

**Approaches to Cultural and Ethnic Diversity
And the Role of Citizenship in promoting a more inclusive
Intercultural Society in Ireland**

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This paper seeks to provide an overview and brief discourse of different approaches to cultural and ethnic diversity and seeks to consider the role of citizenship in promoting a more inclusive, intercultural society in Ireland.

The paper is divided into two parts. Part One identifies and discusses in turn the four main approaches to cultural and ethnic diversity, which are:

- Interculturalism
- Multiculturalism
- Assimilation
- Integration

Part Two of this paper looks at the complex and multi-faceted role of citizenship in promoting a more inclusive, intercultural society in Ireland

Part One: Approaches to Cultural and Ethnic Diversity

Approaches to cultural and ethnic diversity can differ widely between countries and can change over the course of time within a particular country in response to a range of factors including: The development of new approaches to the management of inward migration flows; responses to security and economic concerns; prevailing political ideologies and historical legacies, including colonialism and access to citizenship.

The four main approaches to cultural and ethnic diversity are summarised and considered in turn, beginning with the concept of Interculturalism.

1. **Interculturalism:** The approach that has been adopted in Ireland based on the underpinning principles of interaction, equality, understanding and respect. The intercultural approach seeks to move away from the ‘one cap fits all approach’ towards the reasonable accommodation of diversity within public policy and service provision. The five themes set out in the National Action Plan against Racism translates the concept of Interculturalism into a holistic policy framework.
2. **Multiculturalism:** The approach pioneered by Britain from the early 1970’s but which is increasingly being viewed as outmoded. Multiculturalism seeks to acknowledge and celebrate diversity without necessarily promoting interaction or equality and is often perceived as glossing over issues such as racism, unemployment and poverty.
3. **Assimilation:** The ‘when in Rome do as the Romans do, whether you like it or not’ approach which has been largely discredited but which is enjoying a revival in newer guises in some EU countries in the reaction to events in particular 9/11 and the perceived rise in Islamic fundamentalism. The French model of civic integration is a distinct and largely unique approach to assimilation, but with origins in the French tradition of secularism and equality. The recent debate on the law banning overt religious symbols illustrates some of the inherent contradictions in this policy and some of the diversity of opinion on cultural and ethnic diversity within Ireland
4. **Integration:** The term favoured by the EU, but which can often mean all things to all people, including assimilation. Many countries in the EU have adopted their own definitions of integration in tandem with tighter immigration control and security policies. A recent Communication by the European Commission has sought to develop greater consensus about what is meant by integration but a major weakness in the policy is that it only applies to recent migrants and it ignores questions of the type of society in which integration should take place.

Interculturalism

Interculturalism as an overall approach to ethnic and cultural diversity is becoming increasingly embedded in key policy developments in Ireland. This is a marked change in policy and is a distinct shift away from previous laissez- faire and ad-hoc approaches that characterised previous Irish government policy approaches in this area.

In January 2005, the Government of Ireland published its National Action Plan against Racism ‘Planning for Diversity’ which set out for the first time an intercultural framework approach to cultural and ethnic diversity in Ireland. Speaking at the launch of the Plan, the Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern T.D. said that it ‘was a clear demonstration of the Government’s commitment to adapt policy to the changing circumstances of a more diverse Ireland’¹. A Strategic Management Committee has recently been established to monitor and coordinate the Plan.

The overall aim of the National Action Plan against Racism (NPAR) is to provide strategic direction to combat racism and to develop a more inclusive and intercultural society in Ireland, it states:

‘Developing a more inclusive, intercultural society is about inclusion by design not is an add-on or afterthought. It is essentially about creating the conditions for interaction, equality of opportunity, understanding and respect. In taking this approach we embrace the concept that ‘one size does not fit all’, and that planning for and accommodating cultural diversity, everyone will benefit from the process.

