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Immigration, integration and risks of social exclusion: The social policy case for disaggregated data in the Republic of Ireland[*]

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Abstract

This article makes the case for improved small area data on socio-spatial segregation and social exclusion in Ireland that is comprehensively disaggregated by nationality and ethnicity. We argue that disaggregated data is crucial if the complex effects of immigration are to be understood and effective policy developed. This article examines two case studies of relatively deprived areas in Dublin that have disproportionately large immigrant populations. Our analysis of immigration and deprivation in the Dublin Inner City Partnership (DICP) and Blanchardstown Partnership areas highlight the shortcomings of currently available disaggregated data. In particular, our analysis identifies cohorts of immigrants at high risk of social exclusion that are largely invisible in segregation and deprivation scores. This article therefore makes the case for an improved evidence base, informed by reliable (and cross tabulated) statistical data and argues that disaggregated data is crucial to targeted policy interventions.

Introduction

This paper argues that there is a need for detailed small area data on socio-spatial segregation and social exclusion in Ireland that is comprehensively disaggregated by nationality and ethnicity. Integration occurs (or does not) in specific social and spatial settings. Experiences from other countries suggest that different immigrant and minority ethnic communities can have very different experiences of social exclusion and barriers to integration. Disaggregated data is crucial if the complex effects of immigration on Irish society are to be understood. As applied to the entire population disaggregation can identify risk factors of poverty and social exclusion, and hence barriers to integration, encountered by cohorts within particular immigrant communities. As applied to local area data (the focus here) it can identify particular risks encountered by different immigrant communities living in specific social settings. The presumption is that such risks will be unevenly distributed between different immigrant groups and differently experienced *within* particular groups, for instance, on the basis of gender.

This paper examines two case studies of relatively deprived urban areas that have recently come to have disproportionately large immigrant populations. An analysis of immigration and deprivation in the Dublin Inner City Partnership (DICP) and Blanchardstown Partnership areas is presented with a number of goals in mind. The first is to demonstrate the need for comprehensively disaggregated data so as to better understand the nature and extent of immigrant social exclusion and of barriers

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to integration in the Irish case. The second is to consider the shortcomings of currently available disaggregated data. The third is an analysis that locates the Irish experience within international debates about immigrant spatial segregation.

The Myth of Ghettos

Recent alarmist media references to ghettos and white flight in the Irish media (*Sunday Tribune,* 2007[1]) reflect claims expressed in other Western countries that immigrants are increasingly withdrawing into secluded communities and "parallel societies" (or "*Parallelgesellschaften*") which 'hinder the integration of individual immigrants, provide breeding grounds for fundamentalist and anti-democratic tendencies, and contribute to societal tensions'. Schönwälder's overview of residential segregation and integration amongst immigrants in Britain (citing Peach, 2007), the Netherlands (citing Musterd and Ostendorf, 2007) and Sweden (citing Andersson, 2007) concludes that levels of residential segregation are moderate in all three countries in comparison to the US and that 'the trends seem to be towards decreasing concentration, rather than towards consolidating ethnic enclaves' (2007: 5-6). Nevertheless anxieties about increases in ghettoisation have been prevalent in post 9/11 debates about multiculturalism and its discontents.

Such anxieties are reflected in the title of a recent UK report *Sleepwalking into Ghettoisation: The British Debate over Segregation* (Peach, 2007: 12). The report took its title from a statement by Trevor Phillips, Director of the Commission of Racial Equality, made in response to the July 2005 London bombings. Phillips maintained some ethnic minorities were becoming more and more segregated; that for instance, the number of people of Pakistani heritage living in what were 'technically called ghetto communities' had trebled between 1991 and 2001. In support of these claims Phillips invoked index of dissimilarity (*D*) calculations based on census data. In Phillips' summary:

> The figure tells us what percentage of any given group would have to move house to achieve an even spread across the district. Below 30% is regarded as low or random (for which read tolerable, even if we don't like it); 30-60% is moderate (for which read cause for concern); and above 60% is high (for which read that if a black person is seen in a white area, it's time to all the police; and if a black person is seen in a black area, he's lost (cited in Peach, 2007: 14).

The academic debate on ethnic residential segregation as presented by Phillips is not quite so straightforward. Peach's critique (in *Sleepwalking into Segregation?*) drew an important distinction between ethnic enclaves and ghettos. Ghettoisation required that (a) a high proportion of a group lives in a single area, *and* (b) the group accounts for most of the population of that area. The term was appropriate in the case of African Americans in Chicago where two thirds lived in tracts that were 80 per cent or more

[1] In November 2007 the *Sunday Tribune* newspaper dedicated articles in three consecutive weeks to 'the emerging phenomenon of 'white flight' from certain areas in Ireland, racial segregation in schools, and clustering of ethnic minorities in housing estates all over the country' (McInerney 2007). These articles include quotations from Irish politicians and leading Irish scholars on the subjects of integration, social inclusion and ghettoisation, however, they were mainly written around interviews with recent immigrants (see, for example, Bracken (2007) 'The ghettos that are dividing the nation'). While the *Sunday Tribune* offers little empirical data to sustain its claims the newspaper nevertheless maintains that there is 'a general consensus that these are developing trends' (McInerney 2007).

black, not so with respect to Chicago's Irish Americans where only 2.9 per cent lived in 'so-called Irish ghettos' where these formed 34 per cent of the population (Philpott 1970 cited in Peach, 2007: 17-19). Ethnic residential segregation is by no means synonymous with social exclusion; enclaves are not necessarily cut off from wider society by poverty and disproportionate unemployment. However, the term ghetto is often invoked to infer both social exclusion and cultural separatism. It presumes that ethnic segregation combines with socio-spatial segregation.

In the Irish case data on immigrant settlement patterns do not suggest any widespread tendency towards ghettoisation. The 2006 census suggests a pattern of broad immigrant diffusion throughout Ireland. On a county by county basis Irish census data reveal a pattern of broad immigrant diffusion with 36 per cent of immigrants residing in Dublin city and county, some 10.5 per cent in Cork city and county (the largest and second largest cities and surrounding areas) with next highest percentages in other counties with cities (Galway 5.8 per cent, Limerick 3.5 per cent) and counties adjoining Dublin (Kildare 4.4 per cent, Meath 3.4 per cent). These figures are in broad keeping with the overall population distribution (Fig. 1).

