0.00, \*\* p<0.03, \* p<0.05. Source: SCIP wave one

The results of the decomposition demonstrate that female average occupational attainment is 26 points on the ISEI scale, and males is 27 points, there is a mean difference of 1.54 points in male and female occupational attainment, and this difference is not significant. I can therefore refute the hypothesis (H1) that females experience significantly lower occupational attainment than males. This is a relatively low average score on the attainment scale. Work by Mühlau (2012) found that Polish migrants average occupational attainment in 2008 was 35 points, and in 2010 was 36 points. This sample may have mainly transitioned into jobs of low occupational status as they have only recently arrived in the labour market. Migrants often take lower jobs initially with the hope they are temporary (Voitchovsky, 2014). As mentioned previously, low occupational attainment for migrants could also be a reflection of the unstable labour market at the period in question. In 2011 the annual average unemployment rate was 14.6%, recent migrants may have assimilated into

<sup>27</sup> The corresponding regression table is in Appendix table A4.1.

<sup>28</sup> The Family 'endowment' in the tables refers to mean differences in outcomes, and not to differences in 'endowments' in the sense of measurable characteristics, the 'human capital' endowment refers to differences in measurable characteristics such as education level.

lower prestige occupations in order to avoid unemployment (CSO, 2012).

The endowments in the model demonstrate the overall 'explained' component of the gap in occupational outcomes, this is due to average differences in background characteristics such as education or experience (Altonji and Blank, 1998). The endowments demonstrate that females have significantly higher overall endowments than males, this should in theory contribute towards higher female occupational attainment, yet the coefficients show that females receive lower returns to their endowments, and this contributes to lower female occupational attainment. This suggests that female disadvantage exists in the form of females receiving lower returns to their occupational characteristics.

The results show that females possess higher levels of human capital than males, and this contributes to higher overall endowment. Therefore, I can refute the hypothesis (H2) that a significant gap in occupational attainment would exist due to females possessing lower human capital than males. In fact, the results demonstrate that females experience disadvantage in the translation of their human capital, and females' higher level of human capital should contribute to higher occupational attainment. The overall coefficient, the unexplained variation, is negative and larger than the endowments, meaning that females receive lower returns to their human capital compared to males. The results then suggest that gender inequalities exist in the translation of female human capital, and females experience difficulties in getting their human capital recognised in Ireland. Results from the linear regression models<sup>29</sup> show that tertiary education is much more important for males than females, whilst tertiary education contributes towards female occupational attainment, the effect is stronger for males. Investments in the English language benefit male and female occupational attainment, as does years of schooling in English.

Contrary to expectations (H3) there is no effect of family on females' occupational attainment; whilst previous research has found that family and marital status negatively impact on females labour market experience this is not reflected in the results from this analysis (Budig and England, 2001; Correll and Benard, 2007; Neumark and Korenman, 1992). Results from the linear regression model show that 'tied movers' do not experience lower occupational attainment, and there is no evidence that family characteristics negatively impact on recent Polish females' occupational outcomes in Ireland. It is suggested that this is due to the distribution of the SCIP sample who are mainly young, single and well educated, perhaps the role of children and family will influence

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<sup>29</sup> See Appendix Table A4.2

female migrants' outcomes among migrants who are older and have children. In chapter five I extend on this analysis and examine whether family and tied mover status significantly impact on female outcomes in Germany, the Netherlands and the UK, to examine more closely whether the lack of significance of factors that traditionally influence disadvantage can be attributed somewhat to the selection of the sample in Ireland, and differential distributions in characteristics.

#### **4.7 Conclusion**

This paper draws on the first wave of Socio-Cultural Integration Processes (SCIP) survey of new Polish immigrants to Ireland, and investigates whether there are gender differentials in the labour market experience of recent Polish migrants to Ireland. The work contributes to the understanding of Polish migrants' labour market incorporation in Ireland, the gender dimension of their incorporation, and the mechanisms that influence differential outcomes in occupational attainment. Furthermore, the analysis extends on previous studies of migrants' labour market integration by utilising a Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition method to determine the factors that contribute towards differential labour market outcomes for males and females.

Overall, findings indicate that male and female Polish migrants' have similar occupational outcomes in the Irish labour market and the majority of recent Polish migrants are concentrated in low prestige jobs which are poorly paid. While females score on average slightly lower on the occupational attainment scale than males, the gender gap in attainment is not significant. This goes against the expectation that females would experience lower occupational attainment than males. A suggested reason for parity in outcomes is the labour market situation in Ireland in the period of question, In 2010/11 the Irish economy was in severe recession. In Ireland (McGinnity et al., 2014), and abroad (Cho and Newhouse, 2013; Vidal-Coso and Miret-Gamundi, 2014), predominantly male concentrated sectors were more adversely impacted by the recession. In Ireland employment contraction was most severe in the construction sector which accounted for less than 2% of female employment (Russell et al., 2014). Migrants and in particular male NMS migrants, were heavily concentrated in the construction industry, and as the work in chapter three demonstrates, experienced a significant increase in their risk of unemployment over the course of the recession. The rise in male unemployment and the loss of 'good male jobs' in Ireland, may mean that recent male migrants assimilated into jobs of lower quality than were previously available during the boom years, including roles that were traditionally reserved for female migrants, in order to protect themselves from unemployment. Work by Russell et al., (2014) found that males more often took involuntary part time positions in the recession, to protect themselves from unemployment. This finding supports previous findings by Mührlau (2012) who found that between the years of

economic crisis of 2008 and 2010, the position of Polish women improved strongly relative to Polish men, mainly because more males in high paid and prestigious roles lost their jobs during recession.

The results show evidence of female disadvantage compared to their male counterparts in the form of females receiving lower returns to their human capital. This supports findings of female disadvantage in the labour market in the growing literature on gender differences in migrant labour market incorporation (Antecol, 2000; Donato et al., 2014; Powers and Seltzer, 1998; Rajiman and Semyonov, 1997). Findings show that females are, on the whole, better endowed in terms of occupation determining characteristics than males, and would have higher occupational attainment than males if they received the same returns to their human capital endowments as males do. In general, it is expected that migrants receive lower returns to their human capital (Schoeni, 1998), however the findings in Ireland demonstrate gender differences in the transferability of skills. Work that has focused on gender differences in migrants' occupational transition has generally found that females experience bigger occupational loss than males from transition from origin to host country, and accordingly are more disadvantaged in terms of their occupations and wages (Powers and Seltzer, 1998; Rajiman and Semyonov, 1997; Simon et al., 2011). Various factors can impact on the translation of human capital which may play out differently for males and females. Work in Israel has found females generally operate in restricted labour markets, and that language skills are more essential for many high-status female-dominated occupations (i.e., clerical officers, saleswomen, teachers) (Rajiman and Semyonov, 1997). However, the work here does not find any significant difference in the effect of language skills, and investments into language for males and females. Future work should examine in more detail variations in the transferability of male and female human capital.

Low returns to female human capital may also be related to the labour market situation at the time of study (2010/2011), as females were operating in an extremely unstable labour market. The Irish Government's immediate response to the crisis included a moratorium on hiring in the public sector (IMF, 2012). The public sector is a key employer of females in Ireland, and a higher proportion of females than males are in civil service roles (Russell et al., 2014). It is likely that restrictions to public sector employment may affect females' occupational chances more adversely as the public sector is a major provider of 'good female jobs' (Del-Rio and Alonso-Vilar, 2012; Rajiman and Semyonov, 1997; Rubin et al., 2008). In the UK it is generally acknowledged that ethnic minority women are more likely to work in the public sector than ethnic minority men (Demireva, 2011). Little is known about the employment of migrants in the public sector in Ireland, as public sector employment is not readily identified in labour force survey data, however it is known that the Irish healthcare system relies heavily on migrant workers (Kingston et al., 2015a).

Nevertheless caution must be applied in attributing difficulties in translating human capital explicitly to disadvantage, differences in returns could also be related to differences in the quality of the human capital- for example female human capital could be devalued due to time spent out of the labour market, or may be more location specific (Blundell et al., 2013). Also difficulties in translating human capital may be related to difficulties in translating location-specific human capital, quality differences between education systems, or insufficient knowledge about the quality of foreign qualifications by Irish employers (OECD, 2015b). However these factors should affect both male and female outcomes equally.

There is no support for the expectation that marriage and family status negatively impact on females' economic outcomes, results show that family does not influence occupational attainment. An explanation for this could be that mothers are outside of the labour market, and are thus excluded from the analysis, having young children reduces female labour force activity (Budig and England, 2001; Stier and Yaish, 2008). Immigrant women may not participate during the initial years after their arrival due to lack of social networks to assist them with care (Evans, 1984). In Ireland it has been found that immigrant mothers are less likely to be employed than Irish mothers (McGinnity et al., 2014a). In a study of new Irish families Röder et al. (2014) found that, of all immigrant groups, the lowest rate of return to work was observed among mothers from NMS. However, a more appropriate explanation in this case may be that the migrants in this sample are generally younger, well-educated, predominantly single and without children. Many of the sample will not have not yet formed a family and accordingly the majority of women will not have spent time out of the labour market due to childbearing responsibilities. It is expected that the role of children and family may influence female labour market outcomes among migrants who are older and have children.

The results do not show a significant impact of females 'tied mover' status on their labour market outcomes, unlike findings from previous research (see Cooke et al., 2009), female 'tied' movers do not experience significantly lower occupational attainment. This may be because in general gender role attitudes are becoming more egalitarian, there has been a rise in dual-earning households and a decline in gender imbalance across Europe (Cotter et al., 2011; Tsang et al., 2014). In line with a decline of traditional gender roles, more recent studies on family migration have found that the effect of the husband and wife human capital characteristics in shaping the migration decision have become more equal (Brandén, 2013; Cooke et al., 2009; Rabe, 2011). However, again, it is suggested that family and 'tied mover' status may not be a mitigating factor in this case due to the characteristics of the SCIP sample in Ireland.

This work has provided an insight into gender differences in recent Polish migrants' labour market outcomes in recession, and contributes to the understanding on the integration of recent immigrants to Ireland who arrived during an economic crisis with a strong gender dimension. Overall the results are mixed in terms of gender differences in outcomes: there is no significant gap in male and female occupations, however results demonstrate female migrants experience disadvantage in the translation of their human capital. In chapter five of this thesis I extend this analysis to investigate whether there is a gender difference in recent Polish migrants' occupational outcomes in the Netherlands, UK and Germany. Comparison of the labour market integration of the same migrant group across different countries will allow for the consideration of the role of migrant selection, the labour market context, and differences in the returns to human capital across countries.