There are five key themes underpinning the NPAR that seek to translate the concept of interculturalism into a coherent and multifaceted policy framework in the Irish context. This intercultural framework can be summarised as follows:

¹ Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, Press release January 27, 2005. www.justice.ie

1. Effective **PROTECTION** and redress against racism, including a focus on discrimination, threatening behaviour and incitement to hatred;
2. Economic **INCLUSION** and equality of opportunity, Including focus on employment, the workplace and poverty;
3. Accommodating diversity in service **PROVISION**, including a focus on common outcomes, education, health, social services and childcare, accommodation and the administration of justice.
4. **RECOGNITION** and awareness of diversity, including a focus on awareness raising, the media and the arts, sport and tourism
5. Full **PARTICIPATION** in Irish society, including a focus on the political level, the policy level and the community level².

The NPAR is not being developed in a contextual vacuum. It is being developed at a time of unprecedented expansion of cultural and ethnic diversity in Ireland, mainly as a consequence of significant inward migration. These changes can be illustrated through a few key statistics:

- Approximately 110,000 migrant workers from outside the European Economic Area arrived in Ireland between 2000 and 2004
- Approximately 45,000 applications by asylum seekers were received by the Department of Justice, Equality and Law reform between 2000 and 2004
- Over 50,000 workers from new EU Member States (in particular from Poland) took up employment in Ireland in the period May-December 2004³.

It is important to emphasise (in contrast to integration) that an intercultural approach to cultural and ethnic diversity seeks to be inclusive of existing majority and minority ethnic communities in Ireland, including longstanding/indigenous minority ethnic groups.

Long-standing minority ethnic communities in Ireland include groups as diverse as the Traveller community (24,000 people), the Jewish Community in Ireland, which can be

² Government of Ireland, (2005). The National Action Plan against Racism. www.justice.ie

³ Ruhs, Martin, (2005). Managing the Immigration and Employment of Non EU Nationals in Ireland. The Policy Institute at Trinity College Dublin.

traced back to the later part of the nineteenth century and before and the Islamic community in Ireland which began arriving in Ireland from the 1950's and which quadrupled in size to 19,000 over the period 1991-2002. As a consequence of significant and sustained inward migration into Ireland from the mid 1990's there is now a significant African, Chinese and Eastern European Communities in Ireland.

Intercultural Policy Initiatives

The increasing adoption of an intercultural approach to ethnic and cultural diversity is reflected in a number of recent policy developments in Ireland. For example, it is to be welcomed that for the first time Census 2006 will include a question on ethnic and cultural background, which will capture data that is not covered by the nationality, place of birth and religious questions in Census 2002.

The United Nations CERD Committee also recently welcomed the Irish Government's decision to include an ethnicity question in its concluding comments on Ireland's First and Second Report under the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination⁴.

⁴ United Nations Committee on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination, (2005). Concluding comments on Ireland's First and Second Progress Report. www.unhchr.ie

The Ethnicity Question to be included in Ireland's Census 2006⁵

14 What is your ethnic or cultural background?
Choose ONE section from A to D, then ✓ the appropriate box.

A White

1 Irish

2 Irish Traveller

3 Any other White background

B Black or Black Irish

4 African

5 Any other Black background

C Asian or Asian Irish

6 Chinese

7 Any other Asian background

D Other, including mixed background

8 Other, write in description

The development of an ethnicity question is essential to the intercultural approach for a number of reasons, including to:

- Monitor the changing ethnic and cultural diversity in Ireland
- Track inequality and discrimination
- Facilitate local planning
- Target and allocate resources where appropriate
- Promote awareness of ethnic and cultural diversity in Ireland
- Meet reporting requirements under international human rights instruments

⁵ Central Statistics Office. www.cso.ie

The categories, such as ‘Black or Black Irish’ demonstrates an understanding by the CSO that cultural and ethnic diversity in Ireland should be an inclusive concept; that ethnic and cultural identity does not necessarily remain static but can change over time and that ethnic and cultural diversity is not only a product of recent immigration into Ireland.

A further recent example of an intercultural policy initiative consistent with the NPAR is the development of intercultural education guidelines for the primary sector (May 2005) and the post-primary sector (forthcoming)⁶. These guidelines emphasise the need for all schools to consider and to make reasonable accommodation of cultural and ethnic diversity in all aspects of the school and classroom planning process, irrespective of the extent of diversity within a particular school.