County of usual Residence	Total non Irish Nationals	As % of total Non-Irish national figure of 419,733
Leinster	**245,870**	**58.6%**
Carlow	4,488	1.1%
Dublin Co and City	150,933	36.0%
Kildare	18,586	4.4%
Kilkenny	6,071	1.4%
Laoighis	5,111	1.2%
Longford	3,511	0.8%
Louth	9,035	2.2%
Meath	14,476	3.4%
Offaly	5,231	1.2%
Westmeath	7,353	1.8%
Wexford	10,283	2.4%
Wicklow	10,792	2.6%
Munster	**104,046**	**24.8%**
Clare	10,837	2.6%
Cork Co and City	44,224	10.5%
Kerry	14,074	3.4%
Limerick Co and City	14,581	3.5%
Tipperary	11,381	2.7%
Waterford Co and City	8,949	2.1%
Connacht	**48,396**	**11.5%**
Galway Co and City	24,137	5.8%
Leitrim	2,983	0.7%
Mayo	10,964	2.6%
Roscommon	5,416	1.3%
Sligo	4,896	1.2%
Ulster (Part of)	**21,421**	**5.1%**
Cavan	5,683	1.4%
Donegal	10,572	2.5%
Monaghan	5,166	1.2%
TOTALS	**419,733**	**100%**

Fig 1: The spatial distribution of immigrants in Ireland 2006 (Source: OMI, 2008: 46)

Nevertheless, there are two notable exceptions where relatively high concentrations of recent immigrants have settled in areas characterised by relatively high levels of socio-spatial deprivation: (1) The Dublin Inner City Partnership area which covers most of Dublin's inner city, where non-Irish nationals accounted for 30 per cent of the population, or three times the national average, and (2) the Blanchardstown Partnership area in North West Dublin where non-Irish nationals accounted for almost 22 per cent (13,630) of the population which was more than twice the State average of 10 per cent (Ryan, 2008: 8).

The analysis of both areas presented here draws on research undertaken respectively by Haase and Pratschke (2008) and Ryan (2008). In the DICP case a state of the art analysis of relative deprivation at ED (Electoral Division) level was *not* disaggregated by nationality. The DICP case study presented here also draws on a separate analysis of census data that identifies immigrants within EDs by nationality. The absence of the kind of cross tabulation this paper makes a case for (ED data on deprivation correlated by nationality/ethnicity) inevitably impedes analysis of the risks of social exclusion encountered by immigrants. The Blanchardstown study pioneered the use of ED data disaggregated by nationality and hence is more revealing on the potential relationships between immigration and deprivation. In both cases further analysis of 2006 census data was undertaken to calculate an Index of Dissimilarity with the aim of concretising the relevance of international debates about immigrant segregation to Irish social inclusion and integration policy.

Specifically, an Index of Dissimilarity (*D*) compares the residential distribution of pairs of population groups in cities, showing the percentage of either group that would have to move to replicate the distribution of the other. Peach and Rossiter (1996) have used the Index of Dissimilarity to estimate levels of segregation between black and other groups in the UK, finding that while indices were low compared to black populations in the US, there were clear concentrations of Black Caribbeans in traditionally poor areas. Peach (2007) found that segregation amongst the Black Caribbean population had since declined whilst the trend in the case of South Asian groups was one of intensified settlement in areas of high concentration. The Index of Dissimilarity is by no means a comprehensive tool for measuring segregation.[2] However, *D* can be used to test widespread perceptions that certain groups are significantly overrepresented (or underrepresented) in a given area. *D* is measured from 0 to 1 (the higher the number the more segregation) but is also commonly expressed as a percentage i.e. 1-100. Values below 39 are generally regarded as 'low', 40-49 as 'moderate', 50-59 as 'moderately high', 60-69 as 'high' and 70 or over as 'very high' (Peach, 2007: 23). *D* is calculated using the following formula, typically comparing the white and black populations in a given area:

$$\frac{1}{2}\sum_{i=1}^{N}\left|\frac{b_i}{B}-\frac{w_i}{W}\right|$$

b_i = the black population of the i^{th} area, e.g. an Electoral Division

[2] This measurement, as with other indices of segregation, has received extensive criticism, such as that by Massey and Denton (1988) who argued that segregation encompasses five dimensions of spatial variation (evenness, exposure, clustering, concentration and centralization) and therefore that different indices are suitable for different dimensions.

B = the total black population of the larger geographic entity for which the index of dissimilarity is being calculated, e.g. Dublin Inner City Partnership area or Blanchardstown Partnership area
w_i = the white population of the i^{th} area
W = the total white population of the larger geographic entity for which the index of dissimilarity is being calculated

In the case studies of Dublin's inner city and the Blanchardstown area presented here, we compute *D* scores for 'White Irish' and 'Black/Black Irish' finding that these are 'low' in both areas (i.e. below 39), which suggests little segregation between these groups. *D* Scores for the UK present a somewhat different picture. While average *D* scores decreased for all ethnic groups in Britain between 1991 and 2001, Peach (2007) raises concern about the 'moderately high' segregation of Pakistanis and the 'high' segregation of Bangladeshis. Conversely, he reports 'low' segregation for the Caribbean population and 'moderate' segregation for Indians. In the context of such findings, the very low *D* scores for Black/Black Irish in Dublin's inner city and the Blanchardstown area, which are even *lower* than that of Caribbeans in the UK, appear little cause for concern. These scores suggest that anxieties about ghettoisation in the Irish case are misguided and perhaps offer more evidence of 'ghettos of the mind rather than ghettos of reality' (Simpson, 2006: 17). However, our analysis also finds that black immigrants are not equally spread but are disproportionately concentrated in disadvantaged EDs in Dublin's inner city and the Blanchardstown area.

Examining the DICP area first, the 2006 Census of Population shows a disproportionately high concentration of non-Irish nationals in inner city Dublin. Small Area Population Statistics (SAPS) data indicate that the average percentage of 'foreign nationals' per ED in this area is very high at 30 per cent, which is three times the State average of 10 per cent. SAPS data also reveal a high percentage of Black/Black Irish in the DICP area: the average for this area is 2.17 per cent compared to a national average of 1 per cent. Despite this high percentage we compute a low *D* score of 32 per cent for Black/Black Irish (against White Irish) for this area. Further analysis of SAPS data indicate, however, that Black/Black Irish are highly concentrated in a small number of EDs in the DICP area: in only three EDs (Arran Quay B, Ushers A and St. Kevin's) do Black/Black Irish account for more than 4 per cent of the total ED population. By contrast, the majority of EDs in the DICP area contain a very low percentage of Black/Black Irish: eight have less than 1 per cent with the lowest percentage recorded in Pembroke East A (0.11 per cent). In the case of Black immigrants therefore, whilst the segregation score is low for the DICP area as a whole, considerable clustering is evident. Furthermore, many EDs in the DICP area contain very high percentages of individuals listed as 'Not Stated' meaning that they failed to indicate nationality. In Royal Exchange A and Royal Exchange B, for example, close to a fifth of the population in each ED is listed under this category.

