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YOUNG, HIGHLY QUALIFIED MIGRANTS:

**THE EXPERIENCES AND EXPECTATIONS OF RECENTLY
ARRIVED IRISH TEACHERS IN BRITAIN**

Prof Louise Ryan with Edina Kurdi

May 2014

REPORT



Middlesex

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INTRODUCTION

In the years since the collapse of the Celtic Tiger economy there has been a significant increase in Irish migration to Britain. While there is growing interest among academics and the voluntary sector organisations, there is still 'a paucity of research' on this new generation of migrants¹. In the 'post-Celtic tiger', 'post-Peace Agreement' context, how might their experiences and expectations differ from earlier waves of Irish migrants to Britain? There is some anecdotal evidence that more Irish people are arriving in Britain to take up professional occupations. For example, in February 2013, the Irish Post newspaper reported that hundreds of Irish teachers were 'flocking' to work in Britain (26.02.13). The article cited one recruitment agency which had employed 250 Irish teachers in the current year and was so confident of continued growth in the numbers seeking work in British schools that a recruitment office in Dublin had been opened.

Although it is very difficult to get accurate data on the numbers of Irish-born teachers working in Britain, the impression that numbers are reaching new heights was reinforced later in 2013 when the Kent branch secretary of the National Union of Teachers, John Walder, complained on radio about the number of Irish registered cars in school car parks: 'There are schools which are significantly staffed by people from Ireland' when instead 'we should staff our schools with our own people' (cited in Irish Post, 24.10.13)². This raises questions about how Irish teachers are perceived, what attitudes they encounter and how they negotiate their roles as migrants and as highly educated, skilled professionals in British society.

These are questions we sought to answer in this research project, the first of its kind on Irish teachers working in schools throughout Britain. However, this is not just a study about teachers per se, as young, recently arrived and highly qualified migrants; the participants in this research raise wider issues about intra-EU migration since the economic recession³. This is the 'Facebook generation'. The study reveals how their notions of global mobility, transience, social networks and attachments to 'home', are shaped by new communication technologies. These young people are arriving in a post-peace agreement Britain, where the Irish are no longer the number one terrorist suspects. Given the changing landscape this research also raises questions about how this new generation of migrants may differ from previous generations of Irish in Britain and how these changing needs may be reflected in types of community formations.

¹Glynn, Kelly and MacEinri (2013) Irish Emigration in the Age of Austerity.

² It has been brought to our attention that this matter has since been dealt with by the NUT.

³ See other work by Ryan – for example, on Polish and French intra-EU migrants – www.sprc.info

BACKGROUND

After a period of unprecedented economic growth in the early 2000s, the banking collapse and economic crisis from 2008 onwards had a dramatic impact on Irish society. Unemployment rates soared from around 5% in the mid-2000s to 15% by 2011, though it has subsequently fallen to 13.6% in 2013 – this may be related, in part, to rising emigration.

One of the most visible indicators of economic recession in Ireland has been the marked increase in the numbers of people leaving the country. According to the Central Statistics Office in Ireland, the net emigration of Irish nationals has continued to increase between 2012 and 2013. The number leaving for the year ending April 2013 was 35,200⁴.

The number of British national insurance numbers issued to people born in the Republic of Ireland during 2012-13 was 15,540, far fewer than Poles, Lithuanians, Hungarians, Italians or Portuguese. In fact, Republic of Ireland was ranked 11 in the top 20 countries of new migrants seeking work in Britain during that period⁵. The fact that less than half of those leaving Ireland during 2012-13 are seeking new national insurance numbers in Britain may partly reflect the more global dimensions of recent Irish migration, but also the fact that some Irish people may already have British national insurance numbers from previous periods of work, including student summer jobs, in this country.

Data also suggest that recently arrived Irish migrants are more likely to be concentrated in London and the south-east of England than was the case for previous waves of migrants from Ireland. During the 1960s just under 1/3 of migrants, from the Republic of Ireland, moved to London. By 2010 that proportion had increased to just under half (Census, 2011) (see Appendix 2).

Emigration had been a defining feature of Irish society throughout the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries. The Irish have long been an important source of migrant labour and remain one of the largest ethnic minority groups in Britain's workforce⁶. The historical legacy of colonialism resulted not only in a shared language but also an absence of immigration restrictions. Through the long history of British colonialism in Ireland and Irish immigration to Britain, the Irish have been constructed as the 'other' in opposition to the formation of a hegemonic British national identity⁷. Religion also played a key role in this formation as 'anti-Catholicism was deeply embedded in British

⁴ CSO, Dublin, August, 2013

⁵ Dept for Work and Pensions, Statistics Bulletin, March, 2013, p. 6

⁶ Hickman (1998), 'Reconstructing deconstructing 'race': British political discourses about the Irish in Britain' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 21 no.2 pp. 289-307, p. 288

⁷ Hickman 1998, p. 288

nationalism⁸. The ‘othering’ of the Irish drew upon class and gender based stereotypes of ‘Mick’ and ‘Paddy’, hard drinking, quick-tempered navvies⁹. However, the prevalence of such male, working-class stereotypes, simplify the diversity and complexity of Irish migration to Britain¹⁰. It is interesting to examine if and how recently arrived Irish migrants encounter these negative stereotypes in British society. This point will be discussed in more detail later in this report.