‘The aim of these guidelines is to contribute to the development of Ireland as an intercultural society based on a shared sense that language, cultural and ethnic diversity is valuable’.

The adoption of an ‘a whole system approach’, illustrated in these two recent examples, is an essential component of the intercultural framework set out in the NPAR. There are four elements of a whole system approach which are summarised as follows:

- **Mainstreaming** awareness of diversity into policy making processes and into the relevant policy areas
- **Targeting** of specific strategies to overcome the inequalities experienced by specific groups informed by an evidence based approach to policy development
- **Benchmarking** through targets and timescales and the development of sectoral strategies
- **Engagement** of key stakeholders and drivers to support the implementation of the NPAR including policy makers, specialised and expert bodies, the social partners and local communities, including groups representing cultural and ethnic minorities.

⁶ Department of Education and Science, (2005). Intercultural Education in the Primary School. Guidelines for Schools.

In short developing a more inclusive, intercultural society is about inclusion by design not is an add-on or afterthought with a particular emphasis on *interaction* and *equality*. Key pieces of legislation such as the Equality Acts 1998-2004 have an important role in underpinning this process.

Multiculturalism

The major criticism of the multicultural approach, as developed in Britain and in the Netherlands in particular from the late 1960's and mid 1970's respectively, is that while it was perceived to be an advance on assimilation and neo colonial perspective, recent events have shown it only succeeded in embedding a superficial understanding and accommodation of cultural and ethnic diversity.

This multicultural approach is based on the recognition of diverse ethnic communities, which is positive, but the role of such communities and multiculturalism as a whole was seen as an 'add-on' to existing systems rather than being mainstreamed and integral to a changing society, which is advocated in an intercultural approach.

Multiculturalism has proved weak in promoting interaction or equality or in acknowledging and tackling poverty and unemployment or, for example, in developing effective health strategies to tackle the often higher levels of morbidity and mortality among minority ethnic groups.

Key policy outcomes from a multicultural approaches are the promotion of initiatives that promote 'toleration' and 'better community relations' while at the same time glossing over racism. Implicit in this approach is that The State perceives itself as the neutral broker in a what is essentially defined as a conflict between communities.

This is reflected in the terminology adopted in anti discrimination legislation that was couched in terms of ‘Race Relations’ rather than anti-racism. The McPherson Report into the death of murdered black teenager, Stephen Lawrence highlights the limited impact of multiculturalism in tackling deep-rooted problems such as systemic racism within the London Metropolitan Police Force.

While the development of multiculturalism was an important progression from assimilation, this approach has been further criticised for continuing to advocate that it was up to minorities to adapt in order to succeed without any significant focus on the role of the majority communities or the State in accommodating diversity. In its worst forms a multicultural caricature emerged and resulted in framing cultural and ethnic diversity in terms of ‘saris, samosas and samba’.

As a side note, in the experience of many of those involved in anti racism/intercultural awareness training if sufficient care and planning is not taken, what can start as a natural and legitimate curiosity about different cultures in a training session can sometimes descend into a voyeuristic examination of cultural practices and demands towards trainers from minority ethnic communities to justify their beliefs.

In response to the concerns of trainers, the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism has NCCRI has developed guidelines for anti racism training. These emphasise the importance of cultural awareness and cultural competence as a *strand* of anti racism and intercultural awareness training, while advocating that they key focus of training should be on majority community attitudes and practices and the translation of awareness into organisational practice and policy⁷.

In Britain, Multiculturalism is increasingly being superseded by ‘social cohesion’. While there are positive features within this policy this approach has the appearance of a half way house between multiculturalism and assimilation with a renewed emphasis on the need for minority ethnic groups to integrate into British society.