When deprivation scores (cf. Haase and Pratschke, 2008) are brought to bear on our analysis it appears that significant numbers of Black immigrants are living in comparatively disadvantaged EDs in the DICP area, particularly in the north inner city. Spiller (2001) comments on the high concentration of black immigrants in the Rotunda EDs and describes Parnell Street as "Little Africa", suggesting that this street has 'enveloped the emerging African community' in Dublin. The concentration of Black immigrants in deprived areas is particularly acute among asylum seekers. Kelly (2005: 212/3) notes that over a quarter of the asylum seekers in Dublin in 2002 were clustered in the north inner city with a single ED, Mountjoy B, accounting for 3.5 per

cent of the total. In this disadvantaged ED asylum seekers represented 12 per cent of the overall population in 2002. Kelly further suggests that on the whole, asylum seekers in Dublin are typically located in communities 'experiencing economic disadvantage and associative social ills such as under-utilisation of their human capital, low educational achievement and drug addiction and related health issues' (ibid. 213/4). When consideration is taken of a recent ESRI report (O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008) which finds that Black people participating in the Irish labour market have an unemployment rate that is nine times that of Irish nationals and are seven times more likely to report experiencing discrimination, the potential social exclusion experienced by black immigrants is significantly increased.[3]

As with the DICP area, the 2006 Census of Population indicates a disproportionately high concentration of non-Irish nationals in the Blanchardstown Partnership area in West Dublin. SAPS data indicate that the average percentage of 'foreign nationals' per ED in this area is 19 per cent. Whilst lower than the DICP area average, this is still approximately double the State average. There is also proportionately more Black/Black Irish per ED in the Blanchardstown Partnership area with an ED average of 5.8 per cent, which is almost six times the national average. We compute a very low *D* score of 18 per cent for the Blanchardstown Partnership area, which suggests even less segregation between the Black/Black Irish and White Irish populations than in the DICP area despite higher numbers of black people. Again, however, Black/Black Irish are unevenly distributed across EDs in this area with the highest percentages recorded in Mulhuddart (12.69 per cent), Blakestown (7.79 per cent) and Abbotstown (7.63 per cent). Blakestown alone accounts for over 60 per cent of the total Black/Black Irish population in the entire Blanchardstown Area and contains close to eight times the national average for Black/Black Irish. As with the DICP area, accounting for the high concentration of Black immigrants in some EDs in the Blanchardstown Partnership area can partly be explained by high numbers of asylum seekers and former asylum seekers. Examining deprivation scores again indicates that some Black/Black Irish are concentrated in disadvantaged EDs in this area: Mulhuddart, for example, is 'marginally below average' on Haase and Pratschke's (2008) Index yet contains almost thirteen times the national average of Black/Black Irish.

The relationship between immigration, deprivation and social exclusion remains unclear for both case studies. SAPS data do not sufficiently disaggregate nationality and ethnicity beyond large groupings (such as 'Rest of World'[4] in the case of nationality and 'Black or Black Irish' in the case of ethnicity) and hence it is difficult to assess the relative situation of diverse groups in the areas examined (such as Nigerian nationals for example). Nevertheless, in both case studies the

[3] This study reports on the labour market situation of migrants working in Ireland, and draws from a special module of the *Quarterly National Household Survey* (QNHS) (Q4 2004), supplemented by findings of the *Survey of Migrant Experiences of Racism and Discrimination in Ireland* (SMERDI) collected by the ESRI in 2005. The principal finding of this report is that migrants to Ireland fare less well than Irish nationals in the Irish labour market across a range of dimensions. However, this report also highlights significantly higher levels of disadvantage for Black people, which it is suggested may include high numbers of asylum seekers who are not eligible to be employed in Ireland while their claim is being processed.

[4] Our analysis in this article includes both nationality and ethnicity data in attempting to identify those most at risk of social exclusion in the areas examined. Aggregate groupings such as 'Rest of World', for example, are used in official statistics to denote non-EU migrants; however, this label obscures the predominance of African immigrants. In the case studies presented, our analysis focuses mainly on areas of distinct African or 'black' settlement.

incorporation of deprivation data worsens the picture for Black immigrants generally. Our analysis therefore stresses the need for further data disaggregation by nationality and ethnicity which is cross-tabulated with deprivation scores. It is only by viewing composite indicators across *individual* immigrant groups that a true picture of social exclusion is revealed. In this paper we pay particular attention to Black/Black Irish, however, research could obviously single out other ethnic categories such as Asian/Asian Irish. Nevertheless, the point holds that at present, the nature and extent of immigrant social exclusion is unhelpfully obscured within the currently available data, although what evidence is available suggests that black immigrants are hugely at risk of social exclusion.

Integration, deprivation and social inclusion data in Ireland

In 2003, Haase and Pratschke were commissioned to develop a Deprivation Index based on the 2002 Irish Census. This Index placed a strong emphasis on conceptualising the underlying dimensions of deprivation and the causal paths that lead to persistent deprivation, enabling relative affluence and deprivation to be traced over successive census periods (Haase and Pratschke, 2005). Haase and Pratschke's (2008) 'New Measures of Deprivation for the Republic of Ireland' have recently been made available by Pobal and build on this earlier 'Index of Relative Affluence and Deprivation for Ireland' (2005). These new measures identify three dimensions of affluence/disadvantage: demographic profile, social class composition and labour market situation.[5] Each dimension is calculated (in identical fashion) for each census wave and then combined to form an Absolute Index Score and Relative Index Score. Haase and Pratschke (2008) point out that if one is interested in making a statement about a particular area (e.g. an ED) at a particular point in time (e.g. in 2006) then the appropriate score to use is the 'Relative Index Score'. As such, we incorporate Relative Index Scores for 2006 in the case studies that follow and analyse our findings according to the following scale developed by Haase and Pratschke:

Over 30 = extremely affluent
20 to 30 = very affluent
10 to 20 = affluent
0 to 10 = marginally above average
0 to - 10 = marginally below average

[5] 'Demographic Profile' is essentially a measure of rural affluence/deprivation and is measured by five indicators: the percentage increase in population over the previous five years; the percentage of population aged under 15 or over 64 years of age; the percentage of population with a primary school education only; the percentage of population with a third level education and; the percentage of households with children aged under 15 years and headed by a single parent. 'Social Class Composition' is of equal relevance to both urban and rural areas and is relatively stable over time, thereby constituting an important factor in the inter-generational transmission of economic, cultural and social assets. 'Social Class Composition' is measured by five indicators: the percentage of population with a primary school education only; the percentage of population with a third level education; the percentage of households headed by professionals or managerial and technical employees, including farmers with 100 acres or more; the percentage of households headed by semi-skilled or unskilled manual workers, including farmers with less than 30 acres and; the mean number of persons per room. Finally, 'Labour Market Situation' is predominantly an urban measure and is measured by four indicators: the percentage of households headed by semi-skilled or unskilled manual workers, including farmers with less than 30 acres; the percentage of households with children aged under 15 years and headed by a single parent; the male unemployment rate and; the female unemployment rate (Haase and Pratschke, 2008).

- 10 to - 20 = disadvantaged
- 20 to - 30 = very disadvantaged
Below - 30 = extremely disadvantaged

In the case studies that follow, we examine deprivation and segregation within Electoral Divisions (EDs) in the Dublin Inner City Partnership (DICP) and Blanchardstown areas. While our analysis finds significant variety amongst these EDs, and therefore little evidence of a fixed relationship between immigration, segregation and deprivation, we nevertheless identify EDs which appear exceptions to overall immigrant diffusion and in which some immigrants (notably Black people) face disproportionate risks of social exclusion.