## 4.8 Appendix

**Table A4.1 Linear Regression of Selection into Employment**

		<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>
Employment	Age	-0.027 (0.015)	0.010 (0.016)
	Comprehensive/Technical	-0.233 (0.245)	-0.105 (0.281)
	Tertiary	0.275 (0.296)	0.026 (0.261)
	Married/Partner	1.211*** (0.321)	0.015 (0.287)
	Child	0.391 (0.268)	0.122 (0.270)
	Employed Country of Origin	0.093 (0.233)	0.137 (0.214)
	Years Language	0.003 (0.002)	0.000 (0.002)
	Investments Country of origin	-0.277 (0.224)	-0.195 (0.223)
	Investments receiving country	-0.073 (0.220)	-0.306 (0.220)
	Move for Family Reasons	-1.253*** (0.330)	-0.378 (0.254)
	Constant	0.982*** (0.279)	0.774*** (0.258)
	Observations	460	427

Standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.00, \*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05

**Table A4.2 Linear Regression Model of ISEI Occupational Score**

<b>VARIABLES</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>
Age	0.172 (0.098)	0.166 (0.099)
<b>Education (Ref Primary/Secondary)</b>		
Comp/tech	-0.036 (1.607)	-1.702 (1.751)
Tertiary	11.89*** (1.794)	3.410** (1.543)
<b>Marital Status (Ref Single)</b>		
Married/	1.915 (1.719)	2.806 (1.765)
Partner		
Child	0.646 (1.515)	-0.171 (1.556)
Employed	2.252 (1.519)	1.393 (1.281)
Poland		
Investments	5.006*** (1.423)	1.773 (1.400)
language		
Poland		
Investments	0.857 (1.391)	4.225*** (1.354)
Host Country		
Move Family	0.735 (2.381)	-0.716 (1.730)
Years Schooling	0.037** (0.017)	0.060*** (0.018)
Language		
Constant	18.02*** (1.708)	19.65*** (1.526)
Observations	381	325
R-squared	0.256	0.157

Standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.00, \*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05



## 5. Decomposing Gender Differences in the Occupational Attainment of Polish Migrants in Ireland, Germany, the UK and the Netherlands<sup>30</sup>

The migration of women is a growing phenomenon across the world. About half of all international migrants are women and flows of highly skilled workers are gender balanced (Dumont et al., 2007). Classic conceptualisations of migration were driven by the labour migration model where labour was assumed to be male breadwinner based (Borjas, 1987). Women were frequently viewed through a household lens (Becker, 1991) and were often invisible in relation to skilled migration, labour supply and employment integration (Boucher, 2007). Yet as stated in chapter four, a growing body of work that analyses gender differences in migrants' labour market outcomes has shown that the labour market incorporation of migrant men and women is not uniform in its pattern (Demireva, 2011; Donato et al., 2014; Fleischmann and Höhne, 2013). Work that looks at gender gaps in the labour market outcomes of the migrant population mainly centres on gaps in one country (e.g. Demireva, 2011; Fleischmann and Höhne, 2013; Kogan, 2011) or focuses on gender differences in the labour market participation, wages, and unemployment of migrants (Adsera and Chiswick, 2007; Donato et al., 2014; Kogan, 2006). Work on gender differences in occupational attainment has found female disadvantage in migrants' occupational outcomes in Canada (Boyd, 1984) and disadvantage in female occupational transitions in Israel (Raijman and Semyonov, 1997), however, findings on occupational attainment in Germany provide find less evidence of female disadvantage (Fleischmann and Höhne, 2013). To date, no study has assessed gender differentials in the occupational outcomes of the same migrant group across countries.

The analysis in chapter found that, against expectations, there is no significant gender difference in recent Polish migrants' occupational outcomes in Ireland, however female migrants receive lower returns to their human capital than males and this ultimately lowers their occupational attainment. It is suggested that parity in migrants' outcomes in Ireland may be influenced by labour market conditions in Ireland in the period of analysis (2011) and males transitioning into lower occupations than they traditionally would in a stable or buoyant labour market. It is also suggested that the SCIP sample in Ireland are positively selected. Predominantly young, single and well-educated and that this may prevent traditional mechanisms that influence disadvantage in the labour market playing out in the same way, such as the influence of children on female labour market outcomes. This chapter extends the analysis of chapter four and analyses whether a gender gap exists in recent Polish migrants' occupational outcomes in the UK, Germany and the

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<sup>30</sup> A version of this work was presented at the INGRID Winter School 'Gender and Labour Markets' in Trento, Italy on 16/02/2015. Further versions were presented at Trinity College Dublin, and seminars at Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI), Dublin.

Netherlands. By looking at Ireland in a comparative perspective it is possible to gain more of an understanding of whether the outcomes found in Ireland are a reflection of the labour market at the time of investigation, or hold true across countries. By comparing outcomes of the same migrant group across different countries one can consider the role of economic factors, migrant selection, and differences in human capital across countries, and how these may influence any gaps in attainment.

The chapter investigates gender disparities in recent Polish migrant occupational attainment by utilising the SCIP survey which covers over 3,500 Poles migrating to Germany, the Netherlands, the UK and Ireland between 2009-2011 (see section 4.4 for further detail, Luthra et al., 2014). It investigates 1) Gender differences in migrants' occupation status 2) The contribution of human capital endowments to male and female occupational outcomes 3) The influence of marital and family status on differences in male and female labour market attainment. Polish migration is of particular interest because the enlargement of the European Union eastwards posed the biggest demographic change in Europe since World War Two (Favell, 2008). While work has found that NMS migrants experience labour market disadvantage (Barrett and Kelly, 2012; Demireva, 2011; Kangasniemi and Kauhenen, 2013), less work has looked specifically at Polish migrants outcomes in Ireland and in particular, gender differences. It is important to investigate and understand differences in labour market incorporation as it is a crucial step towards migrants' inclusion into their receiving society (Kogan and Weißmann, 2013). Moreover, the occupational distribution of migrants has significant implications for both the migrant and the host country (Turner, 2010).

The work in this chapter contributes to the field as it analyses gender inequalities in recent Polish migrants' occupational attainment across four countries. This is the first study to compare gender differences in the occupational outcomes of the same migrant group across different countries. Previous work by Fleischmann and Höhne (2013) has highlighted gaps in research in this area. Furthermore, studies that analyse the integration patterns of the same origin groups across different destinations are still relatively rare (Diehl, 2015). The study is timely in the context of ever increasing migrant populations and the feminisation of migration both in Europe and internationally (Rubin et al., 2008).

The migrants included in this sample arrived in their host country between 2009 and 2011. In this period, because of the economic recession that was impacting on many countries in Europe and globally, the labour market situation was extremely different across the countries of study at that time. As outlined in previous chapters, the economy in Ireland was in crisis due to the collapse of the housing market, credit crisis and had an average unemployment rate of 14.7% in 2011, Ireland

was one of the worst affected countries in the EU (European Commission, 2011). The UK also experienced an economic recession and between March 2008 and March 2010 the employment rate and GDP fell sharply (Campos et al., 2011). However, by 2011 the economy in the UK was in recovery and the annual unemployment rate, whilst high at 8.1%, was still 7 percentage points lower than the rate in Ireland. The Dutch economy experienced recession in 2009, however their labour market was not as adversely effected by the global economic downturn as Ireland and the UK: in 2010 the Dutch economy recovered from recession, and by 2011 their labour force was growing and their average annual unemployment rate was 5%. The German economy was also stable in 2011, and was experiencing mild growth, with unemployment at a relatively low rate of 5.8% (European Commission, 2011). While it is beyond the remit of this analysis to investigate the macro-level factors, including the economy, on the occupational attainment of Polish migrants, it is suggested that the labour market situation will no doubt influence on gender differences in outcomes. In the period in question Ireland was experiencing a marked labour market crisis compared to the other countries of study. This work seeks to understand whether female migrants from the same country of origin experience disadvantage relative to men in different labour market conditions.

### **5.1 Gender Disadvantage in Migrant Labour Market Outcomes**

Comparative work on migrant gender differentials is rare and has focused on gaps in migrant female labour force participation (Donato et al., 2014), earnings (Adsera and Chiswick, 2007), or differences in unemployment (Kogan, 2006). Work by Fleischmann and Dronkers (2010) across Europe found no gender difference in migrant risks of unemployment, or in the influence of individual-and macro-level characteristics on male and female labour market outcomes. Findings by Rubin et al., (2008) and Donato et al., (2014) show that gender disadvantage in migrants' labour market outcomes is not uniform across countries. Female disadvantage is found where females are concentrated in the lowest skilled sectors, and are more susceptible to being overqualified for the jobs they hold (Dumont et al., 2007; Rubin et al., 2008). Previous work has found that migrant women are more likely to experience downward mobility on arrival in the host country compared to males (Powers and Seltzer, 1998; Rajiman and Semyonov, 1997). Analysis by Kogan and Weißmann (2013) found consistent gender inequalities in the German migrant labour market, where female migrants are concentrated in occupations of lower status, and earn lower wages than their male counterparts.

The analysis in chapter four found no evidence of a gender gap in Polish migrant male and female occupations in Ireland. This goes against expectations that females would experience significantly

lower occupational outcomes than males. However, disadvantage exists for females in the form of lower returns to their human capital, which ultimately lowers their occupational attainment. A first research question investigates whether significant gender differences exist in Polish migrants' occupational outcomes in the UK, Netherlands and Germany. Research suggests that gaps in female participation levels, unemployment and wages are expected (Demireva, 2011; Donato et al., 2014; Raijman and Semyonov, 1997). In line with the findings on migrant female disadvantage in the labour market, it is expected that females will experience significantly lower occupational attainment than males (H1).

As outlined in chapter four, human capital theory suggests that group differences and disadvantages in labour market outcomes are due to variations in human capital (in the form of education, experience and skill), and differences in individual preferences and skills (Browne and Misra, 2003). Classic human capital theory posits that investments in education, work, and training appear less profitable to females who may invest less due to the division of labour within the family, a stronger preference for family work, or may have less incentive to invest in human capital if their husband has already sufficient resources (Becker, 1991; Polacheck, 2004). A second research question examines whether part of the gender gap in occupational outcomes can be attributed to gender differences in the distribution of human capital. It is anticipated that some of the gap in male and female outcomes will be due to differential distributions of human capital. In line with traditional human capital theory, it is expected that if a significant gap is present in outcomes, part of the gap will be due to males possessing higher levels of human capital than females (H2). This will ultimately contribute towards the gender gap in attainment, and will be witnessed in the decomposition through females possessing lower endowments than males. Human capital is measured in the form of education, work experience in Poland, years of schooling in the receiving country language, and investments in language skills both in the host and receiving country.