⁷ NCCRI, (2001). Guidelines and Anti- Racism and Intercultural Training

Recent changes in other EU member has resulted in a retreat from the multicultural rhetoric of the past. The Netherlands is another case in point. The views of Pim Fortuyn and his political supporters and the murder of the filmmaker Theo Van Gogh have been extensively discussed and identified as the key factors in the retreat from the support of multiculturalism. There has, however, been less media focus on the views, fears and experience of the minority communities within the Netherlands.

While there were many attractive features of the Dutch multicultural system, it never addressed fundamental issues of social exclusion, poverty and historical legacies of exclusion. For example, unemployment rates for Turks and Moroccans stood at 21% and 36% in the early 1990's and these groups that were for the most part excluded from social housing⁸. This is in large part the legacy of the *Gastarbeider* (literally 'guestworker') system that operated in the Netherlands up until the 1970's. Generations of migrant workers and their families were viewed as temporary residents and denied basic social and economic rights open to Dutch and other EU citizens. This factory of grievances was never adequately addressed and helped create conditions for alienation and exclusion among these and other communities, with inevitable consequences.

In short, multicultural approaches as developed in Britain and the Netherlands were a significant progression from the assimilationist and neo colonial approaches to cultural and ethnic diversity that preceded. It is evident however that the form of multiculturalism promoted failed to adequately acknowledge or address the structural inequalities created by the legacies of, for example the guest worker system in the Netherlands or the institutional racism prevalent in sectors of the British police.

Assimilation

The assimilationist approach to cultural and ethnic diversity can best be summed up as 'when in Rome, do as the Romans do, whether you like it or not'. The classic assimilationist approach views cultural and ethnic diversity as divisive and conflictual

⁸ Bloomfield, J et al, (2004). Planning for the Intercultural City

and has tended to presume that minority ethnic groups were deficient and lacking in cultural capital. This approach promoted the absorption of minorities into a 'shared' value system that was viewed as the only way forward; its aim was to make minority ethnic groups and their needs and aspirations as invisible as possible⁹. Few countries if any now openly aspire to the assimilationist approach described above because of its overtones of racism and denial of cultural diversity.

However, assimilationist approaches can continue to inform policy development even in countries where a multicultural or intercultural approach is adopted as an official policy. A classic example is the persistent refusal by many local authorities in Ireland to implement their own published accommodation plans for Travellers. There continues to be very slow progress in delivering new Traveller-specific accommodation such as halting sites and group housing schemes by local authorities in Ireland. There are a range of factors involved, including opposition from local residents and the absence of an adequate enforcement agency at central Government level being the most obvious reasons.

There continues to persist a mindset within some local authorities that the best way to deal with the Traveller 'accommodation problem' is to force Travellers into local authority housing estates by a process of consistent evictions and the non delivery of Traveller specific accommodation. Over time, Travellers and their needs will become as invisible as possible. However Traveller culture has proved resilient in the face of such action and in action on the past.

While some Traveller families do freely chose to move into local authority housing, the usual preference is for accommodation that will allow Travellers to live together in their traditional extended family groups. This usually involves 8-10 units of accommodation that best can be facilitated in a small Traveller halting site or in a group-housing scheme.

⁹ Farrell, F and Watt, P. (2001) Responding to Racism in Ireland. Veritas.

Civic Integration: The French model of Assimilation

The French approach of 'Civic Integration' is a more complex and multifaceted form of assimilation that has significantly different origins than classic assimilationist approaches¹⁰.

Based on a concept of the nation as a political community of equals and a secular state with universal rights, with an implicit assumption of the cultural uniformity and of what it means to be French. Policy dimensions of this policy include the consistent reluctance by the French State to collect data disaggregated by ethnicity and more recently the banning of overt religious symbols in schools.

Opinion writers in the Irish newspapers were sharply divided on whether the French Government were justified in their approach, with divisions appearing along diverse fault lines. The debate in Ireland highlights both the different views on cultural and ethnic diversity in Ireland and the essential contradictions within the French civic integration approach.