1. The Dublin Inner City Partnership (DICP) Area

The DICP is an independent local development company dedicated to tackling socioeconomic disadvantage, unemployment and social exclusion in inner city Dublin. The partnership covers all of Dublin's inner city except for two EDs, Ushers D and Ushers E, which are included in the Canals Partnership area. The DICP area is administratively divided into four quadrants: the North West Inner City (NWIC), the North East Inner City (NEIC), the South West Inner City (SWIC) and the South East Inner City (SEIC), and in each of these areas a local community network has been formed to co-ordinate and target activities. The following map (Fig. 2) illustrates the entire DICP area (demarcated by a thick black line) and identifies the EDs covered by the partnership.

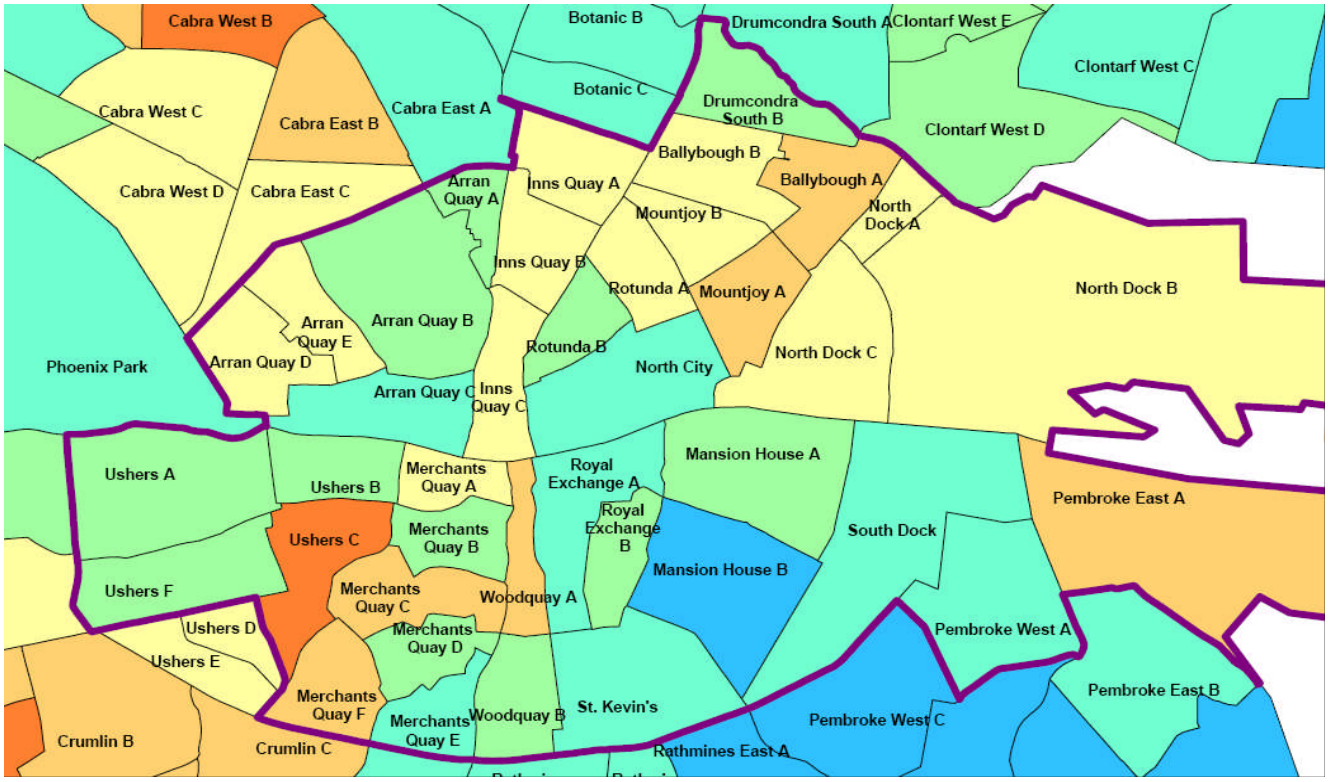


Fig. 2: Map of DICP area showing EDs (Source: Haase and Byrne, 2007)

The activities of the DICP and the groups affiliated to it are directed towards enhancing the quality of life of inner city residents who experience deprivation and disadvantage on an ongoing basis. The St. Catherine's Combined Communities Group, for example, is a community-based organisation representing residents and tenants associations in the South West Inner City (Ushers and Merchants Quay EDs). During the 1950s, low income families were moved from old tenement buildings in this area (the Liberties) into newly-built Local Authority flat complexes. Over decades the area went into decay with job losses and gradual physical neglect and during the 1980s and 1990s a severe heroin problem emerged. Consequently, at the onset of the Celtic Tiger period, this locality faced multiple forms of disadvantage, ranging from early school-leaving to anti-social behaviour, compounded by a dearth of recreational facilities and community amenities (DICP 2002).

Dublin's Inner City has undergone significant transformation over the past fifteen years and all areas appear to have benefited from the economic boom. Yet, Haase and Byrne (2007) identify pockets of relative deprivation in the DICP Area which are partially masked by gentrification and large inflows of affluent people. More recently, Haase and Pratschke (2008) reveal that while Dublin Region is the second most affluent region of Ireland, Dublin City is the most disadvantaged local authority area within this region and the tenth most disadvantaged county in Ireland overall. Haase and Pratschke's (2008) Index reveals that of the thirty-nine EDs in the DICP Area, the majority are 'marginally below average', with a significant number (ten) classified as 'disadvantaged'. Two of these are bordering on 'very disadvantaged' (Ballybough A and Ushers C) and two are 'very disadvantaged' (Inns Quay C and Wood Quay A). Turning to the percentage of 'foreign nationals' per ED, it is noteworthy that the DICP average is very high at 30 per cent, which is three times the national average. In the following graph (Fig. 3) the 'Relative Index Score' for the ten EDs with the highest percentages of non-Irish nationals in the DICP area are shown.

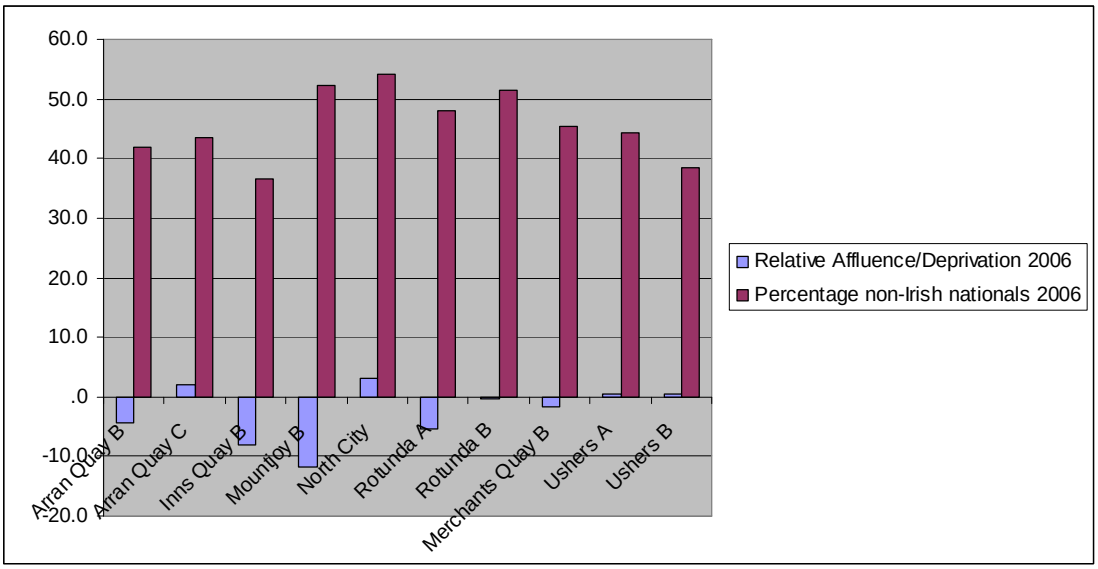


Fig. 3: 10 EDs in DICP area with highest percentage of non-Irish nationals, showing Relative Affluence/Deprivation (Source: SAPS and Haase and Pratschke, 2008)