Whilst human capital theory proposes that females have lower human capital than males and invest less in education, trends in tertiary level education uptake would suggest otherwise. There has been a reversal of the gender gap in educational attainment across western societies (Bradley, 2000; Buchmann et al., 2008). Gender differences in outcomes may not be caused by differences in human capital endowments and instead may be due to differences in the conversion of human capital endowments. The translation of human capital is seen as a key determinant in immigrants' labour market success in the host country, in chapter four it was found that female migrants in Ireland receive lower returns to their human capital than males, this has been mirrored in findings internationally which point to migrant female labour market disadvantage in translating their

human capital (Raijman and Semyonov, 1997; Rubin et al., 2008). Various factors can impact on the translation of human capital which may play out differently for males and females. Work that has focused on gender differences in migrants' occupational transition has generally found that females experience bigger occupational loss than males from transition from origin to host country, and accordingly are more disadvantaged in terms of their occupations and wages (Powers and Seltzer, 1998; Simón et al., 2011).

The host country labour market can be especially restricted for new migrant women meaning they have less opportunity to move into a role that is suited to their human capital. It is expected that restrictions on public sector employment may affect females' occupational position more adversely than males, as females typically rely on the public sector more for employment (Rubin et al., 2008). Work in Israel has found that language skills are more essential for many high-status female-dominated occupations (i.e., clerical officers, saleswomen, teachers) (Raijman and Semyonov, 1997). Females may receive lower returns to their human capital as they are segregated into low prestige jobs such as domestic work where human capital is not required (Del Río and Alonso-Villar, 2012; Powers and Seltzer, 1998; Simón et al., 2011). A third research question investigates whether females experience lower returns to their human capital in Germany, the Netherlands and the UK. It is hypothesised that, as found in Ireland, females experience lower returns to their human capital than males, and part of the gender gap in occupational outcomes will be attributed to the differential distribution of returns (H3).

The gender dimension of migrants' economic incorporation is often attributed to the role of the family (Becker, 1991). Differentiation of gender roles tends to allocate housekeeping, child rearing and other caring tasks to women, thus influencing earnings and occupational differences between men and women (Becker, 1991; Lewis, 2001). Women are more likely than men to balance childrearing with career aspirations (Stone, 2007); and mothers in many western European countries continue to experience underemployment (Mills et al., 2014). For both native and migrant women the individual decision to accumulate human capital may be affected by family formation and child care arrangements (Dustmann and Schmidt, 2001). As outlined in chapter four, a large body of work has found that gender roles and responsibilities are magnified through migration, females are more often found to be 'tied movers' who display utility maximising behaviour, participating in moves that result in a net loss for themselves in employment and earnings, but positive net returns for the family (Adsera and Chiswick, 2007). A final research question investigates whether family status negatively affects female occupational attainment compared to males. The role of the family is investigated by examining the influence of marital and family status and examining the outcomes of respondents who moved for family reasons, on occupational

outcomes. Although the analysis in chapter four found no evidence of the role of family, or tied mover status, it is suggested that this is due to the characteristics of the SCIP sample in Ireland, who are mainly young and single. It is expected that differences in the distribution of the sample across countries could lead to differences in outcomes, if more families migrate to the UK, Germany or the Netherlands, then an effect of family and tied mover status on females' occupational attainment may be found. A final hypothesis is that the effect of family on labour market outcomes will play out differently for males and females, with the presence of children negatively effecting female occupational attainment, with no effect on male attainment (H4).

Gender differences in labour market outcomes can be explained by variables at the individual, household and macro-level. Variations across countries in male and female labour market incorporation will be influenced by the labour market and institutional context in the host country, including family, care and tax models within States, as previous research has found these directly impact on women's labour market incorporation (Kesler, 2006; Pascall and Lewis, 2004). This chapter will examine differences at the individual and household level, it is beyond the scope of this study to examine the influence of the macro-level context on differences in outcomes.

## **5.2 Data and Methodology**

This analysis utilises data from the Norface "Socio- Cultural Integration Processes among New Immigrants in Europe" (SCIP) project.<sup>31</sup> This data was collected in two waves between 2011 and 2013, and due to differences in the availability of data, different approaches to sampling were undertaken across the four countries. In the Netherlands, population registers were used to access a sample of new migrants across the country. In Germany respondents were sampled from population registers of four major cities: Berlin, Hamburg, Munich and Cologne. The UK and Ireland do not collect population registers and therefore different methods of sampling had to be used here. In these countries respondent driven sampling (RDS), chain sampling and free-find methods were used (Luthra et al., 2014).

The differentials in sampling methods impacts on any analysis and findings from the SCIP data, and the samples cannot be designated as wholly representative of the Polish migrant population in any of the countries of study. There are well recognised challenges in attempting to sample a highly mobile population such as recent migrants including non-contact and mobility (Feskens et al., 2006). Even in Germany and the Netherlands, where detailed register data is available, recent migrants are less likely than the native population to register their location and they are more

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<sup>31</sup> Migrants who were in the country for longer than 18 months were excluded from the analysis.

likely to frequently change address, this can result in a biased sample skewed towards more integrated and stable immigrants (Luthra et al., 2014).

The survey consists of two waves, here the focus is on the occupational attainment of Poles in wave one of the data, analysis was not performed on wave two data as the sample sizes in some countries were too small to perform meaningful analysis. Furthermore, the second wave was carried out 18 months later and it is felt that this is too short a time frame to perform meaningful analysis of labour market integration over time. It is also recognised that occupational status can only be analysed among the subsample of employed persons, this may miss initial gender disadvantage of selection into employment, thus rendering bias in results. As outlined in section 4.4, utilising a Heckman selection model to account for such selection is not feasible in this case, in order to account for the possible role of selection a model of employment was estimated. However, results indicated no significant gender differences in the selection into employment, therefore selection into employment is not an issue with this analysis.<sup>32</sup>

Gender differentials in labour market outcomes across countries are examined using the Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition method, this technique is used to decompose mean differences based on linear regression models (Blinder, 1973; Jann, 2008), a detailed explanation of this method is in section 4.4.<sup>33</sup> Occupational prestige is utilised as a measure of labour market success, by using this method it is possible to quantify more precisely how much each variable is able to explain the occupational gap.

#### *Dependent Variable*

Labour Market disadvantage is modelled using the ISEI 'Socio-economic index of occupational status', occupation is widely used as an indicator of position within a system of social stratification (Fleischmann and Höhne, 2013). ISEI scores are a well-established instrument for measuring occupational status in cross-national research, the scores are designed to be 'universal' (i.e. the same scores are applicable to the same occupations across different societies).

#### *Independent Variables*

From a theoretical point of view, this research is primarily interested in the impact that gender

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<sup>32</sup> It was only possible to run employment models for the UK and Ireland due to the majority of the sample in Germany and the Netherlands being in employment.

<sup>33</sup> The 'Oaxaca' command in Stata is employed.

exerts on the occupational status of recent migrants, thus gender is included as a binary dummy and females are the base category. Additionally the analysis controls for age, education, previous work experience, years of schooling in the receiving country language and marital/family status, as they are all considered in the literature to be potentially influential covariates.

Education level is expected to play an important role on occupational outcomes and is measured through three binary dummy variables: primary to secondary level, comprehensive/technical education, tertiary level education. Primary to secondary level education is the reference category. Investments into the host country language are measured as investments made in both Poland and the destination country.<sup>34</sup> Years of schooling in the host country language is included as a measure of potential knowledge of the host country language, it is acknowledged that this is an arbitrary measure of language skill, nevertheless it offers insight into the influence of language training on labour market outcomes.<sup>35</sup> A variable measuring whether the respondent worked in Poland is included in the analysis as an indicator of previous work experience.

Marital and family status are included in the model as potential predictors of variations in male and female outcomes. The presence of children is measured in a binary variable of whether or not the respondent has children. Single persons and respondents without children are the reference categories.<sup>36</sup> Additionally, the motive for moving is included as a binary variable which compares the outcomes of those who moved for family reasons versus other reasons, the 'family investment model' suggests that females who move for family reasons may experience lower occupational prestige as they often take secondary roles (Foroutan, 2008).

Variables are grouped into 'family' and 'human capital' clusters, to test the mediating role of these mechanisms on differences in labour market outcomes. The family group includes those who are married/partner, respondents who moved for marital and/or family reasons, and who have children. The human capital variable includes education level, whether a respondent holds work experience in the country of origin, years of schooling in the receiving country language and investments into language in the host, and receiving country. Following convention these were omitted from linear regression models, but were included within the decomposition.

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<sup>34</sup> These measures are made by creating a combined binary variable of whether respondents made efforts to improve language skills before migration through language classes, self-study, consuming media, everyday interactions, working, family and friends, and speaking the destination country language, and after migration through the same channels.

<sup>35</sup> This variable is not included in analysis in the Netherlands, as Dutch is not commonly taught in the Polish education system.

<sup>36</sup> Differences in the number of children were tested, this did not influence results.



Table 5.1 reports the descriptives for the SCIP sample across Germany, the Netherlands, Ireland and the UK- in general recent Polish migrants are young and well-educated across the countries of study. There are some evident differences in the characteristics of Poles across countries, a larger proportion of Poles in the UK and Ireland are single/separated, more Poles in the Netherlands and Germany are married have a partner. In all countries of interest more females have tertiary level education than males, in particular female migrants to Ireland have the highest level of tertiary education, are more likely to be without children and to have experience of working in Poland.

**Table 5.1 Descriptive Statistics of Recent Polish Migrants by Country of Destination**

	Germany		Netherlands		Ireland		UK	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
N	828	686	178	244	507	550	463	315
Proportion	54.7	45.3	42.2	57.8	48	52	59.5	40.5
Age (M)	34.1	31.8	33.5	30.1	31.2	30	34.4	30.1
Marital/Family Status								
Single/Separated/Widowed	46.5	63.4	46.1	41.0	75.9	76.0	76.5	80.6
Married/partner	53.5	36.6	53.9	59.0	24.1	24.0	23.5	19.4
1+ Child	51.7	46.9	46.1	50	29.4	26.9	45.6	33
Move for Family Reasons	7.8	16.5	5.6	25.0	11.1	25.3	6.7	18.4
Human Capital								
No, Primary, Secondary	60.6	47.3	55.6	48.9	46.0	40.8	55.3	49.2
Comp, technical ed	24.9	20.0	25.1	21.0	29.4	19.4	29.2	23.3
Tertiary	14.5	32.7	19.3	30.0	24.6	39.9	15.6	27.5
Years of schooling in Host Country								
Language	4.5	5.4	*	*	7.1	7.6	5.7	7.1
Investments in Poland	25.1	39.8	6.2	11.9	44.2	48.4	67	24.4
Investments in Host Country	38.8	58.6	46.1	59.4	55.4	51.5	73	74.3
Employed in Poland	68.7	47.4	79.8	61.9	94.9	90.9	55.1	43.5

Note: \* Data not available. All descriptives are proportion within each category, aside from years of schooling in language which is a mean measure of years of education.