There have recently been a number of significant studies on changing trends of Irish migration. The Generation Emigration website, launched by the Irish Times in 2011, has proved an important and innovative resource for capturing the diverse experiences of recent Irish migrants across the world. The website also undertook a survey of migrants in 2012 which clearly demonstrated the global spread of Irish migrants¹¹. The London Irish Centre commissioned a study of new migrants in 2012¹², while the National Youth Council of Ireland also undertook a survey and interviews with migrants in London and Toronto in 2013¹³. In autumn 2013, University College Cork launched its report ‘Irish Emigration in an age of austerity’ by Glynn et al which combined an extensive survey of Irish households with interview data from recent migrants. Thus, there is clearly considerable interest in the trends, numbers, composition, experiences and trajectories of migrants from Ireland.

This new study on Irish teachers in Britain is the first to focus on one specific professional group.

AIMS OF STUDY

Focusing on Irish teachers, who arrived in Britain since the recession, this mixed method research project aimed to:

1. explore their motivations for migration
2. examine their training and employment pathways
3. analyse their expectations and experiences in Britain – as teachers and as migrants more generally
4. understand their connections to Ireland, involvement in Irish networks and/ or Irish organisations in Britain

⁸ Walter, B. (2001) *Outsiders Inside: whiteness, place and Irish women*, London: Routledge, 2001 p. 87; also see Ryan, L. 2007 ‘Who do you think you are?: Irish nurses encountering ethnicity and constructing identity in Britain’ *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30 (3), pp.416-438.

⁹ Walter, *Outsiders Inside*

¹⁰ Ryan, L. ‘Who do you think you are?: Irish nurses encountering ethnicity and constructing identity in Britain’ *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30 (3), pp.416-438. 2007 and Ryan, ‘I had a sister in England’: family-led migration, social networks and nurses’ *Journal of Ethnic and migration studies* 34 (3), pp.453-470, 2008.

¹¹ for a discussion see Gray, B. (2013) ‘Generation Emigration: the politics of transnational social reproduction in 21st century Ireland’ *Irish Studies Review*, 21 (1): 20-36

¹² Moore, Waters, Tilki and Clarke (2012) *Fresh Perspectives: a needs analysis of the Irish community in Britain*.

¹³ See McAleer, A. (2013) *Time to Go: a qualitative research study exploring the experience and impact of emigration on Ireland’s youth* (Dublin).

5. assess their migration trajectories, career aspiration, future plans for settlement, migration to another country or return to Ireland

RESEARCH METHODS

This project used a range of methods including both quantitative and qualitative. We began with a secondary analysis of official data sources to provide a broad picture of the extent and location of recent Irish migration.

We then collected new data through an on-line survey using the Survey Monkey software. This survey (see Appendix 1) was advertised through social media, on the Generation Emigration website at the Irish Times, on the Émigré website at University College Cork, through various universities and colleges, teacher networks, and community organisations. We received a total of 98 fully completed responses¹⁴ from across Britain giving us quantitative data on training, employment, migration trajectories and future plans.

Twenty in-depth interviews were carried out either face to face, with those based in London, or in the case of 5 based in other parts of Britain, over the telephone. This gives us rich qualitative data on key issues such as Irish identity, community formation, social networks, involvement in Irish organisations, experiences of anti-Irish sentiment, and connections with home. In addition, we also facilitated a focus group, with 4 additional participants at a school in south-west London. This allowed us to gather dynamic, interactive data on constructions and expressions of Irishness in London by these young migrants.

Although the profile of our participants, as young and highly educated fits the overall demographic profile of recent Irish migrants¹⁵, we make no claims as to the representativeness of our sample. While respondents to the on-line survey were quite randomly located and self-selecting, the participants for the qualitative element of the project were selected through a range of sampling techniques including snow balling from personal contacts in particular schools across London. Nonetheless, we did undertake some purposive sampling to try to increase the number of male teachers among the interviewees and to also to get a spread of teachers from both primary and secondary schools. However, in order to boost the number of participants from outside London respondents to the questionnaire were asked to indicate if they were willing to be contacted for telephone interview. From those who replied positively we selected 5 based on their geographical location, so as to include a range of experiences from across the country. Because some of those