Fig. 3 indicates that EDs in the DICP area do not show a uniform relationship between deprivation and immigrant numbers, however a general pattern of immigrant clustering in comparatively disadvantaged EDs is discernible.[6] All of the EDs shown have more than three times the national average of foreign nationals, although three of these EDs have more than five times. Mountjoy B is of particular concern as over 52 per cent of the population of this 'disadvantaged' ED is foreign national. It can also be seen that even the EDs that are 'technically' not disadvantaged are in fact more accurately borderline cases. SAPS nationality data reveal that the percentage of 'Rest of World' immigrants in the ten EDs shown is approximately equal to or greater than the combined percentages of all other groups (i.e. UK nationals, Poles, Lithuanians and 'Other EU 25') (Fig. 4)[7].

EDs with highest % foreign nationals	**Nationality groups as % of <u>total</u> ED population**				
	Rest of World	UK	Polish	Lithuanian	Other EU 25
1. North City (54.04 %)	30.51	1.89	5.57	1.07	15
2. Mountjoy B (52.33 %)	24.03	1.66	11.28	2.36	13
3. Rotunda B (51.61 %)	26.8	2.38	6.81	1.51	14.11
4. Rotunda A (48.15 %)	28.07	1.6	8.02	1.28	9.18
5. Merchants Quay B (45.41 %)	23.88	2	6.93	0.32	12.28
6. Ushers A (44.22 %)	29.99	2.69	6.11	0.32	5.11
7. Arran Quay C (43.5 %)	19.07	3.4	7.27	0.74	13.02
8. Arran Quay B (41.94 %)	22.25	1.3	6.87	1.27	10.25
9. Ushers B (38.49)	18.92	2.99	8.33	0.97	7.28
10. Inns Quay B (36.67 %)	17.59	1.75	5.73	1.65	9.95

Fig. 4: EDs in DICP area with highest percentage of foreign nationals, showing broad nationality groups (Source: SAPS)

Fig. 4 indicates that the highest percentages of Polish and Lithuanian nationals are in Mountjoy B, which is a 'disadvantaged' ED. 'Other EU 15' are more evenly spread throughout the EDs listed, with Rotunda B (a 'marginally below average' ED)

[6] It is noteworthy that of the two *most* disadvantaged EDs in the DICP Area (i.e. the only two EDs classified as 'very disadvantaged'), Inns Quay C is approximately 30 per cent foreign national (the average percentage for EDs in the DICP area) while Wood Quay is only 13 per cent foreign national, which is significantly lower than the DICP average (although still higher than the national average). Hence, while a general pattern of immigrant clustering in disadvantaged EDs can be observed, this is far from uniform.

[7] Fig. 4 does not include 'Irish nationals' or those in the 'not stated' category.

showing the highest concentration. Fig. 4 primarily indicates, however, that the percentage of 'Rest of World' immigrants is especially high in all the EDs shown: this category accounts for approximately half the total foreign national population in each ED listed but in some cases, such as North City, accounts for as much as two thirds. Fig. 4 further indicates that the percentage of UK nationals in the EDs shown is comparatively low, with a peak of 3.4 per cent in Arran Quay C.

These figures are difficult to interpret and above all make plain the need for further disaggregation of data, especially as 'Rest of World' immigrants are most highly represented in the EDs listed. SAPS ethnicity data reveal, however, that Black/Black Irish immigrants are heavily concentrated in a small number of EDs in Dublin's north inner city. Mountjoy B is again of particular concern because not only is this ED highly disadvantaged, it also contains the highest percentage of asylum seekers in the Dublin city area (see Kelly 2005). Hence, these data do not merely indicate a burgeoning non-Irish national population in inner city Dublin but also posit a relationship between immigration and deprivation, suggesting that some non-Irish nationals (e.g. Africans) may be amongst the 'hidden disadvantaged' in the DICP area (Haase and Byrne, 2007).

2. The Blanchardstown Area

Like the DICP, the Blanchardstown Area Partnership (BAP) in North West Dublin is dedicated to tackling deprivation and social exclusion and attempts to foster cooperation between the local community and the various agencies (voluntary, statutory and social partners) working in this area. The Blanchardstown area lies North West of Dublin's Phoenix Park and is composed of a mixture of private and large local authority housing estates built partially in response to the long housing waiting lists that developed during the 1980s (Ryan, 2008: 9). The Blanchardstown Area comprises eight EDs (in County Fingal): Abbotstown, Blakestown, Coolmine, Corduff, Delwood, Mulhuddart, Roselawn and Tyrrelstown. The 2006 Census of Population reports significant changes across the entire Blanchardstown area and reveals a 25 per cent increase in the population since 2002 (compared to 5.7 per cent for Dublin) making Blanchardstown the fastest growing area in the country. The following map (Fig. 5) illustrates the EDs of the Blanchardstown area and the percentage of 'foreign nationals' in each. In a report entitled *Socio Economic Profile of Blanchardstown* (2008: 8, 26), Ryan notes that foreign nationals accounted for approximately 22 per cent of all residents in the Blanchardstown Area in 2006 (more than double the State average of 10 per cent) and that the largest groupings recorded were: Nigerians (1822), Polish (1261), Lithuanians (1045) and British (954).