In order to gain a better understanding of the occupations migrants are in, tables 5.2A and 5.2B demonstrate the ISEI occupational scale broken down into four categories, showing the distribution of males and females in common occupations within these categories. The 10-20 point category is made up of occupations of the lowest prestige, and occupations within the 41-90 point category are of the highest prestige. The majority of females occupy the lowest occupation category of 10-20 ISEI points. In all countries of study more females than males are concentrated in this category. Common occupations within this category include kitchen labourers, cleaners and agricultural labourers. In Germany nearly 50% of females are concentrated in this category, compared to just 5% of males meaning that here the gap in

occupational attainment is the highest. The majority of males in Germany (62%), and the UK (49%), are concentrated in the 31-40 point group; common male occupations in this category include builders and carpenters. In all countries of study there is a similar proportion of males and females concentrated in the most prestigious category (41-90). In the UK a low proportion of males (4%) and females (6%) are in this category. In the next section decomposition analysis is employed to examine whether these differences remain when differences in human capital, and investments into human capital, are accounted for.

**Table 5.2a Average Occupational Distribution of Males across Destination Countries**

Males (examples of typical jobs in this category)		Ger	NL	Ire	UK
ISEI		%			
10--20	Farm labourers, kitchen helper, window cleaners	5.4	16.0	37.5	9.5
21--30	Mining labourers, assemblers, labourers	11.0	41.7	37.0	37.5
31--40	Builders, carpenters, bricklayers, painters	62.4	28.2	13.4	49.0
41--90	Civil engineers, ICT technicians, programmers	21.2	14.1	12.1	3.9
N		643	163	381	357

**Table 5.2b Average Occupational Distribution of Females across Destination Countries**

Females (examples of typical jobs in this category)		Ger	NL	Ire	UK
ISEI		%			
10--20	Cleaners, kitchen helpers, labourers	48.7	37.1	41.2	50.8
21--30	Child care and personal workers, waitresses	15.3	37.7	33.2	24.6
31--40	Shop sales assistants, hairdressers	9.9	11.4	15.1	18.7
41--90	Nurses, office clerks, restaurant managers	26.1	13.7	10.5	5.9
N		333	175	325	187

Source: SCIP Sample Wave One

Appendix tables A5.1 to A5.4 demonstrate the occupational distribution of males and females across countries in more detail, and show the typical occupations that males and females hold in each country of study. The results show that in the UK, the Netherlands and Germany, some of the typical jobs that males occupy in the higher occupation categories (31+ points), are construction related roles such as builder and trade workers, electricians, engineers and construction supervisors. In Ireland males do not occupy construction related roles, here males and females in the most prestigious occupation categories occupy similar occupations, and males are more often in 'typically' female roles such as shop assistants and travel stewards.

Findings show support for the suggestion that patterns in Ireland are net effect to the economic situation at the time. It appears that the collapse of the construction industry, the loss of 'good male jobs', and the transition of males into typically female roles may contribute towards parity in

male and female outcomes in Ireland. Across Germany, the Netherlands and the UK there appears to be a marked difference in male and female occupational profiles, in these countries a larger proportion of females are concentrated in the lowest occupational categories compared to males. In all countries females in the lowest occupation category typically work as cleaners. This corroborates research findings in Spain where it was found that immigrant women are more likely to be segregated into lower occupations than males (Del Río and Alonso-Villar, 2012).

While the majority of females are in the lowest occupational category across countries, the distribution of males is more evenly spread across countries, with recent Polish males faring particularly well in their occupational outcomes in Germany. A larger proportion of males (21%) and females (26%) are in the highest occupational category in Germany, this could reflect the strong labour market in Germany at the time of survey (2010-2011), which was experiencing an 'economic miracle' (Rinne and Zimmermann, 2011). Polish migrants to Ireland have the lowest occupational outcomes, and a similar proportion of males (38%) and females (41%) are in the lowest occupation category. This reflects the economic context in the country in 2011 when Ireland was recovering from a deep economic recession, overall unemployment was 13.8% for the native population and 20.6% for the NMS population (McGinnity et al., 2012). The following section presents the results of the empirical analysis of gender variation in occupational outcomes and examines whether differences in male and female occupational attainment remain after controlling for differential distributions of their characteristics.

### **5.3 Results**

Tables 5.3 and 5.4a and b display the results of the Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition of recent Polish migrant occupational attainment, the endowments term of the Oaxaca measures the element of the gap that is due to females having more favourable characteristics than males; the coefficient term measures the element of the gap due to males and females earning a different return for given characteristics.<sup>37</sup> Traditionally decomposition models use males as the reference group, however in this analysis I am interested in the factors that may contribute towards female disadvantage in the labour market, therefore in this analysis females are the reference group-accordingly a positive endowment in the results means that females have higher endowments than males, and a negative endowment means that females have significantly lower endowments. For example, in Germany females have significantly higher human capital endowments than males, this will be discussed in more detail below.

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<sup>37</sup> Results of the Linear Regression models are displayed in Appendix table A5.5a and b.

**Table 5.3 Blinder-Oaxaca Decomposition of Gender Differences in Migrants Occupational Outcomes across Destination Countries**

	<b>Germany</b>	<b>Netherlands</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	<b>UK</b>
<b>Female ISEI</b>	30.59*** (0.989)	26.56*** (0.963)	25.72*** (0.678)	25.14*** (0.700)
<b>Male ISEI</b>	37.27*** (0.496)	31.77*** (0.937)	27.26*** (0.757)	28.87*** (0.447)
<b>Difference</b>	-6.676*** (1.107)	-5.207*** (1.343)	-1.540 (1.016)	-3.721*** (0.830)

Standard errors in parentheses \*\*\* p<0.00, \*\* p<0.03, \* p<0.05

The results of the decomposition in table 5.3 show that there are significant gaps in male and female occupational outcomes in Germany, the Netherlands and the UK. In these countries females have significantly lower occupational attainment than males. As found in chapter four, there is no significant gender difference in migrants' occupational attainment in Ireland. The results confirm the first hypothesis (H1) that significant gender gaps in migrants' occupational outcomes exist. The gender gap in occupational attainment is largest in Germany. Here, females' average occupational score is almost 7 points lower than males. In the UK females occupational attainment is on average 5 points lower than males, in the Netherlands females occupations are on average almost 4 points lower than males.

**Table 5.4a Detailed Blinder-Oaxaca Decomposition of Gender Differences in Migrants Occupational Outcomes across Destination Countries (select results)**

	<b>Germany</b>			<b>Netherlands</b>		
<b>Female ISEI</b>	30.59*** (0.989)			26.56*** (0.963)		
<b>Male ISEI</b>	37.27*** (0.496)			31.77*** (0.937)		
<b>Difference</b>	-6.676*** (1.107)			-5.207*** (1.343)		
	<b>Overall</b>	<b>Human Capital</b>	<b>Family</b>	<b>Overall</b>	<b>Human Capital</b>	<b>Family</b>
<b>Endowments</b>	2.640*** (0.675)	3.388*** (0.663)	-0.871*** (0.261)	0.337 (1.096)	1.433 (0.781)	-0.612 (0.635)
<b>Coefficients</b>	-11.62*** (1.300)	0.760 (2.209)	-2.921** (1.456)	-6.588*** (1.484)	4.257 (2.803)	-1.209 (1.430)
<b>Interaction</b>	2.300** (0.990)	1.421 (0.919)	1.135** (0.558)	1.045 (1.313)	-0.217 (0.845)	0.912 (0.768)
<b>Observations</b>	959			338		

Standard errors in parentheses \*\*\* p<0.00, \*\* p<0.03, \* p<0.05

**Table 5.4b Detailed Blinder-Oaxaca Decomposition of Gender Differences in Migrants Occupational Outcomes across Destination Countries (select results)**

	Ireland			UK		
<b>Female ISEI</b>	25.72*** (0.678)			25.14*** (0.700)		
<b>Male ISEI</b>	27.26*** (0.757)			28.87*** (0.447)		
<b>Difference</b>	-1.540 (1.016)			-3.721*** (0.830)		
	<b>Overall</b>	<b>Human Capital</b>	<b>Family</b>	<b>Overall</b>	<b>Human Capital</b>	<b>Family</b>
<b>Endowments</b>	1.749** (0.705)	2.124*** (0.698)	-0.113 (0.246)	-1.077** (0.438)	-0.127 (0.354)	0.150 (0.249)
<b>Coefficients</b>	-2.059** (1.000)	-2.960** (1.958)	-0.185 (0.852)	-5.240*** (0.987)	1.559 (2.168)	-0.854 (0.908)
<b>Interaction</b>	-1.231* (0.637)	-1.285** (0.622)	-0.109 (0.309)	2.596*** (0.773)	1.375 (0.723)	0.024 (0.396)
Observations	706			544		

Standard errors in parentheses \*\*\* p<0.00, \*\* p<0.03, \* p<0.05

Source: SCIP Wave One

Tables 5.4a and b show a detailed breakdown of the decomposition and the returns to family and human capital endowments. Why do females experience lower occupational attainment? This differs across countries, in Ireland and Germany females have a significantly higher overall endowment than males. This should in theory contribute towards higher female occupational attainment in these countries, yet the coefficients show that females receive lower returns to their endowments, and this contributes to lower female occupational attainment.<sup>38</sup> In the UK female migrants have lower endowments than males, thus contributing to their lower mean occupational attainment. In the UK females' lower endowments cannot be explained by females possessing significantly lower human capital than males, or the differential effects of family characteristics on males and females.

There is no significant difference in male and female overall endowments in the Netherlands, here the gender gap is unexplained, and present in the coefficient part of the decomposition. In all countries of study the overall coefficient, the unexplained variation, is negative and larger than the endowments, meaning that a large part of the occupational gap remains unexplained, this is the part of the gap that is traditionally attributed to discrimination, and ultimately reduces females' occupational score. However as previously stated, this unobserved difference cannot be wholly

<sup>38</sup> Full results are available in Appendix tables A5.6a and b

attributed to discrimination, the unobserved difference could be due the omission of variables that measure hard to capture influential labour market factors such as productivity, or quality of work experience. Previous work has found that there are substantial unexplained factors in labour market returns among minorities and women (Altonji and Blank, 1998).