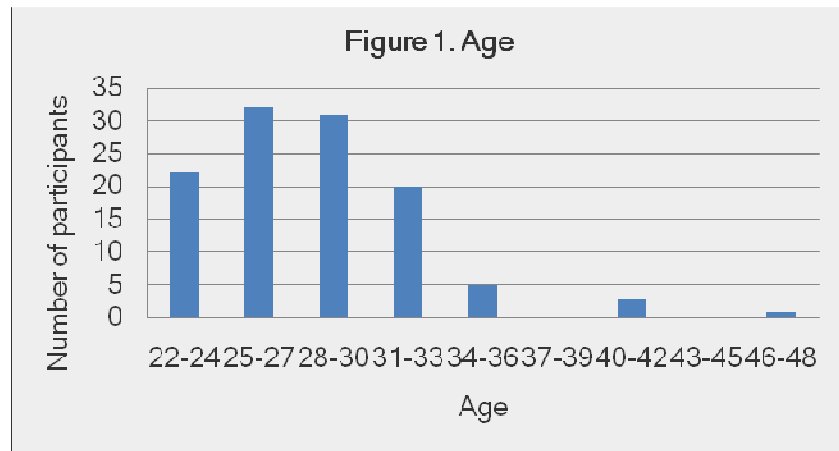
¹⁴ In excess of 100 questionnaires were completed but several respondents did not answer all questions or were excluded from the analysis because they had arrived in Britain at a much earlier period in time.

¹⁵ (see Glynn et al, 2013)

interviewed, including a few in the London sample, had also completed the questionnaire, we had a total of 114 participants in the study as a whole.

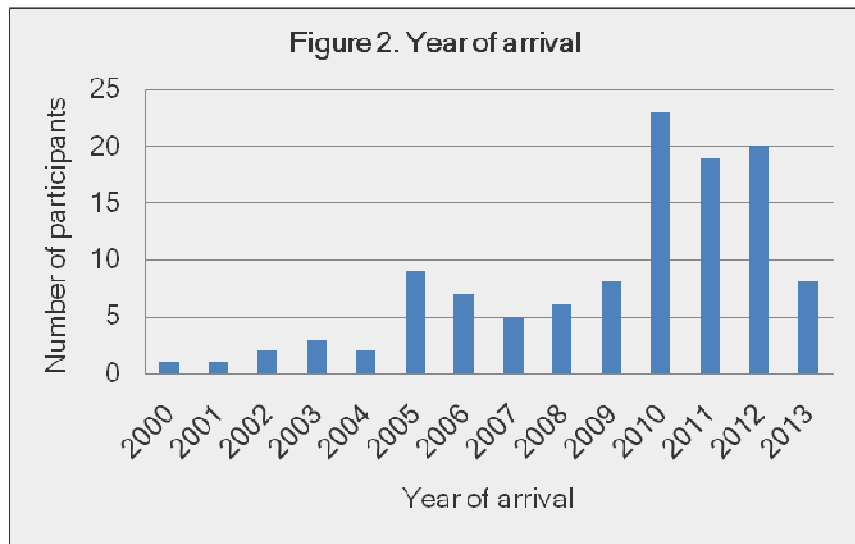
DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

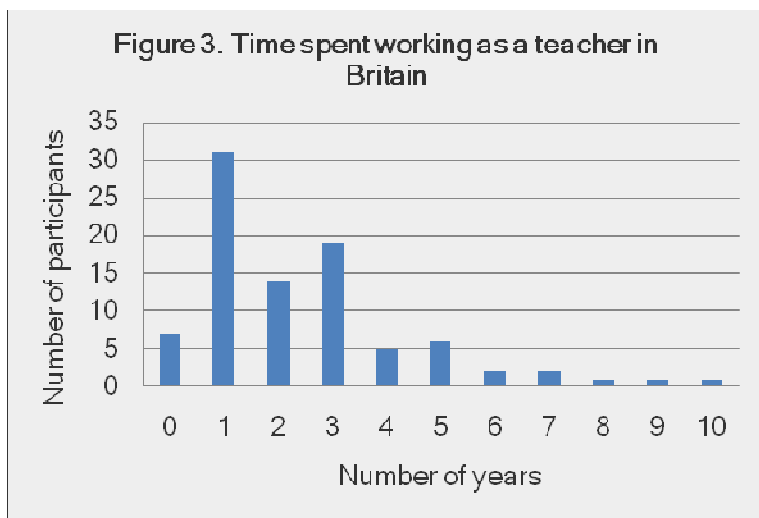
Almost three quarters (70%) of 114 participants was female. The average age of participants was 28 years.



Migration

The majority of participants entered the country from 2010 onwards.





Given that the majority of respondents had arrived since 2010, it is hardly surprising that most had been teaching for 3 years or less.

The majority (68.4%) of participants were single, while 31.5% were in a couple with 12.3% of these being married. Only a small minority (7.2%) of participants had children.

Table 1–Family status

Marital status			Parental status		
Married	14	12.3%	Parent	8	7.2%
Single	78	68.4%	Not parent	106	92.8%
In partnership	22	19.3%	Total	114	100%
Divorced	0	0%			
Widowed	0	0%			
Total	114	100%			

Participants were both from Northern Ireland (9%) and the Republic of Ireland (91%).⁴⁶

Participants were located throughout Britain¹⁷ from as far north as Edinburgh to as far south as Brighton, as westerly as Cornwall, and all places in between ranging from Lincolnshire to Wiltshire.