The debate in Ireland focussed on the passage of new legislation in France in February 2004, which banned overt religious symbols of faith such as the Muslim hijab (headscarves), Jewish skullcaps and large Christian crosses. President Chirac claimed that the aim of the ban was to protect the French Republican principle of secularism and equality but some commentators contended that the primary aim was to curb a perceived growth of Islamic fundamentalism.

In response to a protest outside the French embassy in Dublin at the new law, Fintan O Toole stated in the Irish Times

'The protestors are wrong and they expose the dangers of a kind of multicultural ideology that is in fact a recipe for ghettoisation'

¹⁰ Entizinger, H. (1994). A future for the Dutch Ethnic Minorities Model in Lewis B et al Muslims in Europe.

As further justification for his stance he disagreed with the view that Muslims have a specific dress code, saying ‘that the only references in the Koran are vague’¹¹.

On the other hand Lara Marlowe writing for the same paper argued that the debate on headscarves in France revealed a racist subtext and that the law is widely viewed as a means to breaking Islamic fundamentalism. She contended that one of the outcomes of the debate in France is that it stirred strong anti Islamic prejudice on issues that went far beyond headscarves. She reported that Deputies who voted against the ban did so because the law was discriminatory, stigmatising and marginalising the Muslim community in France.

While this debate raged in France many schools in Ireland including national schools with have either a Catholic or Protestant ethos, have for the most part quietly adopted their own pragmatic and common sense intercultural approaches to the issue of the wearing of the hijab. Without any fuss or controversy the general policy is to allow the hijab to be worn in School, provided that it adopts the colour of the school uniform.

Integration

‘Integration’ is often the term used in related discourse on immigration and related diversity in the European Union. As a term it is often problematic because it is vague and usually refers to ‘third country nationals’ i.e those from outside the European Union.

The recent European Commission Communication outlines the most recent thinking on integration.¹² The Communication focuses on developing a holistic approach to the integration of ‘third country nationals’ including refugees and migrants, by:

- Reviewing current practice and experience with integration policy at an EU and national level.

¹¹For further discussion, see NCCRI’s journal Spectrum, (March 2004), media review, p17 available on www.nccri.ie

¹² European Commission, (COM (2003) 336 final). Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions.

- Examining the role of immigration in relation to demographic ageing in the EU and its impact on economic growth.
- Outlining policy orientations and priorities to promote the integration of migrants and refugees.

In emphasising the need for a holistic approach, the EU underlined the need for integration policies to link with wider EU policy on employment and social cohesion, including the European Employment Strategy and the National Action Plans Against Poverty and Social Inclusion.

In short, the EU Commission's current approach to integration has some features that are consistent with the intercultural approach advocated in Ireland including a strong emphasis on linkages with socio economic policy and anti poverty strategies. However the 'draft' EU policy approach to integration lacks ambition and vision in important respects. For example it only applies to 'third country' nationals, in particular migrants and refugees and it excludes long-standing and indigenous minority ethnic groups

The Irish Government's National Action Plan against Racism seeks to define the concept of integration as a series of *strategies* rather than an end in itself. In particular the NPAR envisages the need for targeted strategies that focus on particularly marginalised groups:¹³

'In the context of this Plan 'integration simply means a range of targeted strategies for the inclusion of groups such as Travellers, refugees and migrants as part of the overall aim of developing a more inclusive and intercultural society'¹⁴.

The overall plan emphasises that cultural and ethnic diversity is inclusive of both recent and longstanding minorities in Ireland.

¹³ *ibid*, p66

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p

This overview and brief discourse highlights recent developments in Ireland in developing an intercultural approach to cultural and ethnic diversity, which is underpinned by the National Action Plan against Racism. Examples highlighted in this paper linked to an intercultural approach, include improved data collection (benchmarking) and provision- the development of an inclusive approach to service provision as illustrated by recent intercultural education guidelines.

The paper highlights key differences between an intercultural approach and the multicultural approaches that have been pioneered in Britain and the Netherlands until recent years. It contends that it was not so surprising in hindsight that the superficial form of multiculturalism described was quickly undermined by events following 9/11.