The 'Human capital' endowments in the model measure females' human capital endowments in the form of language skills, education level, work experience in Poland, and investments into language skills. If females have significantly higher human capital endowments than males then this means they, on average, have higher levels of human capital. Accordingly, if this is negative and significant it means that females have, on average, lower levels of human capital than males. Therefore I refute the hypothesis that the gap in occupational outcomes is due to females possessing lower levels of human capital than males (H2). The findings do not support traditional human capital theory that suggests that females have lower human capital than males. In Germany and Ireland females have significantly higher levels of human capital than males, this should in theory contribute towards higher female occupational attainment. The cross-country comparison demonstrates that it is only in Ireland that hypothesis (H3), that females receive lower returns to their human capital, is supported. In Germany whilst females hold significantly higher human capital endowments than males, the results do not demonstrate a significant coefficient effect, meaning that females do not receive significantly lower returns to their human capital. The results from the linear regression model show the importance of tertiary education for male and female occupational outcomes. There is an extremely large premium for tertiary education for males and females in Germany and the Netherlands, whilst in Ireland the effect is stronger for males and in the UK, tertiary education benefits female occupational attainment.

In Germany females with family (including the presence of children, migrants who moved for family reasons, and who are married/ have a partner) have lower endowments. This provides support for the hypothesis that the family plays out differently for males and females, and females who are married/partner and with children have lower occupational attainment than males with similar characteristics (H4).

The results from the linear regression models<sup>39</sup> show that married males receive a premium in their occupational outcomes, and this contributes towards male advantage in outcomes. It is posited that this may be a selection effect, married men may select into better roles in order to care for the family. In the Netherlands females with children have lower occupational attainment, however

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<sup>39</sup> Displayed in Appendix A5.5a and b

against expectations females who are 'tied movers' have on average higher occupational attainment. Family characteristics do not contribute towards any differences in occupational outcomes in Ireland and the UK. Overall this analysis shows no support for the family and 'tied mover' effect on female labour market outcomes.

#### **5.4 Discussion and Conclusion**

This study draws on the first wave of Socio-Cultural Integration Processes (SCIP) survey of new Polish migrants to empirically investigate whether there are gender disparities in the occupational outcomes of migrants in Germany, the Netherlands, UK and Ireland. The work contributes to our understanding of the role of gender on migrants' labour market integration across countries and the mechanisms that influence differential outcomes in occupational attainment. The empirical analysis finds that females experience significantly lower occupational attainment than males in Germany, the Netherlands and the UK. Lower female occupational achievement is associated with lower returns to female endowments in some countries: in Germany and Ireland females have higher endowments than males, but experience lower returns to these endowments. In the UK females' lower occupational attainment can be accounted for by females possessing lower endowments than males. In the Netherlands the occupational gap cannot be accounted for by differences in endowments.

Why do females experience lower returns to their endowments? Female disadvantage in translating their endowments and human capital could be due to gender segregation of female migrants into low prestige jobs such as domestic work where human capital is not required. The results demonstrate that across countries the majority of females are concentrated in the lowest occupations category in which many are cleaners. In Germany, the Netherlands and the UK, more males are concentrated in higher occupational categories in blue collar roles such as carpenters and builders and more males than females are concentrated in professional roles including ICT technicians, engineers and programmers. A lower proportion of females are concentrated in professional roles and those in higher prestige occupations are in roles that are less reliant on professional qualifications, such as restaurant managers and office clerks. Previous work by Raijman and Semyonov (1997) suggested that language skills are more important for female jobs, however the results here show little support for gender differentials in the influence of language skills or investments into language on occupational outcomes. It is likely that restrictions to public sector employment may affect females' occupational chances more adversely, and may be a contributing factor to lower female returns in Ireland. In Germany, the Netherlands and the UK males are primarily concentrated in construction type roles including builders, engineers and carpenters, in

Ireland males are concentrated in more typically female roles such as shop assistants and travel stewards. The collapse of the construction industry effected male migrants: in 2009 40% of male migrants were concentrated in the construction industry compared to 1% of females. As mentioned previously it is suggested that gender parity in outcomes may be associated with the levelling down of the male position in the Irish labour market, and the convergence of male and female occupations.

The largest gender gap in attainment exists in Germany; here females' mean occupational attainment is seven points lower than males, and females receive significantly lower returns to their endowments. The findings show that females with family have significantly lower occupational attainment than males in Germany, however this can be explained by a premium for married males. It is suggested married men may select into better roles to ensure that they can provide enough financial support for the family. Female disadvantage in Germany may be related to the labour market in the country which is traditionally seen as conservative in its nature. Analysis by Kogan and Weißmann (2013) found consistent gender inequalities for migrants in the German labour market, where female migrants are concentrated in occupations of lower status, and earn lower wages than their male counterparts. Lower female attainment in Germany may be attributed to differences in selection across countries, for example in Germany more female migrants are married with children. The findings suggest that younger females moved to Ireland here a higher proportion of females are younger, have tertiary education, previously worked in Poland, and are single and childless, this may contribute towards equality in outcomes in Ireland, for further research on the role of selection in the SCIP sample see Luthra et al.,(2014).

The work finds no support for the effect of 'tied-mover' status on female outcomes and very little support for the effect of family on female occupational attainment. A large part of the occupational gap remains unexplained in most countries, and is not fully accounted for by differential distributions of characteristics, or explanatory variables of labour market behaviour. This unexplained component of the gap is often attributed to gender discrimination, this may indeed reflect labour market discrimination in areas such as recruitment (Petersen and Saporta, 2004). What is unclear is the extent to which the findings will hold for all migrant groups in the countries of interest, perhaps gender gaps are smaller/larger for some migrant groups. Other work in the area has found marked national and ethnic differences between migrant groups in outcomes (Donato et al., 2014; Fleischmann and Höhne, 2014; Kogan, 2011).



## 5.5 Appendix

**Table A5.1 Occupational Distribution of Males and Females across the Netherlands**

ISEI	Males	%	Females	%
10-20	Elementary occs, window cleaners	16.0	Garden labourers, cleaners	37.1
21-30	Assemblers, transport labourers	41.7	Manufacturing labourers, packers	37.7
31-40	Building and related product graders	28.2	Sales workers, mail carriers	11.4
41-90	Construction supervisors, ICT techs, Industrial engineers	14.1	Manufacturing supervisors, accountants	13.7
N of Cases	163		175	

Source: SCIP Wave One

**Table A5.2 Occupational Distribution of Males and Females across Germany**

ISEI	Males	%	Females	%
10-20	Cleaner	5.4	Cleaners	48.7
21-30	Mining labourers, assemblers	11.0	Child care and personal workers	15.3
31-40	Builders, carpenters, bricklayers	62.4	Shop sales assistants	9.9
41-90	Civil engineers, mechanics, building managers	21.2	Nurses, office clerks	26.1
N of Cases	643		333	

Source: SCIP Wave One

**Table A5.3 Occupational Distribution of Males and Females across Ireland**

ISEI	Males	%	Females	%
10-20	Ag and farm labourers	37.5	Cleaners, ag labourers	41.2
21-30	Transport labourers, street workers	37.0	Waitresses, child care workers	33.2
31-40	Shop assistants, craft workers	13.4	Shop assistants, hairdressers	15.1
41-90	Programmers, travel stewards	12.1	Clerical support, travel stewards	10.5
N of Cases	381		325	

Source: SCIP Wave One

**Table A5.4 Occupational Distribution of Males and Females across the UK**

ISEI	Males	%	Females	%
10-20	Kitchen helpers and sweepers	9.5	Cleaners, kitchen helpers	50.8
21-30	Building constructors, waiters, freight handlers	37.5	Child care workers, waitresses	24.6
31-40	Painters, builders and trade workers, carpenters	49.0	Shop sales assistants, housekeepers	18.7
41-90	Chefs, electricians, advertising and marketing	3.9	Restaurant managers	5.9
N of Cases	357		187	

### A5.5a Linear Regression Models ISEI Score Across Destination Countries

VARIABLES	Germany		Netherlands	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Age	-0.077 (0.050)	0.049 (0.104)	0.101 (0.102)	0.012 (0.129)
<b>Education (Ref Primary/Secondary)</b>				
Comp/tech	0.408 (1.035)	0.777 (2.391)	1.758 (2.124)	1.527 (2.409)
Tertiary	16.99*** (1.311)	13.85*** (2.101)	10.41*** (2.373)	7.524*** (2.192)
<b>Marital Status (Ref Single)</b>				
Married/ Partner	3.324*** (1.047)	0.261 (2.018)	2.948 (2.060)	1.183 (1.888)
Child	0.668 (0.860)	-1.954 (1.670)	-1.259 (1.126)	-2.332** (1.003)
Employed Poland	1.073 (0.967)	1.708 (1.791)	-3.401 (2.303)	0.669 (1.921)
Investments Poland	2.141 (1.094)	5.447*** (1.856)	-1.994 (4.066)	4.653 (2.977)
Investments Host Country	0.239 (0.945)	3.605 (1.918)	-0.361 (1.776)	2.065 (1.925)
Move Family	-2.739 (1.615)	1.569 (2.517)	-2.062 (4.381)	5.868** (2.445)
Years Schooling Language	0.0019 (0.009)	0.023 (0.019)		
Constant	32.86*** (1.238)	21.03*** (2.393)	30.51*** (2.675)	22.21*** (2.304)
Observations	633	326	163	175
R-squared	0.263	0.229	0.159	0.176

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.10

### A5.5b Linear Regression Models ISEI Score Across Destination Countries

VARIABLES	Ireland		UK	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Age	0.172 (0.098)	0.166 (0.099)	0.203*** (0.056)	-0.024 (0.101)
Education (Ref Primary/Secondary)				
Comp/tech	-0.0357 (1.607)	-1.702 (1.751)	1.353 (0.975)	0.303 (1.772)
Tertiary	11.89*** (1.794)	3.410** (1.543)	-1.415 (1.289)	4.806*** (1.767)
Marital Status (Ref Single)				
Married/	1.915 (1.719)	2.806 (1.765)	0.637 (1.197)	-0.781 (2.063)
Partner				
Child	0.646 (1.515)	-0.171 (1.556)	0.557 (0.897)	-0.202 (1.524)
Employed				
Poland	2.252 (1.519)	1.393 (1.281)	1.012 (0.860)	-0.440 (1.449)
Investments				
Poland	5.006*** (1.423)	1.773 (1.400)	1.172 (1.280)	1.282 (1.676)
Investments				
Host Country	0.857 (1.391)	4.225*** (1.354)	0.026 (1.032)	2.268 (1.714)
Move Family	0.735 (2.381)	-0.716 (1.730)	3.284 (2.016)	0.960 (2.014)
Years Schooling	0.037** (0.017)	0.060*** (0.018)	0.005 (0.0106)	0.011 (0.0199)
Language				
Constant	18.02*** (1.708)	19.65*** (1.526)	24.19*** (1.333)	22.35*** (1.936)
Observations	381	325	357	187
R-squared	0.256	0.157	0.114	0.094