¹⁶**Birth counties of participants:** Dublin, Cork, Galway, Mayo, Donegal, Antrim, Waterford, Cavan, Wicklow, Wexford, Sligo, Louth, Limerick, Leitrim, Kerry, Clare, Tipperary, Offaly, Monaghan, Longford, Londonderry / Derry, Laois, Kilkenny, Kildare, Fermanagh, Down, Carlow, Armagh

¹⁷**School locations participants have ever worked in the UK:** Barking and Dagenham, Barnet, Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Bexley, Brent, Brighton & Hove, Bromley, Cambridgeshire, Camden, Cheshire, Cornwall, Croydon, Edinburgh, Essex, Feltham, Fulham, Gravesham, Greenwich, Hammersmith, Hammersmith and Fulham, Haringey, Harrow, Harrow, Hertfordshire, Hillingdon, Hounslow, Kensington and Chelsea, Kent, Kingston, Knowsley, Leicester, Lincolnshire, Luton, Manchester, Medway, Merton, Newham, Newham, Oxford, Oxfordshire, RCT, Redbridge, Richmond, Richmond upon Thames, Rochford, Southampton, Stoke on Trent, Surrey, Tower Hamlets, Waltham Forest, Wandsworth, Warrington, West Sussex, Wiltshire

Nonetheless, it is apparent from the list in the footnote that many were located in London and surrounding counties including Kent, Essex and Bedfordshire.

The majority, over three quarters of participants, were in permanent posts, with slightly over half of the total working in secondary schools. Over one third of participants have a current post in a faith school¹⁸.

Table 2 – Current employment characteristics

Current job	#	%	Current job	#	%
Primary school	46	40.4%	Permanent	67	75.3%
Secondary school	62	54.4%	Fixed term	27	24.7%
College	2	1.8%	Other	3	3.4%
Other educational establishment	1	0.9%	Total	97	100.0%
Other	3	2.6%			
Total	114	100.0%			

Table 3 – Occupation in Ireland

Occupation before leaving Ireland		
Teacher	30	26.3%
Other	84	73.7%
Total	114	100%

Just over one quarter of participants had worked as a teacher in Ireland and as shown in the table 4, below, just over one third are now registered with the Teaching Council of Ireland. This is explained further below (Table 8) when we look at where they attained their teaching qualifications.

Table 4–Teaching council registration

Are you registered with the Teaching Council of Ireland?	#	%
Yes	33	34%
No	64	66%
Total	97*	100%

*only questionnaire respondents

REASONS FOR MIGRATION

Reasons for leaving Ireland included economic push and pull factors, such as lack of employment in Ireland, and better employment prospects in Britain; better studying options in Britain. Participants also mentioned political issues, wanting a career break, or ‘change of scene’, travelling and experiencing life abroad, as well as wanting to join their partner, but a few just said they

¹⁸**Faith schools specifications:** Catholic, Catholic Sixth Form College, All Girls' Catholic School, Catholic Primary School, Catholic College, Roman Catholic, Church of England, Christian College

were 'bored' at home. This fits broadly with the diverse range of reasons identified in other recent surveys (Glynn et al; Moore et al) and clearly suggests while migration is largely motivated by economics, this is not always the only contributing factor.

Table 5–Reasons for emigration

Reasons for leaving Ireland	
No jobs in Ireland	68%
Studies related	34%
New Experience, a change	13%
Partner related	5%
Boredom	4%
Political situation	3%

Table 6 –Reasons for choosing Britain

Reasons for coming to Britain	
Employment	68%
Studies related	40%
Proximity	11%
Partner related	7%
Experience of abroad, travel	5%
Similar culture	3%

It should also be noted that about 1/6 of participants had lived in another country before migrating to Britain. Thus, their mobility was not simply a story of leaving Ireland and moving to Britain. As will be discussed later in relation to the interview data, several people had previously worked in the USA, Australia and New Zealand, for example. This finding is also similar to other recent surveys which show that Irish migration has a global dimension¹⁹.

Table 7 – Migration to other countries

Did you migrate or work in any other country before coming to Britain?	
No	83.5%
Yes	16.5%

The participants had very different routes of entry into teaching in Britain. A small number had come here to do their entire degrees – so they had studied in Britain over many years from a young age, while others had done their first degree in Ireland and only arrived in Britain to do their PGCE²⁰. Just over a quarter did their HDip²¹ in Ireland and came to Britain as fully qualified teachers.