Despite positive features the multicultural approaches described failed to address fundamental issues such as the legacy of the guest-worker system in the Netherlands on the institutional racism highlighted by the McPherson report in Britain.

There are few countries that advocate the classic form of assimilation described in this paper because of its neo-racist overtones. However the assimilationist mindset continues to persist at both a conscious and unconscious level in many countries, including Ireland.

The French form of civic integration cannot be directly equated with assimilation because it has very different origins and ambitions, but whatever the origins there is a distinct danger that the outcomes of civic integration may be the same as assimilation, as illustrated in the case of the recent law banning overt religious symbols in France.

The concept of 'integration' is widely used at an EU level in discussion about approaches to cultural and ethnic diversity, often without adequate definition of what constitutes integration or with little focus on the type of society in which integration is to take place.

While the most recently espoused EU model of integration has some progressive features, its continued focus on ‘third country nationals’ and the concomitant omission of existing ethnic and cultural diversity is a major weakness in this approach.

This paper advocates that ‘integration’ should not be seen as an end in itself, but should be more closely defined as a range of targeted strategies for the inclusion of groups such as Travellers, refugees and migrants as part of the overall aim of developing a more inclusive, intercultural society.

Part Two: The role of citizenship in promoting a more inclusive, intercultural society in Ireland

It has long been recognised that Citizenship can act as a tool for inclusion and exclusion in the context of overall approaches to cultural and ethnic diversity. In Part One of this paper there is a focus on the gastarbeiter system that prevailed in the Netherlands until the 1970’s where Turks and Moroccans and others were denied citizenship rights and concomitant access to key services including social housing provision. This acted as a factory of grievances that could not be papered over by the multicultural policies promoted in the Netherlands.

In Ireland the recent Citizenship Referendum focussing on the rights and future of Irish born children and their non national parents has dominated the recent debate on the role of citizenship as a tool for inclusion or exclusion in respect of cultural and ethnic diversity.

The Citizenship Referendum, the subsequent decision to regularise the 11,000 families in Ireland with Irish born children and the proposed Immigration and Residence Bill have largely concluded this debate. Therefore this part of the paper focuses on the post referendum political reality in the context of continuing demographic and policy changes in Ireland.

Acquiring Citizenship in Ireland

There are three principal ways of acquiring citizenship:

- Birth
- Descent
- Naturalisation

Citizenship in most states is based on either the *jus soli* or *jus sanguinis* principles. *Jus soli* is citizenship by birth where a child acquires citizenship of the host country by virtue of being born there, irrespective of the nationality of their parents. This applies to some common law states such as the United States, New Zealand, and Canada. Ireland as a common law state was in this category prior to the 2004 citizenship referendum. Britain ended its *jus soli* approach in 1983 in response to the political conclusion at the time that it acted as a ‘pull’ factor in respect of immigration.

Jus sanguinis is the principle of acquiring citizenship, whereby citizenship is by descent (literally by blood). In order for the child to be a citizen, one or both parents must be citizens at the time of the child’s birth. This is the form of citizenship that exists in almost all European states, including Ireland since 2004¹⁵.

Citizenship by naturalization occurs in most states whereby the state confers citizenship on non-nationals who have fulfilled certain criteria. In Ireland this is generally five years of legal residence (over a period of nine years). In addition the applicant must be of good character and in some countries is required to meet language requirements. In some cases the person is required to renounce their previous nationality. The number of naturalisations in Ireland has, so far, been relatively small. During 2001-2004 a total of 5,387 non-nationals acquired Irish citizenship, with one commentator estimating that on the basis of nationality, most of these are people with refugee status in Ireland¹⁶.

¹⁵ NCCRI, (2004) Advocacy Paper 2. International Perspectives Relating to the Future of Irish Born Children and Their Non National Parents in Ireland,

¹⁶ Ruhs, p 27.

According to the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, there is currently a backlog of 9,000 naturalisation applications with an average waiting time of over two years. Immigration officials estimate that the 184% increase in applications between 2001 and 2004 is likely to accelerate in coming years.