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.10

**Table A5.6a Full Results Blinder Oaxaca Decomposition Migrant ISEI**

	Germany			Netherlands		
	E	C	I	E	C	I
<b>Age</b>	0.144 (0.111)	2.286 (2.074)	-0.237 (0.235)	-0.383 (0.399)	-1.279 (2.376)	0.337 (0.631)
<b>Comp/Technical education</b>	-0.0204 (0.0531)	0.0911 (0.642)	-0.0185 (0.131)	-0.101 (0.147)	-0.0595 (0.828)	0.0133 (0.186)
<b>Human Capital</b>	3.388*** (0.663)	0.760 (2.209)	1.421 (0.919)	1.433 (0.781)	4.257 (2.803)	-0.217 (0.845)
<b>Family</b>	-0.871*** (0.261)	-2.921** (1.456)	1.135** (0.558)	-0.612 (0.635)	-1.209 (1.430)	0.912 (0.768)
<b>Total</b>	2.640*** (0.675)	-11.62*** (1.300)	2.300** (0.990)	0.337 (1.096)	-6.588*** (1.484)	1.045 (1.313)
<b>Constant</b>		-11.83*** (2.694)			-8.299** (3.531)	
		959			338	

**Key: E= Endowments, C= Coefficients, I=Interaction.**

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.10

**Table A5.6b Full Results Blinder Oaxaca Decomposition Migrant ISEI**

	Ireland			UK		
	E	C	I	E	C	I
<b>Age</b>	-0.265 (0.195)	-0.077 (1.858)	0.009 (0.215)	-0.994*** (0.333)	-3.787** (1.920)	1.115 (0.602)
<b>Comp/Technical education</b>	0.003 (0.149)	-0.472 (0.675)	0.154 (0.227)	-0.105 (0.0926)	-0.318 (0.612)	0.0818 (0.163)
<b>Human Capital</b>	2.124*** (0.698)	-2.960 (1.958)	-1.285** (0.622)	-0.127 (0.354)	1.559 (2.168)	1.375 (0.723)
<b>Family</b>	-0.113 (0.246)	-0.185 (0.852)	-0.109 (0.309)	0.150 (0.249)	-0.854 (0.908)	0.0239 (0.396)
<b>Total</b>	1.749** (0.705)	-2.059** (1.000)	-1.231 (0.637)	-1.077** (0.438)	-5.240*** (0.987)	2.596*** (0.773)
<b>Constant</b>		1.636 (2.291)			-1.840 (2.351)	
		706			544	

**Key: E= Endowments, C= Coefficients, I=Interaction.**

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.10

## 6. Conclusion

This thesis aimed to identify and explore some of the factors that may influence on the labour market integration of immigrants in Ireland, namely gender, ethnicity, discrimination and the effects of the recession. Although in recent years research on migration in Ireland has expanded, there are still gaps in our understanding of the penalties immigrants face in the labour market, reflecting the recent nature of immigration to Ireland and these issues are understudied in the Irish context. This research is based on a period of rapid change in Ireland, where the country experienced substantial economic growth and widespread prosperity christened the 'Celtic Tiger', followed by a dramatic economic crash, this unprecedented economic change was coupled with a sharp rise in the non-Irish national population. These circumstances present an extremely interesting context in which to study the integration of immigrant groups into the labour market as they are found in the literature to impact on migrants' economic success (see for example Coenders et al., 2008). This chapter aims to summarise the main findings from each individual chapter, and will situate them within the broader literature. A brief overview of the key findings in relation to the three main research questions posed in the introduction is provided, followed by a more in-depth insight of the influential mechanisms that were found to shape immigrants labour market integration in Ireland. Finally the findings are placed in the context of the wider field of study.

### 6.1 Summary of Key Findings

- 1) Do Immigrants' in Ireland experience higher rates of self-reported labour market discrimination than natives? Does discrimination increase over the recession?

The first research question, posed in chapter two of this thesis, asked whether immigrants are more likely than natives to report experience of discrimination in the labour market in Ireland; whether such discrimination differs by nationality and ethnicity; and whether the incidence of discrimination increases in the context of recession and increasing immigration. This work focused on the comparison of outcomes of multiple origin groups within Ireland, and utilised data from special modules of the Irish labour force survey (QNHS). Largely it was found that immigrants' do report higher rates of labour market discrimination than Irish natives- the results demonstrate that non-Irish nationals do experience higher rates of discrimination in looking for work and in the workplace, in both boom and recession. The study finds substantial variation in discrimination across national-ethnic groups. In looking for work, ethnicity is particularly important, and the findings show that Black Africans and EU nationals of minority ethnicity are much more likely to experience this form of discrimination. This supports theories of racial prejudice and the expectation that visibly different groups experience greater discrimination. In the workplace,

results are mixed, and findings show that in 2004 all groups apart from the White UK and White EU-13 groups experience discrimination but by 2010, it is only the Black African, White NMS and White non-EU groups who report discrimination.

Contrary to expectations, the results found no evidence that discrimination increased significantly in the context of recession and a growing immigrant population, in fact overall discrimination when looking for work decreased for non-Irish nationals. Nevertheless, while discrimination did not increase during the economic crisis, all national-ethnic groups in Ireland reported experiencing some form of discrimination and results show that the Black African group are particularly vulnerable in the labour market, and experience marked disadvantage.

- 2) Do immigrants' experience disadvantage in terms of risk of unemployment and occupational level in the Irish labour market? Does immigrant disadvantage increase with the recession?

The second research question, investigated in chapter three, asked whether migrants' experience disadvantage in the Irish labour market. The work here examined whether some immigrant groups experience larger labour market penalties than others; and whether penalties increased in the climate of recession and increasing immigration. This work focused on the outcomes of multiple origin groups within Ireland, and again employed data from special modules of the Irish labour force survey (QNHS). The results demonstrate that some national-ethnic groups experience ethnic disadvantage in Ireland, both in their risk of unemployment and occupational attainment. The extent of the penalty varies among groups and there is no support for the expectation that it is the non-White groups who experience the most disadvantage: both White and non-White groups experience penalties in their labour market outcomes.

In particular, the findings demonstrate substantial labour market disadvantage for the Black African and NMS groups, both in their risk of unemployment and occupational attainment. The penalties found for the Black African group support findings from chapter two on their experience of labour market discrimination. Change in migrants' labour market outcomes over time were investigated and while results show labour market disadvantage for immigrant groups, there is no marked evidence that the decline in their economic success was above and beyond that of the general population, with the exception of males from the New Member States, who experienced a significantly larger increase in their risk of unemployment over time than Irish natives.

- 3) Is there a gender difference in the economic incorporation of recent Polish migrants in Ireland? Are findings in Ireland reflected in the German, Dutch and UK labour markets?

The role of gender was the particular focus of the third research question posed, which was investigated in chapters four and five. This asked whether female migrants experience disadvantage in the labour market compared to their male counterparts. These chapters employed data from the Socio-Cultural Integration Processes (SCIP) survey. Chapter four focused on the outcomes of the same origin group in one country and chapter five looked at the outcomes of the same origin group across multiple countries.

The results here are mixed in terms of whether females experience disadvantage. The work in chapter four finds that there is no significant gender difference in the occupational outcomes of recent Polish migrants in Ireland, nevertheless the findings show some female disadvantage, as females experience of lower returns to their human capital, which impacts on their labour market success. The context in Ireland in this period again presents an unusual backdrop from which to study gender differences in migrant economic integration, as there was a strong gender dimension to the recession. It is suggested that parity in male and female occupational attainment may stem from the labour market situation, where migrants were operating in restricted labour markets in which traditional pathways of employment were not as readily available.

To situate these findings in a broader context, gender differences in the economic integration of Polish migrants in Germany, the Netherlands and the UK were investigated in chapter five, to understand whether the findings in Ireland can be understood more readily by the economic situation in the country at the time. Overall, females experience lower occupational attainment than males in all other countries of the study, however, findings here are mixed in terms of what contributes towards the gender difference in attainment. Across all countries there is weak support for the traditional human capital labour market theory that attributes gender differences in labour market outcomes to lower female human capital investments. Instead, as mentioned, while differences in the return to female human capital are found in Ireland, lower returns to female human capital are not found elsewhere. The findings do not show support for the expected effect of family and 'tied mover' status on female labour market outcomes. While in Germany females with family have lower occupational attainment this does not reflect disadvantage. Overall a large component of the gender gap in occupational outcomes remains unexplained across all countries.

The above summary shows the nature of immigrants' labour market incorporation in Ireland, and that there are many factors that influence their labour market success. Each chapter of this thesis



examines a distinct aspect of the labour market integration of immigrants, combining these aspects provides a deeper insight into the mechanisms that drive economic success and inequality. The work applies human capital theory, and theories of discrimination, to understand labour market integration.

The findings were previously presented in detail within each chapter, together with the conclusions and recommendations for further research for each topic. Therefore, the focus here is on linking these findings more explicitly, and on discussing the general limitations and contribution to the field by addressing the three overarching research questions that were posed. Findings on the role of discrimination, gender, ethnicity and the recession are summarised and linked to the main debates in the literature, and each research question identifies different aspects of migrant labour market integration. Finally, I identify the overall contribution of the work to the field, along with limitations within the study.

## **6.2 Labour Market Discrimination and the Recession**

Immigrants' reported experience of labour market discrimination in both boom and recession was investigated to understand whether non-Irish nationals experience higher rates of labour market discrimination than natives. Measuring discrimination is an important indicator of immigrants' incorporation into the host country. A body of work has found that the position immigrants secure in the labour market is affected by the level of discrimination they experience (Model and Lapido, 1996; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996, 2001). The work here utilised a unique data set which allowed for the examination of migrants' self-reported experience of perceived labour market discrimination. Overall the work support previous findings in Ireland of discrimination against immigrant groups, with non-Irish nationals experiencing significant discrimination in the workplace and in looking for work (McGinnity et al., 2006; O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008; McGinnity et al., 2009; McGinnity and Lunn, 2011).

Research on the experience of labour market discrimination in periods of economic recession is scarce. Ireland presents an interesting backdrop in which to examine reports of discrimination, as the distinct changes in the economy and size of migrant population, outlined previously, create a context which the literature suggests promotes discriminatory behaviour among natives, and for perceptions of ethnic competition to grow. An increase in the share of immigrants have been found to lead to intensified perceptions of ethnic threat, and ethnic competition approaches suggest that perceived competition provides an underlying rationale for discriminatory behaviour (Olzak, 1992; Quillian, 2006; Schneider, 2008). A study by Coenders et al. (2008) in the Netherlands, which

covered attitudes to immigrants over more than two decades found that ethnic discrimination became more widespread in periods of high immigration, and when the unemployment level had risen strongly. However, work by Meuleman et al. (2009) found that it is change in size i.e. increases in unemployment and immigration, rather than the level, that affects attitudes to immigrants.