¹⁹ Generation Emigration on-line survey, Irish Times 2012

²⁰ Post Graduate Certificate in Education – the British teaching qualification

²¹ Higher Diploma in Education - this is the Irish teaching qualification

Table 8 – Education

Where did you complete your studies?	Master's	Undergraduate	Teacher training (e.g.: Higher Diploma in Education/PGCE)	Other qualification	Response Count
Ireland	17	91	32	14	103
Britain	12	10	75	3	81
Total					114

Thus the dominant trend in the data was that participants had completed their first degree in Ireland and under taken their teaching qualification in Britain, as shown in the table below.

Table 9 – Teacher training

Country teacher training completed	%
Ireland	30%
Britain	70%

Those studying in Britain tended to use a range of sources of finance, including help from their parents, but a significant number also stated that they had received a bursary to train as a teacher in Britain.

Table 10 – Funding for British education

How did you finance studies in Britain?	#	%
Self funded	29	46.8%
Parents helped	32	51.6%
Partner helped	5	8.1%
I got a loan	28	45.2%
I got other means on funding	22	35.5%
Total	62	100.0% ²²

Undergraduates coming to study in Britain

The recent study under taken by the London Irish Centre also found a significant number of people had come to Britain for reasons of study²³. Although there is a growing body of research on the global phenomenon of student mobility, this topic has been under-studied in relation to Irish migrants in Britain. For some of those who had come to Britain to study this involved a lot of careful planning and research. Aoife was one of those who had arrived in Britain as a teenager and did all her studies here:

²² The totals do not add up to 100% as participants could select more than one option.

²³ Moore et al 2012

I just didn't want to stay in Ireland...looked at the different universities in England, went over to St Mary's²⁴, I fell in love with it straight away. And decided THIS is the university I wanted to come to. So at age 16 I knew that I wanted to go to St Mary's university to train over here. I always kind of thought that I would go back to Ireland and teach back in Ireland but I just wanted to get away for a few years, I wanted to study away (Aoife²⁵).

However, for some of these younger migrants coming to study in Britain was a last resort after failing to get their first preference place at an Irish university.

I've been here since I was 18, but it wasn't my choice. I hadn't got my first university of choice which was in Belfast ...no I hadn't got my first option. It was the first time the UCAS was done online so there was a whole lot of mix up. So I was told on a Tuesday that I hadn't got in and I had to get on a plane on a Thursday to come to London, and I only put down [London university] because it looked so posh on the front of the Prospectus, I didn't even know where it was (Grainne).

This experience of applying quite randomly through UCAS was not unique to Grainne. Although she had set her heart on doing teaching training at Mary Immaculate College (*Mary I*) in Limerick, Aideen had also applied to several British universities just as a back-up. She had not visited these universities and had no idea what to expect upon arrival.

So obviously I didn't get the points but I kind of knew what was happening and I kind of knew I wanted to do... my mom's first cousin actually did teaching in London a couple of years ago... so I wrote that down to go there and wrote a couple of more down, I put Liverpool, and I think it was Bradford as well on the UCAS form (Aideen).

Aideen felt very unsupported and unprepared and did not know what to expect. 'I wasn't clued up because the guidance councillor, you know, everybody from my school in Cork city went to UCC. It was only if you really wanted to do teaching that you went to Mary I, and there was no more information about anywhere else to go and it was quite unusual to want to know about UCAS and things. So I didn't really get any help whatsoever.'

Having failed to secure enough points for Mary I, Aideen was pleased to be offered a place in Liverpool. However, she did not realise at that time that she was enrolling on a course that did not lead to a teaching qualification: 'they offered me a place for BA Education -Early Years, which you know, being naive, I thought that was QTS which it wasn't.' When Aideen discovered her error she was alone in a strange city with no support and no one to advise her: 'it was day two and a different country, with mom and dad gone back home at this stage, you know and I was very emotional, I just didn't know what to do'. Although Aideen did manage to secure a place on the correct teacher training course in Liverpool she was left feeling quite annoyed that her school had not supported her or provided more accurate information about the UCAS process: 'at the time I was very bitter that I was so unprepared and came to Liverpool on the wrong course and I was you know, a bit homesick as well and it was a very hard time' (Aideen).

It is important to distinguish between young, 18 year olds who had never been away from home before and those who were already graduates, in their early 20s.

²⁴ St Mary's University College, London

²⁵ The names of all participants have been changed to protect anonymity – all names of schools and precise geographical locations have also been removed

Graduates coming to Britain to train as teachers

Many of those who had completed their degree at an Irish university mentioned that it is difficult to get into a teacher training course in Ireland.

I was in my final year at uni and still wasn't quite sure what I wanted to do. I knew I wanted to do teaching but I wasn't sure which route but the way things were at home, I just knew there was no point in me trying to get in at home because I just thought I'd have a better chance of getting on to a course over here because there are about 70 different institutions that offered it. Whereas at home there's only about three routes that you can get into teaching after your undergrad degree (Cait).