There are alternatives to naturalisation that are currently the subject of consideration and reform through a consultative process on immigration and residence that concludes in July 2005¹⁷. The Government is committed to introducing an Immigration and Residence Bill that will provide a framework to streamline and speed up the process of obtaining residency, including long-term residency and to revise the employment permit system.

At present there is already a residency category of 'permission to remain without condition as to time'. This is open to non-national residents who have been legally resident in Ireland over eight years but who have not applied for naturalisation.

For the most part however, residency rights for migrant workers from outside the European Economic Area is largely dependent on the type of employment permit that regulates their entry into Ireland. For those on work permits (the vast majority) residency is given for one year, renewable, and further residency is dependent on the issuing of another work permit. For those more highly skilled workers on work visas or authorisation, the period of residency granted is two years, renewable.

The Role of Citizenship in promoting a more inclusive, Intercultural Society in Ireland

Citizenship is an important though complex tool in respect of creating a more inclusive, intercultural society in Ireland. This is evident from applying the themes of the intercultural framework set out in Part One of this paper:

¹⁷ Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, (2005). Outline Policy Proposals for an Immigration and residence Bill.

<p>Protection and redress against racism</p>	<p>Everyone in Ireland, irrespective of their legal status is protected by the Equality legislation (protection against discrimination) and the Criminal Law (protection against crime motivated by racism). However there are increasing indications that people with less secure/less permanent residency status in Ireland are probably less to come forward to vindicate your rights¹⁸. Irish Travellers and minority ethnic groups with EU nationality still feel the bitter sting of racism, despite their citizenship.</p>
<p>Economic Inclusion</p>	<p>Although all people legally entitled to work in Ireland are entitled to the same employment protections as Irish citizens, for those without citizenship or long term residency rights, the process of vindicating rights may be more difficult in practice because of concerns that their employment or residency status might be affected. In the absence of data it is difficult to be conclusive about this issue¹⁹.</p>
<p>Accommodating diversity in service Provision</p>	<p>Existing long-term residency rights confer few additional rights to people from outside the European Economic Area. For example they are at present required to apply and reapply for travel visas and they are required to pay full economic fees to attend third level colleges. The most significant advantage is that they are not longer required to obtain an employment permit to work in Ireland. If this situation continues, citizenship will be perceived as an increasingly attractive</p>

¹⁸ NCCRI and the Equality Commission for Northern Ireland, (2005). Seeking Advice and Redress against Racism, p12.

¹⁹ The Labour Inspectorate in the Department of Enterprise Trade and Employment do not collect statistics on the proportion of migrant worker cases in their casefiles.

	option.
Recognition and awareness of diversity	The concept of citizenship has the potential to be an inclusive or an exclusionary concept. Increasing the access to citizenship or to long-term residency certainly sends out a positive message about cultural and ethnic diversity in Ireland (see discussion below on this issue). The inclusive approach to framing the ethnicity question in Census 2006 is a further example of inclusiveness that is not simply based on citizenship.
Participation in Irish society including a focus on the political, policy and community level	The symbolic and legal entitlement of citizenship, which confers reassurance of residence, and for example the expectation of protection when travelling abroad. It also can confer greater access to key services (including social housing) and the right to vote in all elections. It should be noted that all legal residents in Ireland have already the right to vote in local elections, irrespective of citizenship.

The increasing numbers of people both applying and acquiring naturalisation demonstrates that an increasing number of recent migrants to Ireland see the value in Irish/EU citizenship. However it is worth noting that to date it is mostly people with refugee status rather than labour migrants who have made and been granted citizenship, even though Refugee status confers almost all the rights of Irish citizenship. The desire for naturalisation among the refugee community may be a legacy of people who have lived in vulnerable position status of asylum seeker, sometimes for many years, or who have been unable to obtain passports from their country of origin for obvious reasons.

Although the number of applications for naturalisation is rising, it is unclear how many of the thousands of people coming to Ireland as labour migrants will eventually become or even want to become Irish citizens. There is an implicit assumption, which was also evident in the 2004 citizenship debate, that the ultimate goal of all migrants coming to

Ireland, whether as asylum seekers or labour migrants is to remain here indefinitely and become an Irish/EU citizen.