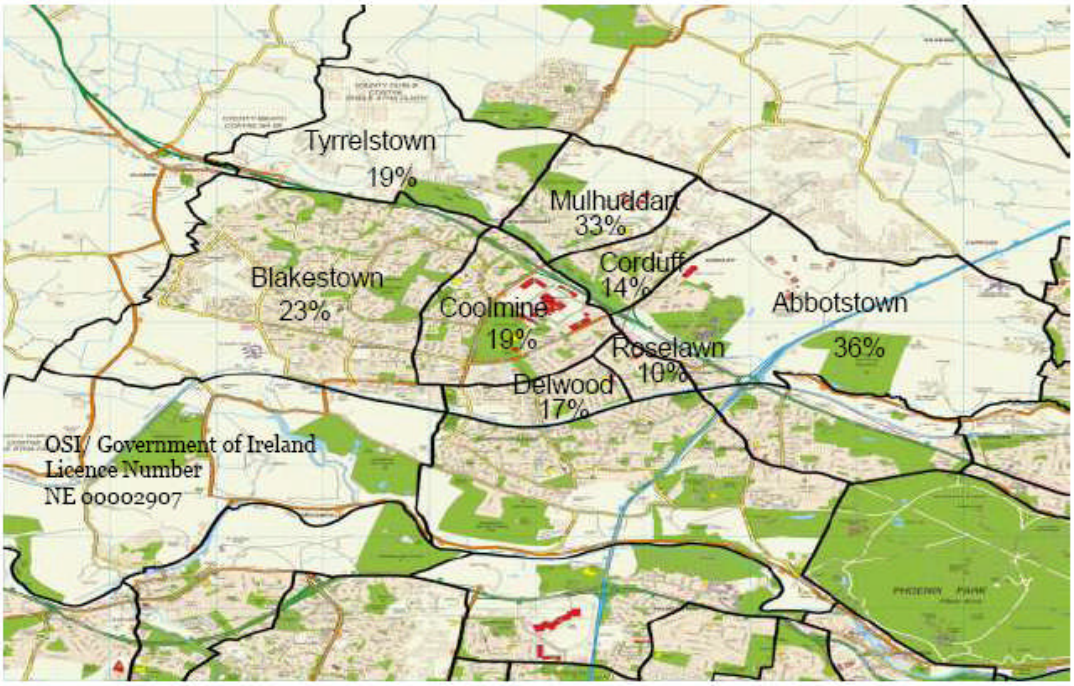
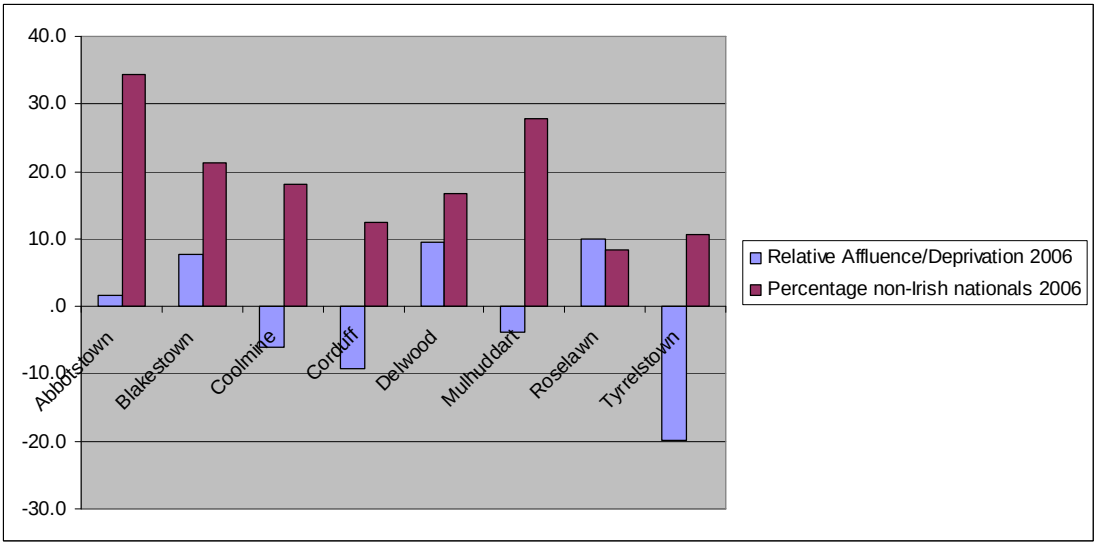


Fig. 5: Percentage of foreign nationals in Blanchardstown area EDs (Source: www.bap.ie)

Ryan (2008) reports various general improvements across the Blanchardstown area, however, he incorporates data from Haase and Pratschke's Index of Deprivation to show that inequality and disadvantage remain prevalent.[8] Our analysis is likewise concerned with identifying EDs in the Blanchardstown area that are 'disadvantaged' *and* which also contain significant numbers of non-Irish nationals. In the following graph (Fig. 6) the Relative Index Score for every ED in the Blanchardstown area is shown alongside the percentage of non-Irish nationals resident in 2006.



[8] It should be noted that Ryan (2008) uses 'Absolute Index Scores' in constructing tables and graphs, however, as our analysis focuses specifically on 2006 we follow the advice of Haase and Pratschke (2008) in using the 'Relative Index Score'. Hence, while our findings are broadly similar the figures shown differ.

Fig. 6: Relative Affluence/Deprivation in Blanchardstown area EDs and percentage non-Irish nationals (Source: SAPS and Haase and Pratschke, 2008)

As with the DICP area, Fig. 6 offers some evidence of immigrant concentration in comparatively disadvantaged EDs, however, again this is far from uniform. Of the eight EDs represented in the graph, four broadly conform to this pattern: Mulhuddart[9] has the second highest percentage of non-Irish nationals and is 'marginally below average' on the Relative Index. Tyrrelstown and Coolmine contain moderate percentages of non-Irish nationals and are the most disadvantaged and third most disadvantaged EDs in the Blanchardstown area respectively. Roselawn also (inversely) conforms to this pattern: Roselawn is the most affluent ED[10] of the eight shown yet it also has the lowest percentage of non-Irish nationals.

Of the remaining four EDs in the Blanchardstown Area, Abbotstown can be considered a borderline case. This ED has the highest percentage of non-Irish nationals yet is 'marginally above average' on the Relative Index and thus does not conform to the aforementioned general pattern in the strict sense.[11] The other three EDs are more clearly atypical: Corduff is the second most disadvantaged ED in the Blanchardstown area, however, it has a below average percentage of non-Irish nationals. Conversely, Blakestown and Delwood have comparatively high percentages of non-Irish nationals yet are 'marginally above average' on the Relative Index. Hence, the most conclusive assessment is that the relationship between deprivation and immigration in the Blanchardstown area, as with the DICP area, varies by ED although something of a general pattern is discernible.

Turning to examine nationality, the following table (Fig. 7) indicates the total percentage of foreign nationals in each ED in the Blanchardstown area, listing these according to broad nationality groups.

EDs in Blanchardstown Area showing % foreign nationals	**Nationality groups as % of <u>total</u> ED population**				
	Rest of World	UK	Polish	Lithuanian	Other EU 25
Abbotstown (34.45%)	18.54	1.82	3.96	2.34	7.78
Blakestown (21.3%)	13.13	1.6	1.82	1.83	2.9
Coolmine (18%)	9.87	1.39	2.32	1.34	3.09
Corduff (12.4%)	7.08	1.19	1.19	1.29	1.63
Delwood (16.8%)	9.13	1.24	1.71	1.97	2.73
Mulhuddart (27.7%)	15.67	2.07	4.14	1.64	4.14
Roselawn (8.3%)	4.32	0.72	0.44	0.83	2.05
Tyrrelstown (10.7%)	7.77	1.94	0.32	0	0.71

Fig. 7: EDs in Blanchardstown area showing broad nationality groups as percentage of foreign national population (Source: SAPS)

[9] Drawing from the 2006 Census of Population, Bailey and Bookle (2008) indicate that 42 per cent of families in Mulhuddart are lone parent families (compared to a national average of 18 per cent) and that approximately a fifth of this ED's working population was unemployed in 2006 (which is almost four times the national average as of January 2008).