Sile, from the North of Ireland, raised a similar issue:

Well, because, at home it's so hard to get into it. I think it was Coleraine that's the only place you could do a PGCE or whatever and I just thought the likelihood of me actually getting into the course is very slim. So I thought it was going to be easier to get into Liverpool and that's why I chose to go there. And I heard other people talking about it as well, so it was just 'oh, let's choose this university' and you know I've heard about it from other people and that probably why I chose there (Sile).

As other participants noted, it was not just the difficulty of getting on to a teacher training course but the added challenge of gaining enough teaching experience to complete the HDip:

Well, in 2011 I graduated from UCC with a Bachelor of Arts degree. So Basically, I wanted to do primary teaching, but I didn't know if I'd be able to do it at home, because of the vast numbers who want to do it and the limited places, so I just thought that even if I do get my PGCE and complete it, the chances of getting my Dip done are just minimal at home. So I was just thinking, would I be just better off going to London? I've heard so many people are going, and it's much easier to get a job. And I just thought, you know, everything done quicker, I'd be working, whereas at home I could be months and months just doing nothing, waiting for something to come up really (Ciara).

This point was echoed by Liadan: 'there's a lot of teachers stuck in Ireland, I get the impression that they stick around long enough and long enough and eventually they do get an NQT year'

As noted by Sile above, many participants were influenced by friends or relatives who had also come to Britain to study. Blaithin describes how she made the decision to study in Britain:

I just decided to go for it over here and I'd heard a couple of people trained over here already, PGCE, couple of my friends who trained in Newcastle and that kind of thing. So I just thought, I'd go for London and then happened to chat with a girl who I used to work with. She said 'I'm gonna do this as well'. So we got into it together. I ended up applying for Kingston and she went for St Mary's (Blaithin).

Rory was influenced in his choice of PGCE course by a relative: 'A cousin of mine did the same course a few years before me and she recommended it so I went there'.

Similarly, Daragh's decision to study a PGCE at an English university was influenced by the example of his cousin: 'I came back from Australia in March and a cousin of mine was in the middle of her

PGCE, in London. And I never really knew that avenue of teacher training and the minute that I started talking to her, I knew that's what I wanted to do.'

It is important to note that many of those post-graduates who came to Britain were well travelled. This was not their first trip away from home: 'Wasn't really daunted, I did the old gap year, I went to Australia, and South East Asia so I have been around... I was sad, but at the same time, its only the other side of the water' (Blaithin).

While some people did a good deal of research to find the right PGCE for them, several applied to universities they had never visited:

So basically I was looking into different university websites and I couldn't really make up my mind because they all looked the same to me and it didn't really matter where I went. I was interested in going to London at the start but then one of my friends at uni said that her sister had gone to Southampton and done a post grad in Southampton she loved it so I just kind of blindly decided oh, well, I'll put Southampton down second and actually had put Edinburgh first (Cait).

Deirdre did some on-line research:

Basically it was all through Google, I looked online to see which universities had good reputations, and Bath Spa kept popping up and also I was quite scared about leaving Ireland, I didn't want to go straight into London so I decided to go to a smaller place, Bath just drew me, it was just so nice, kind of stepping stone...(Deirdre).

Like many Desmond made the decision quite lightly because he assumed he was only coming to study

Yes, well, I completed my BSc in UCD²⁶ in Dublin and then I applied to teacher training in Ireland but I didn't get in. This is a lottery system there, you need a first class degree I think or second class degree and so I applied to do my PGCE in Wales, in Aberystwyth and I was accepted so I popped over. ...It was not a difficult decision because I thought I was only going for a year. I thought I'd do it and then I'd come back and teach in Ireland (Desmond).

Fully qualified teachers migrating to work in Britain

Table 11– Job arrangement

Did you have a job arranged before arriving in Britain?	#	%	Was this job a teaching position?	#	%
Yes	45	46.4%	Yes	40	88.9%
No	52	53.6%	No	5	11.1%
Total	97	100%	Total	45	100.0%

Nearly half of the survey participants indicated that they had pre-arranged jobs when moving to Britain. However, this number needs to be treated with caution given that most of the participants initially came to study not to work. Thus, it is likely that most of the fully qualified teachers who

²⁶ University College Dublin

came to Britain to seek employment actually had jobs arranged before leaving Ireland. The vast majority (88.9%) of the pre-arranged positions were in teaching.

As noted above, a small number of participants had completed their HDip in Ireland and then migrated to Britain to take up teaching posts. This was often motivated by frustration at the lack of permanent jobs in Ireland.

Seamus was teaching part time in the North of Ireland but his girlfriend could not get into teacher training in Ireland and decided to do her PGCE in England:

She couldn't get in to the PGCE in Belfast. So you know, London was our next option. And at that time I was going to stay on in the job and I had a bit of thought about it, checked a few websites, saw all the jobs there were and bit the bullet, I had given it a lot of thought. I was a bit fed up, I was working longer hours than what I was getting paid for and decided I would give London a go and get a bit of experience in my own class, because there was no opportunity to do that at home. And I was lucky enough, applied for the school, got an interview and got in (Seamus).