Yet the changing patterns of inward migration to Ireland and our own experience of emigration suggest that this is not necessarily the case. In the context of increasing globalisation and emerging labour shortages in many OECD countries, migrants now have the option to stay a few years in Ireland, to remit money to relations and to either return to their home country or to move on to better conditions in a third country. In this context it is worth noting that until recently almost half of all inward migration to Ireland was comprised of returning Irish emigrants (see table one). This demonstrates that when economic conditions improve, the natural inclination of many people is to return to their home country.

Table One:
Pattern of Inward Migration into Ireland
Origin (% of Total) Inward
Migration into Ireland in 1996 and 2002 (CSO)²⁰

Origin	1996	2002	2003
Returned Irish	45%	40%	35%
UK	21%	11%	14%
Rest of EU	13%	12%	14%
USA	10%	4%	3%
Rest of world	11%	32%	35%

Others migrants will want to stay and make Ireland their home and bring over partners and immediate family members or will make families in Ireland. For this group the issues of access to long term residency and citizenship will be more important than those who are here on a temporary basis.

²⁰ Adapted from Central Statistics Office (10 December 2003). Population and migration Estimates. April 2002.

A further factor to be considered is that prior to EU enlargement in 2004, 40% of labour migration into Ireland was from what now constitutes the new European Union States. With newly acquired EU citizenship and the present absence of a ceiling on inward migration into Ireland from the new EU countries, there are few additional rights that would be conferred by such EU nationals taking out Irish Citizenship.

The difficulties in accessing long-term residency and the few rights that are conferred by this status have for the time being increased the attractiveness of Irish citizenship. However should the forthcoming Immigration and Residency Bill tackle the administrative delays and end petty rules, such as having to apply and reapply for visas for foreign travel, then it may be the case that long term non EEA nationals who wish to make their homes in Ireland, will be happy to be long term residents rather than Irish citizens. Only time will tell on this issue.

In conclusion, it is clear that access to citizenship and the concomitant rights associated is an important element in promoting a more inclusive, intercultural society in Ireland. In particular for those people from outside the EEA who want to make Ireland (or another EU country) their permanent home. The biggest demand for citizenship is from those in previously very vulnerable positions particular asylum seekers who have acquired refugee status and those with humanitarian leave to remain. The ambition of labour migrants from outside the EEA to take out Irish citizenship will in greatly depend on the detailed administrative arrangements that will follow in the wake of the forthcoming Immigration and Residence Bill. The present uncertainties in respect of the EU constitution may also be a factor if these uncertainties are not resolved in the near future.

If access to and rights conferred from the forthcoming legislation in respect of long-term residency are generous and the administrative arrangements efficient, then the present upward trend in naturalisation applications, particularly by labour migrants may be reduced. An analogy could be drawn to employment. There are fewer employees or employers who now advocate the need for permanent jobs for life. Many people will want to move on to another employer/another form of employment at regular intervals in

their career, while others will not. The key for those who move is that they can protect their employment rights, their future after retirement (pension rights) and to improve their standard of living. Migrants will also want similar assurances that if they do not take out citizenship, their long-term rights will be protected and their contribution to Ireland's economy acknowledged.

In an optimistic scenario and in the context of continued inward migration into Ireland, which will in large part be determined by prevailing economic conditions, the ability to access residency and rights that are almost on a par with citizenship, is likely to suit the many who may not want to relinquish their own citizenship/national identity.

In a more pessimistic scenario, with poorer economic conditions, the introduction of tighter immigration controls in Ireland and across Europe the importance of citizenship as a tool for inclusion and exclusion will increase. A further factor in the equation is that in other parts of Europe the increase in support for ethno-centric forms of nationalism and the worrying, though fluctuating fortunes of movements opposed to cultural and ethnic diversity are added factors in the broader equation of whether an inclusive, intercultural approach to cultural and ethnic diversity can develop and thrive in Ireland