[10] It should be highlighted that although Roselawn is the 'most affluent' ED in the Blanchardstown area, it is still only bordering on 'affluent' according to the New Measures of Deprivation compiled by Haase and Pratschke (2008).

[11] Unlike the other EDs listed that are 'marginally above average', Abbotstown's score is very close to zero and therefore can be considered a more borderline case.

As with the DICP area, 'Rest of World' accounts for the majority of foreign nationals in the Blanchardstown area. In fact, Fig. 7 indicates that the 'Rest of World' percentage in each ED shown is greater than the combined percentages of all other groups (i.e. UK nationals, Poles, Lithuanians and 'Other EU 25'). The largest percentages of 'Rest of World', Lithuanian nationals and 'Other EU 25' are found in Abbotstown while the largest percentage of Polish nationals is in Mulhuddart. As with the DICP area, UK nationals are again the smallest immigrant group in the Blanchardstown area, however, the disparity is a great deal less and there are several EDs in which UK nationals outnumber various other nationalities (e.g. Lithuanians in Coolmine and Poles in Roselawn).

Examining SAPS ethnicity data helps to further illuminate the relationship between immigration and deprivation in the Blanchardstown area, however these too require further disaggregation. These data indicate that there are proportionately more Black/Black Irish per ED in the Blanchardstown Partnership area than in the DICP area. In fact, the ED average for this area is 5.8 per cent, which is almost six times the national average of Black/Black Irish. In one ED, Mulhuddart, there is almost thirteen times the national average of Black/Black Irish. Likewise research by Kelly (2005) indicates that there are significant numbers of black asylum seekers in the Blanchardstown area.

In a report published on behalf of the Tyrrelstown Development Group,[12] Bailey and Bookle (2008) examine the Tyrrelstown community development in Blanchardstown, which is a new private residential housing development comprising eight housing estates and almost four thousand inhabitants. While this community lies outside the eight EDs analysed above it is nevertheless indicative of the growing ethnic diversity in the Blanchardstown area. This report states that 51 per cent of Tyrrelstown's inhabitants are 'other than white Irish' and that 'the rapid development of this area can largely be attributed to the high demand for housing and the building boom which took place from 2002-2006' (Bailey and Bookle, 2008: 6/7).[13] The following pie-chart (Fig. 8), taken from this report, profiles Tyrrelstown residents according to ethnic/cultural background.

[12] Members of the Tyrrelstown Development Group include representatives of the Fingal County Council, Blanchardstown Area Partnership, Mulhuddart Parish, Greater Blanchardstown Community Development Project, VEC Youth Section and Foroige – Blanchardstown Youth Service (Bailey and Bookle, 2008: 7)

[13] This report also draws attention to high numbers of migrants claiming rent allowance in Tyrrelstown. In particular, concern is expressed about the high proportion of African residents on rent allowance (82 per cent) which, it is claimed, is higher than the figure of migrants in receipt of rent supplement in Blanchardstown (68 per cent) (Bailey and Bookle, 2008: 53).

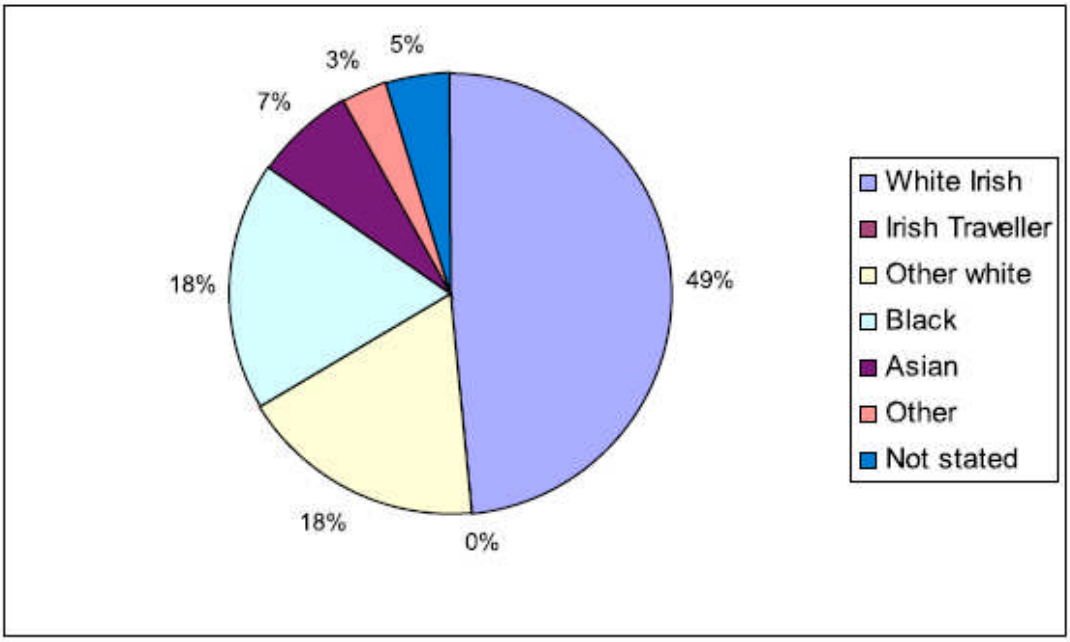


Fig. 8: Usually resident in Tyrrelstown by ethnic/cultural background (Source: Bailey and Bookle, 2008: 52)

Fig. 8 indicates a diverse ethnic profile with a significant percentage of black residents in the Tyrrelstown community. Bailey and Bookle's report draws attention to the explosive population growth in the Blanchardstown area (and extremely high rates of children and young people) which has not been matched by service and infrastructural improvements. Whilst this community has at present a healthy employment rate and a high rate of home ownership, Bailey and Bookle identify more worrisome statistics, such as a higher than average rate of lone parent families in Tyrrelstown. Hence, these researchers find considerable evidence of disadvantage and potential social exclusion, suggesting that immigrants are amongst those most at risk.

The DICP and BAP are exceptional in that few community partnerships in Ireland have utilised statistical data or poverty indices[14] and few give explicit attention to nationality and ethnicity in published reports. This criticism also applies to independent researchers who have produced illuminating studies of particular groups in which the importance of 'place' is usually implicit, yet without any detailed analysis of specific locales (e.g. Ejorh, 2006; Ugba, 2005). Although various organisations, notably the ESRI, have produced studies of the labour market characteristics of immigrants and the wider economic impact of immigration (e.g. Barrett et al, 2006; Barrett et al, 2008; O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008), these too generally lack detailed spatial analysis and fail to disaggregate nationality/ethnicity data beyond large groupings, such as 'EU15' and 'New Member States'. A recent report by the ESRI does examine ethnicity (O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008), however, here again the aggregate "national-ethnic" groups identified make it difficult to compare the heterogeneous experiences of different immigrant communities. Hence, we argue that currently available data neither sufficiently address immigrant social exclusion nor adequately explain to what extent such exclusion is spatial.

[14] There are exceptions to this, which include, for example, the West Cork Community Partnership (see O'Driscoll, 2008).