So Seamus was partly motivated by the desire to accompany his girlfriend but also by frustrated at being unable to secure a full time, permanent teaching post back at home. The ready availability of jobs in London was a clear pull factor for him.

Similarly, Sorcha explained how her decision to emigrate was motivated both by the push of poor job prospects in Ireland and the stories of easy availability of teaching posts in England:

Basically when I graduated I found it really hard to get a job and I eventually ended up getting a job covering a sick leave in [Dublin], a lovely school, that was good, but that contract ran out (Sorcha).

She described the bleak job prospects in Ireland:

And I tried really hard to get one. It just wasn't happening. I remember I applied for one job, it was actually advertised, and I felt that was a genuine job and I went in person, I spoke to them, really nice, were happy with my qualification and everything and then I got an email saying they had over 80 applicants, and I wasn't being called for an interview. So it was disheartening, when you know you could do a good job but you're not even getting interviewed (Sorcha).

Like many other participants, Sorcha was drawn to England by the example of other teachers in her circle: 'some of the other teachers had come to England with recruitment agencies and they kind of recommended it to me, so I came over and I was teaching in a school in Essex, and there was quite a lot of Irish teachers there, so it was really nice, kind of community of Irish people there' (Sorcha).

For many of those who qualified in Ireland and then migrated to England access to the labour market was quite straight forward, many like Seamus and Sorcha secured permanent jobs quickly. However, others encountered a few more difficulties – usually related to the transferability of incomplete or partial training qualifications:

In 2010 it's when I made my first attempt to come over and I've just finished my 18 month graduate diploma in teacher training, primary teacher training in Ireland, the theory being

that you then do a year as an NQT and I was falsely believing that I could do my NQT year in Britain. So that was the big problem that I ran into, you can't transfer the two even though my career advisor told me I could. So I'd come over and I was registered with an agency. I think I probably could have sort of taught but you know, not as a fully recognised teacher, I knew I needed to go back and do my NQT year (Liadan).

Liadan's story raises the on-going issue of poor advice, mentioned by Aideen, and lack of understanding about the differences between the systems in Britain and Ireland. This confusion is echoed by Catriona. Like Liadan, she had finished the college element of her HDip in Ireland but she had not yet completed the required amount of teaching practice in a school. Catriona had been assured her qualification was like having a PGCE in England:

But there was this little legal loophole. In Ireland you do your teacher training qualification and then you do your 6 month Dip once you start teaching and that looks exactly like the English system. There's this slight difference. In Ireland you're not considered qualified until after you do your Dip, in England you're qualified when you finish your college component and as a newly qualified teacher you do your Dip (Catriona).

Thus, when Catriona arrived in England and started to look for work, she found to her surprise that she was not regarded as a fully qualified teacher. 'They just said 'oh well, under the wording of Irish law you're technically not qualified 'cos you haven't done your Dip'. Because her teaching qualification was not recognised Catriona was faced with either starting her training all over again or going back to Ireland to complete her Dip there (as indeed Liadan had done). However, Catriona's main reason for coming to Britain was to join her boyfriend so rather than return to Ireland she decided to stay on and eventually got a job teaching in an A Level college as an unqualified teacher. This ended up being an unhappy experience and when I met her she had left the teaching profession and was retraining to pursue a new career as a psychologist.

Although Owen was fully qualified he encountered some initial problems: 'the biggest problem was when I was applying for the job through an agency, they didn't really know what (the HDip) was. They were trying to figure out whether I was qualified or not. Why I hadn't done an NQT because the Dip is an NQT, you're recognised. And I actually did have quite a bit of problem registering for GTCE²⁷ (Owen).

However, it should be noted that these examples are relatively unusual among the sample and in the main it appears that Irish graduates who arrive in Britain either as fully trained teachers or to do their PGCE here have little problem accessing the labour market and finding full time jobs.

Other reasons for migrating: Romance and Relationships

As observed in the wider migration literature there has been insufficient attention to the role of romantic relationships as a motivation for migration²⁸. As noted by Seamus and Catriona above, some participants had intertwined reasons for coming to England; migration was not always

²⁷ General Teaching Council of England

²⁸ Favell, A, E. Recchi, T. Kuhn, J. Solgaard Jensen and J. Klein (2011) *The Europeanisation of Everyday Life*, EUCROSS Working Paper # 1. Favell, A. (2008) *Eurostars and Eurocities: Free movement and mobility in an integrating Europe*, Oxford: Blackwell.

motivated simply by economic factors. Several people came because of their relationships. Liadan came to join her fiancé who works in the construction sector. When asked her main reason for coming to London she simply replied: 'Definitely him, yeah, and I keep telling him that. I'd be back home in the morning, I really would'.

Catriona also came to Britain to join her boyfriend: 'He moved to Brighton and so we'd had the year apart while I was finishing my studies and he was over here and he was enjoying it and being apart was tough'.