The results here show that perceived discrimination when looking for work decreased over time for immigrant groups, this finding provides some support for statistical discrimination and intergroup contact approaches. According to the intergroup contact approach, interaction and experience with minority groups allows workers from all racial/national groups to acquire information about each other, and gain personal experience with them, making them less likely to indulge in racial stereotypes and biases (Blau, 1977). This supports the idea of statistical discrimination, and aligns with the idea of Irish society becoming more familiar with, and experienced with, immigrant groups.

Nevertheless, the findings still show perceived discrimination against non-Irish nationals both in the workplace and in looking for work. Penalties among immigrant groups are varied, and the findings are consistent with discrimination based on racial prejudice, supporting theories of personal prejudice, or taste, against/for a particular group (Becker, 1957). In particular, there is evidence of explicit disadvantage for the Black African group, both in reports of discrimination when looking for work, and in the workplace. This mirrors findings across Europe and the US on discrimination against visibly different groups (Coleman et al., 2008; OECD, 2013). This also supports findings from Culleton (2004), who argues that while migrants from Eastern European countries and other 'White immigrants' are more positively received in Irish society, other migrant groups, particularly from African countries, face an additional 'colour' barrier while integrating into Irish society. The work here adds to our understanding of the reception of immigrants in Ireland in the early period of immigration, it is difficult to compare these findings of discrimination in recession in a wider context, as there is little work to date in this area. However the findings signal some positive indicators of integration of immigrants, as reports of discrimination did not rise. Given the rapid change in Irish society, and the rise of right-wing anti-immigrant sentiment across Europe in this time frame, immigrants were not generally scapegoated in Ireland in public debates during the recession. It is interesting to find that discrimination did not increase in the context of recession, and overall discrimination when looking for work actually decreased. The study also finds evidence of the integration of some immigrant groups in the labour market, particularly White EU-13 and White UK groups, groups who have a more established history of migration to Ireland and are more culturally similar.

Nevertheless, the work ultimately finds that non-Irish nationals experience higher levels of labour

market discrimination than natives in both 2004 and 2010, and the findings also highlight marked evidence of disadvantage among the Black African group, which is of concern because, at the very least discrimination is a barrier to labour market integration and can cause the long term polarisation of immigrant groups. Moreover, discrimination can have many negative consequences and can impact on a persons' health, influence social cohesion, it can also represent an economic loss to the host country (OECD, 2013; Williams and Mohammed, 2009). Future research should look at reports of discrimination in the recovery period to further understand whether the patterns found here are maintained over time.

### **6.3 Ethnic Penalties in Ireland**

Stemming from the findings on discrimination, chapter three of the study then explored whether migrants experience labour market disadvantage and the interaction of ethnicity and nationality on migrants' labour market outcomes in Ireland. The findings here highlight that ethnic penalties exist in the Irish labour market which is in line with findings from a body of literature in the UK and the US, which find that some minority groups experience net disadvantage, even after controlling for their educational qualifications and work experience (Berthoud, 2000; Byars-Winston et al., 2015; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Coleman et al. 2008, Heath and McMahon, 1991). Neoclassical human capital theory traditionally attributes immigrant penalties in the labour market to differences in human capital, however the labour market penalties here remain even when differences in the level of education are controlled for. The results are mixed in terms of who experiences ethnic penalties. In the UK where extensive research on ethnic penalties exists, research has repeatedly found that it is the visibly different groups who face disadvantage (Heath and Cheung, 2006; Lymperopoulou, 2013). In the Irish labour market penalties do not wholly appear along ethnic lines, both White and non-White groups experience penalties, and not all visibly different groups fare worse than White Irish nationals.

This work has the advantage of being able to disaggregate labour market outcomes among the group who were previously identified in Irish research as 'other', and adds to our understanding of the very heterogeneous 'non-EU' group. Results show that, again, the Black African group experience substantial penalties in the labour market, and this finding combined with reports of higher discrimination both in work, and looking for work, among this group suggest that these individuals are particularly vulnerable in the Irish labour market. This supports evidence in the UK that Black Caribbean and Black African groups experience higher unemployment rates, greater concentrations in lower occupations, and earn less than British and other White groups (Heath and Cheung, 2006; Modood and Khattab, 2015). Findings reveal that other non-EU groups do not

experience disadvantage in their occupational attainment in 2004. However, by 2010 the recession had clearly impacted upon them and the White non-EU and Asian groups also experienced significantly lower occupational attainment than Irish natives. Nevertheless, this disadvantage is not as marked as the severe penalties experienced by the Black African group. Why is it that this group experience such substantial disadvantage? Differences in the selection and entry routes of these groups will ultimately influence their labour market outcomes. For example, restrictive Irish migration policy means that most of this non-EU group are highly skilled. Differences in education level are accounted for in the analysis, and accordingly penalties for Black African individuals cannot be attributed to their lower education levels compared to Irish natives. It is suggested that part of the severe penalties suffered by the Black African group may be due to the fact that many are refugees. Whilst seeking asylum in Ireland, individuals are confined to housing with the Direct Provision system, and spend a considerable period of time excluded from the labour market, and in many respects, from society. This presents a substantial barrier to the longer term integration of these individuals, and is detrimental both to their labour market incorporation, and also to Irish natives understanding of, and experience with this group.

As mentioned, penalties do not distinctly fall on ethnic lines, and the work shows that nationals from the New Member States also experience marked disadvantage in their experience of unemployment, and occupational outcomes in both 2004 and 2010. This corroborates findings from previous Irish research that shows that immigrants from the NMS face penalties in the Irish labour market and are concentrated in low skill, low wage occupations (Barrett and Kelly, 2012; Barrett et al., 2014; McGinnity et al., 2013; Turner, 2010; Voitchofsky, 2014). Again the findings here cannot be attributed to lower levels of education among this group. A significant amount of work in the UK and Europe has also highlighted disadvantage experienced by this group. For example work by Kangasniemi and Kauhanen (2013) find that NMS immigrants have, on average, a lower probability of employment, and are in poorer occupations, than similar natives in Finland, Germany and the Netherlands. Reasons found for the disadvantage of this group include their lack of language skills (O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008), and lower provision with employer sponsored training (Barrett et al., 2013; McGinnity et al., 2011). As least part of the reason for NMS male disadvantage is their concentration in industries that were especially impacted on by the recession, mainly the construction and manufacturing industries.

Due to the recent nature of the recession, research is only emerging on the effects of the economic crisis on immigrants and this work was the first in Ireland to examine ethnic disadvantage over the recession. Research in the UK found that religious and ethnic penalties in unemployment increased post-recession (Clark and Drinkwater, 2008; Khattab and Johnston, 2013, 2015). While the work

here finds increased disadvantage for most national-ethnic groups in their labour market outcomes, the results also show that for most groups disadvantage was not above and beyond that which natives experienced. The exception to this is for males from the NMS who experienced a significant increase in their risk of unemployment in the time frame.

#### **6.4 Gender Differences in Migrants' Labour Market Integration**

Chapters four and five of the thesis investigated the role of gender on immigrants' labour market integration, the work aimed to understand whether migrant females experience labour market disadvantage, which has been found in the growing body of literature on gender differences in migrants labour market outcomes (Adsera and Chiswick, 2007; Donato et al., 2014; Fleischmann and Höhne, 2013; Rajiman and Semyonov, 1997; Rebhun, 2008). Chapter four looked at gender differences in the occupational attainment of recent Polish migrants in Ireland, to understand whether Polish female migrants experience a disadvantage compared to males in their economic outcomes, as found in international literature. Overall the findings show parity in occupational outcomes, and against expectations females do not experience significantly lower attainment than males. Nevertheless, the results do point to female disadvantage in that females experience significantly lower returns to their human capital than males, and this ultimately lowers their occupational attainment.

Predominant neoclassical economic theory of labour markets attributes differences in male and female labour market attainment to differentials in the distribution of human capital. The work here does not provide support for traditional human capital theories of lower female capital, as mentioned, instead females experience disadvantage in their returns to their human capital. It is suggested that the labour market situation in Ireland at the time of study may be a contributing factor to parity in outcomes. Recent work has found that the recession has led to some restructuring within the Irish labour market, with males increasingly taking up part-time and vulnerable employment, which then led to a certain level of competition within these sectors (Duvvury and Finn, 2014; Russell et al., 2014). The rise in male unemployment and the loss of 'good male jobs' in Ireland, may mean that recent male migrants assimilated into jobs of lower quality than were previously available during the boom years, including roles that were traditionally reserved for female migrants, in order to protect themselves from unemployment. Lower female returns to their human capital may also be due to females operating in restricted labour markets. An embargo on public sector employment was in place in Ireland in this time frame, and whilst this impacted on the employment opportunities of both males and females, it is expected that this had a stronger impact on females' job opportunities as the public sector in Ireland has traditionally been

a key employer of women in Ireland. Future research should focus on the translation of female human capital from country of origin to host country, to more wholly understand whether females experience a disadvantage above and beyond that of males in the translation of their human capital, or whether the results found here reflect the labour market context in Ireland at the time.

Research on migration traditionally focuses on the household as a key to understanding gender differences in migrant labour market outcomes (Stark, 1984) and the model of the patriarchal family is dominant in the migration literature (Morokvasic, 1984). It was expected here that family would negatively influence female outcomes, and that females who move for family reasons, who are traditionally referred to in the literature as 'tied movers', would have lower occupational attainment. The family investment model argues that females prioritise their family and accordingly their labour market motives are of a secondary focus. Findings in Ireland did not support traditional hypotheses on the effect of family and 'tied mover' status that were confirmed in earlier studies (Baker and Benjamin, 1997; Duleep and Dowhan, 2002; Duleep and Sanders, 1993). This may be due to the positive selection of recent Polish migrants into Ireland, who are mainly young, well-educated and single, it is expected that children and 'tied mover status' have a greater impact among a less positively selected cohort.

In order to more fully understand whether the outcomes of Polish migrants found in Ireland can be explained by the labour market situation at the time of study, and migrant selection, chapter five of this thesis extended the analysis and examined the outcomes of recent Polish migrants in the UK, Germany and the Netherlands. It was not the aim here to identify comparative differences, or to take into account the host country context, but rather to understand if patterns found in Ireland can be more readily equated to the economic situation at the time of study. Furthermore, the cross country study investigated whether factors that are traditionally found to influence gender differences in outcomes, which were not found to have an effect in Ireland, are important in other countries of study. The work here finds variations in outcomes across countries. Females do experience significantly lower occupational attainment than males in Germany, the Netherlands, Ireland and the UK, yet the results provide mixed support for findings of female migrant disadvantage. Lower female occupational achievement is associated with lower returns to female endowments in some countries- in Germany and Ireland females have higher endowments than males, but experience lower returns to these endowments. In Ireland this is explained by females receiving lower returns to their human capital. In the UK females' lower occupational attainment is due to their lower endowments compared to males. In the Netherlands the gender occupational attainment gap cannot be attributed to differences in endowments or the return to endowments.