Policy implications

International debates about poverty and social inclusion and debates about the integration of immigrants are similarly preoccupied with damage to social cohesion. In Ireland, the National Anti-Poverty Strategy, since its inception in 1997, has emphasised the concept of social exclusion (Department of Social and Family Affairs, 1997: 3). In effect, social exclusion is seen as a consequence of the relative material deprivation that can result from income poverty and unemployment. The thesis at the heart of Irish anti-poverty policy is that people may be excluded from activities that are considered the norm for other people in society due to inadequate income and resources. Many of the problems faced by socially excluded individuals, families and communities relate to social reproduction. For instance, marginalised communities face greater risks of being failed by the education system than those with above average means and supports.[15] Similarly, debates about integration emphasise risks of intergenerational marginalisation encountered by some, though not all, ethnic minorities. Of concern here is the family resemblance between debates about social inclusion and ones about integration. Both are normatively preoccupied with long-term dangers to social cohesion (Fanning, 2007: 237-8).

Research in the UK indicates that the impact of immigration on community cohesion varies according to numerous factors, including deprivation, crime, employment and antisocial behaviour:

> There is no straightforward relationship between the number of migrants in an area and levels of cohesion. Some areas experience high inward migration yet have a good level of cohesion in comparison to the national average. Nevertheless, cohesion can be negatively affected by migration, particularly in areas where there is poverty and/or little previous experience of diversity.[16]

This suggests that whilst community cohesion and integration are dependant on a variety of factors, deprivation exerts an especially strong negative influence. Examining the experiences of 'new immigrants' at the local and neighbourhood levels in the UK, for example, Robinson and Reeve (2006) argue that physically and socially deprived neighbourhoods foster additional forms of social exclusion, including restricted access to the labour market and limited civic participation, which in turn perpetuates disadvantage, economic disparities and housing differentials. In short,

[15] The school system has received considerable attention from policy makers and scholars. Peach (2007: 37), for example, suggests that schools in the UK show higher degrees of segregation than residential areas. Similarly, in Ireland recent attention has been given to the possibility of 'ethnic-only' schools in addition to several already established 'emergency schools' in response to the failure of Ireland's educational system to cope with a rapidly diversifying population. It has also been suggested that integration is complicated by the denominational nature of Irish education: Educate Together (2005), for example, reported that 98.8 per cent of all primary schools in Ireland are privately owned and operated by religious bodies which are funded by the State.

[16] House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee (2008) *Community Cohesion and Migration*, Tenth Report of Session 2007–08, p. 15. In an article in the *Guardian* newspaper examining this report, Rachel Pillai (Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Employment Studies) highlights that there is no robust evidence to show a correlation between areas with the highest numbers of migrants and low levels of community cohesion in the UK, offering the examples of Newham and Brent, which have experienced high inward migration but which also record high levels of cohesion (Pillai, 2008). Crucial to Pillai's argument, therefore, is that assumptions perpetuated in political and media discourses must be regarded circumspectly.

Robinson and Reeve find that deprivation and segregation are typically reinforcing and compound the social exclusion experienced by immigrants, a finding that is supported by other studies (e.g. Buck, 2001; Massey and Denton, 1993; Montagné Villette, and Hardill, 2007; South et al, 2005).

In the case studies presented in this paper, we examined deprivation and segregation within EDs in the DICP and Blanchardstown areas. Whilst our analysis helps to debunk myths of ghettoisation and finds little evidence of a deterministic relationship between immigration, segregation and deprivation, we nevertheless identify EDs within which immigrants are disproportionately at risk of social exclusion. In particular, the case studies presented posit a relationship between deprivation and high percentages of immigrants largely unaddressed in current research. Haase and Pratschke's (2008) Index of Deprivation identifies disadvantaged EDs in the DICP and Blanchardstown Partnership areas that when cross-tabulated with SAPS data identify clusters of immigrants at high risk of social exclusion. Other research, such as that by the ESRI, helps to corroborate the broad findings of community partnerships, namely that black immigrants are amongst those most disadvantaged (particularly asylum seekers), however, at present research in this area lacks sufficient comparative scope to assess the potential risks of social exclusion experienced by different ethnic and nationality groupings.

In addition to the need for an improved evidence base informed by reliable (and cross tabulated) statistical data, we argue that policy must recognise that socio-spatial segregation and social exclusion are not merely urban problems but are relevant in rural areas also. While it is necessary to target locally those most at need, area-based strategies cannot be viewed as a panacea in place of national economic and social policies (Nolan, 1998: 103). Finally, we share the concern of Simpson (2006) and Simpson et al (2006) that segregation measurements generally fail to address the dynamic and historical causes of residential clustering. Simpson (2006: 17), for example, argues that indices such as *D* generally 'do not include the poor educational, housing and employment conditions which do deserve concerted attention and which are also shown by the census to be focused on some social groups, disproportionately associated with ethnic minority populations'. In this respect we suggest that indices of deprivation, such as that constructed by Haase and Pratschke (2008), offer a significant advantage in drawing attention to the underlying dimensions of deprivation and the causal paths that lead to persistent deprivation. Nevertheless, we suggest that examining *D* scores *alongside* deprivation scores (and indeed other data) offers a more complete picture of immigrant disadvantage and potential social exclusion.

Conclusion

The case studies presented in this paper have attempted to locate immigrants in historically disadvantaged areas of Dublin.[17] We argue that there remains a need for detailed small area data on socio-spatial segregation and social exclusion in Ireland which is disaggregated by nationality and ethnicity. We suggest that examining deprivation and segregation scores in tandem with ethnicity and nationality data helps to illuminate the complexity and multidimensionality of social exclusion and highlights how this can go unnoticed using individual measures. Furthermore, it is

[17] Obviously Dublin is not the only disadvantaged county in Ireland and our choice of case studies in this paper is governed by data access and reliability. Waterford City, for example, 'is more economically depressed than other areas, there is a higher proportion of migrants than other areas, and increasing competition between locals and migrants for jobs may become an issue' (Prospectus, 2008).

important to highlight that our analysis (and the tables and graphs compiled) does not include figures from the 'not stated' categories of SAPS tables. There may be good reason, however, to include these as part of the 'foreign national' population in EDs, as Ryan (2008) does, because it is reasonable to assume that some immigrants may be unwilling to disclose their nationality and ethnicity or indeed, may have avoided the census altogether.[18]

At present, we suggest that the spatial relationship between immigration and deprivation remains unclear in Ireland. It is known that a considerable number of immigrants are currently residing in disadvantaged areas and are potentially at high risk of social exclusion. Of these a considerable portion are black. The case studies of the DICP and Blanchardstown areas presented in this paper posit that non-Irish nationals are amongst the 'hidden disadvantaged' in these areas. Measures designed to combat social exclusion therefore require an improved evidence base, informed by reliable (and cross tabulated) statistical data. The use of deprivation indices to identify areas of socio-spatial deprivation allows for targeted policy interventions. However, unless such data is disaggregated immigrant social exclusion is likely to remain invisible and the integration of potentially vulnerable of immigrants will be impeded.

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