The cross-country investigation finds no support for classic human capital theory which posits that females have less economic success in the labour market as they possess lower human capital, due to lower investments in human capital (Becker, 1991; Dustmann and Schmidt, 2003; Mincer, 1978; Polacheck, 2004). In Germany and Ireland females have significantly higher levels of human capital than males, in the UK and the Netherlands there is no significant difference in male and female human capital. However, it is only in Ireland that females receive lower returns to their human capital, adding more weight to the suggestion that findings here can be related to migrants operating in an extremely unstable labour market with very high unemployment. The finding of female advantage in human capital (in Germany and Ireland) and parity in human capital (in the Netherlands and the UK) calls into question the more general hypotheses on females' lower investment in human capital. Whilst human capital theory proposes that females have lower human capital than males and invest less in education, trends in tertiary level education uptake would suggest otherwise, as there has been a reversal of the gender gap in educational attainment across western societies including Poland (Bradley, 2000; Buchmann et al., 2008).

The comparative analysis finds weak support for the effect of family, and no support for the effect of 'tied mover' status on female outcomes across countries. In general, gender role attitudes are becoming more egalitarian, there has been a rise in dual-earning households and a decline in gender imbalance across Europe (Cotter et al., 2011; Tsang et al., 2014). In line with a decline of traditional gender roles, more recent studies on family migration have found that the effect of the husband's and wife's human capital characteristics in shaping the migration decision have become more equal (Brandén, 2013; Cooke, 2013; Rabe, 2011). This suggests that migrant labour market integration more readily needs to be thought of outside the traditional household lens. Contemporary East-West migration has changed the face of migration in Europe (Favell, 2008), and NMS migrants represent a new group of migrants who are transient, young, and well-educated, for whom these traditional economic theories of migration may not be so relevant.

Overall the work finds evidence to support the disadvantage for female migrants in terms of female lower occupational attainment in all countries but Ireland. There is evidence to suggest that findings in Ireland can be understood by the economic climate in the period of study. A comparison of recent Polish migrants' occupations across countries shows that migrants mean occupational attainment was much lower in Ireland, and both males and females are concentrated in the lowest occupational categories. The findings show that male migrants are distributed in different jobs-across Germany, the Netherlands and the UK males are primarily concentrated in construction roles. In Ireland males are concentrated in more typically female roles including shop assistants and travel stewards. In all countries of study, a substantial portion of the gender gap in occupational

attainment remains unexplained and cannot be attributed to differences in human capital, or due to gender differences in the effect of children and family. Future research should investigate whether parity in migrants' occupational outcomes exist in the recovery period in Ireland.

## **6.5 Contributions to the Study of Immigrants Labour Market Integration and Limitations**

This thesis aimed to explore some of the many aspects that influence the penalties that immigrants face in their labour market integration, it was not the aim here to describe individual groups or factors in detail, but instead to identify patterns that can aid in the understanding of immigrants' economic incorporation more widely. By drawing on data from two rich surveys, and including analysis of different labour market outcomes among several immigrant groups, over time, and across countries, the strength of the study is that it can examine labour market integration from various angles, and it provides an in-depth overview of the factors that impede and enhance their integration. The findings outlined are broad, but cover many aspects of integration, and provide strong insight into the penalties immigrants face in the Irish labour market. Nevertheless, some of the limitations of the study need to be considered, the strengths and weaknesses of this work will be outlined here.

The aim of this work was to cover migrants' labour market integration between 2004 and 2011, the analysis focused on outcomes at three time points, this provided an insight into how patterns of integration vary within a decade of unprecedented change in Ireland. A limitation of the work is that it focuses on cross-sectional data, and therefore cannot account for out-migration of groups who have experienced the most inequality in the labour market. As long as return migration costs are relatively low, immigrants who experience worse than expected outcomes may return to their home country (Borjas, 1994). If these groups were present in the data it is anticipated that there would be larger penalties for some groups, and the duration in country effect may be more pronounced than estimates would suggest. Future work on the outcomes for immigrants should use longitudinal data and a longer observation period to investigate whether migrants' labour market penalties remain over time, or whether gaps subside with time spent in the country. Although a strength of the analysis is that it examines migrants labour market integration in a period of marked change in the size, profile and economy of Ireland, a limitation to the analysis is that it only examines change at three time points (2004, 2010 and 2011), and therefore any findings of change over time are limited by the short time period in which changes are analysed.

Variation in results will also be influenced by migrant selection, and macro-level factors including immigration and integration policies. Migrant selection and selective immigration policies are likely



to have influenced the educational selection of Polish migrants across the countries of study, in particular the restrictions for free access to the labour market (Kangasniemi and Kauhanen, 2013). Differences in the distributions of characteristics across countries, and attributes such as motivation and ability will influence differences in outcomes. Research by Kogan (2006) suggests that migrants who move to countries with more flexible labour markets (such as the UK and Ireland) might be more positively selected. Although the analysis in chapters four and five investigated the selection of migrants into employment, a limitation of this analysis is that it cannot control for selection effects of the SCIP sample. The sampling frame of the SCIP survey differs across the countries of study and this will inevitably impact on the findings of the comparative SCIP analysis. For example the labour market conditions across the four countries at this time point were very varied, and this could affect the selection of migrants into the host country. Moreover migrants in Ireland and the UK were sampled using RDS and free-find techniques which can inevitably introduce bias in respondent profiles, migrants in the Netherlands and Germany were sampled using population register data, which can result in a biased sample skewed towards more integrated and stable immigrants (Platt et al., 2014). Gendered employment policies in destination countries are also a crucial dimension of migrant economic incorporation (Kesler, 2006). Due to the research design and data limitations, it is not possible to determine the influence of macro-level factors on migrant outcomes. It is acknowledged that findings on immigrants' labour market integration are sensitive to the many variables not included in the analysis, however this is a shortcoming which a body of work on immigrants' labour market integration cannot fully account for.

This work has also generated many new insights on variations in migrants' economic success in Ireland, and thus has contributed to a deeper understanding of their labour market integration. A strong advantage of the study is that it draws on two rich datasets which both have their strengths in studying aspects of migrant integration. The work looks at outcomes of different origin groups in the same destination and the same origin group across multiple countries. It is useful to consider various sources of information simultaneously to understand more wholly the integration outcomes of immigrant groups. The work in chapters two and three utilises special modules of the Irish Labour force survey (QNHS). This survey allows for the examination of migrants' outcomes in different time periods and variations in national-ethnic group outcomes compared to natives as well as providing insight into all migrant groups in Ireland as it is a nationally representative survey. The data is also unique in that it provides evidence of the labour market integration of national-ethnic groups which have, to date, been under-studied in the Irish context. This sheds light on the incorporation of the heterogeneous 'non-EU' group, who until recently have not been readily identified in the data, and thus allows for a deeper understanding of the role of ethnicity. Identifying this group may contribute to more rigorous and nuanced approaches to the analysis of nationality

and ethnicity in future Irish research. Including ethnicity as indicator proved to be important in understanding variations in migrants' economic incorporation, especially when disadvantage presents itself along racial lines, as evident in the analysis in chapter two.

The work in chapters four and five draws on the SCIP data set, an immigrant specific survey which captures new migrants within their first 18 months in the country. New migrants are a group who are normally hard to capture in routine surveys. The advantage of this data source is that it allows for analysis of factors not routinely available in Irish data including pre-migration experience, expressed migration motivations, language skills, and how these impact on post-migration structural integration. Moreover, the survey provides rich data on the largest migrant group in Ireland, and allows for comparisons of the same migrant group across countries, which helps to contextualise the outcomes found in Ireland. By drawing on both the SCIP and QNHS data sets, the thesis gains insight into different migrant groups, and sheds light on the integration of new and more established groups in Ireland across different time points.

A further strength of this work is that it is the first study to shed light on the experience of labour market discrimination in the Great Recession, complementing previous research on objective indicators of immigrants' experiences in tight and slack labour markets. The issue of discrimination is of particular importance now in the context of large and growing immigrant populations and the aftermath of global economic crisis, which left many immigrants looking for work and subject to potential discrimination in the hiring process (OECD, 2013). It is useful to consider ethnic minorities' own perceptions and experiences of unequal treatment at work and to see how far these parallel the patterns of ethnic penalties found by the statistical analysis.

This work also adds to the growing literature on gender differences in migrants' economic incorporation. Research that focuses on gender in the investigation of migrants' labour market outcomes is still rare in Ireland, reflecting the recent nature of immigration to the country. This is the first study to compare gender differences in the occupational outcomes of the same migrant group across different countries. Previous work by Fleischmann and Höhne (2013) has highlighted gaps in the knowledge in this area. A relatively unique feature of this study is that it utilises decomposition methods to examine differences in occupational attainment. This method is often used in the economics literature to assess what influences the gender wage gap, however is rarely used to look at differences in occupational outcomes, this serves to provide a more in-depth analysis of the factors that influence gender differences in outcomes.

## 6.6 Final Remarks

In summary this study provides a unique addition to the understanding of migrants' labour market integration in Ireland and a detailed account of some of the many mediating factors that influence the economic incorporation of migrants. No single study can address all of the potential influences on migrants' labour market integration, nevertheless there are some important contributions that this study can make more generally. The work here aims to cover aspects that have been to date less covered in Ireland, or where it was possible, to extend on the current research. By including these aspects, the study addresses significant gaps in the literature on migrant labour market integration in Ireland. The thesis makes an innovative departure from existing research by offering an extended insight into the outcomes of non-EU groups, and the role of ethnicity, discrimination, and the recession on their outcomes.

Importantly, the study highlights a need for the contextualised understanding of the factors that impact on migrants' economic incorporation, and finds evidence of success for some migrant groups, and evidence of marked and ongoing penalties for others. The findings illustrate that gender, nationality, and ethnicity are important influences on immigrants' labour market integration in Ireland, and the experience of discrimination, and economic success, can vary considerably between national-ethnic groups. The disadvantage found for some groups is not due to differences in the observable skills that can be measured here and while the work finds some evidence of contextual effects of the recession, there is less strong evidence that the effects of the downturn experienced by immigrants was above and beyond that which natives also experienced and no evidence of an increase in migrants reported labour market discrimination in this time frame.

Ireland is now a multi-ethnic society with a large established immigrant population and a growing 1.5 and second generation. Experience from previous economic downturns suggests that the impact on immigrants' labour market outcomes may be long lasting. It is important that barriers to the integration of immigrants are identified and acknowledged, so that attempts can be made to lower such barriers, and the long term polarisation of disadvantaged migrant groups can be prevented.

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