But it was not only women who followed their partners to Britain. As noted above, Seamus followed his girlfriend to London. In addition, Daragh had met his English-born fiancé while travelling in Australia.

And I came back to Ireland again and she went back to England and we were still seeing each other, over and back, over and back, every second week and we really quickly realised that either one of us would move or we'd have to call it a day. And, you know, I really didn't like my job at that stage, I definitely have no problem giving it a blast in England (Daragh).

At that stage Daragh was not a teacher. He had worked in sales in Dublin and then got a job in media in London. However, it had always been at the back of his mind to be a teacher and then after a few years in London he decided to do a PGCE. He is now teaching in a south London primary school.

Becoming teachers post-migration

Daragh was one of a few participants who did not migrate to teach or to study to be a teacher. Similarly, Cora arrived in London in 2005, having completed her degree in Queens University, and gotten a job as a youth development worker. But like many other participants, she noted that teaching was something she had always wanted to do. Thus she decided to train as a teacher at a slightly older age than most of the other participants.

Similarly, Laoise worked in London for a number of years in different jobs before deciding to do teaching. Like many other participants she had teachers in her family and it was a career that she had at the back of her mind for a long time: 'because my dad was doing it, it sort of, it was definitely there, you know, it was sort of something that was a choice that I could do'. In 2008 having completed an MA, she decided to start a PGCE and now teaches at a secondary school in south London.

NETWORKS

Although most participants arrived alone (over 70%), many already had connections in Britain. As noted, earlier, prior to arrival several participants already had cousins, siblings and friends who were studying or working in Britain.

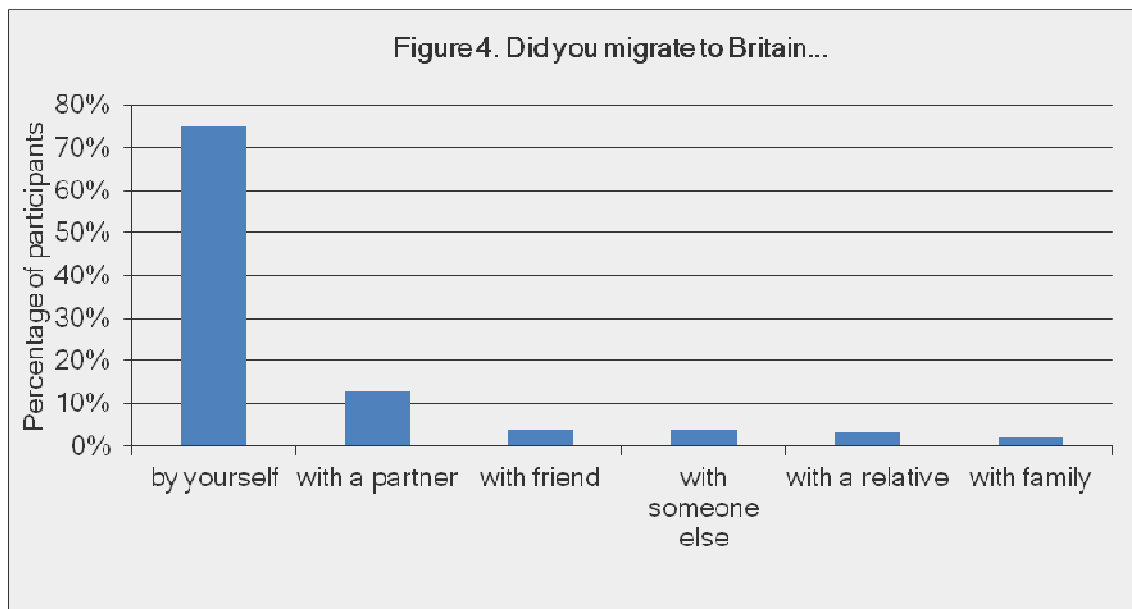


Table 12–Links before arrival

Connections in Britain prior to arrival	%
No	40.2%
Yes	59.8%
Total	100%

The role of these social networks in encouraging and enabling migration is well established in the literature²⁹. As well as providing information about teacher training programmes and job opportunities, these contacts also provided accommodation, companionship and emotional support in the period immediately after arrival in Britain: ‘my brother was here, my friend was here. So I moved in with my brother and then we got a house with another guy’ (Sile). This story was echoed by many other participants:

Stayed with my brother. He was living in Clapham, stayed with him when I came for the interview, stayed with him when my girlfriend went for her interview so we’d two or three different experiences before we settled ... and then actually moving over, we came over in July and stayed with my brother (Seamus).

²⁹This is a topic discussed at length by Louise Ryan, see for example, ‘How women use family networks to facilitate migration: a comparative study of Irish and Polish women in Britain’ *The History of the Family*, 14: 217-231, 2009 and ‘Migrant women, social networks and motherhood: The experiences of Irish nurses in Britain’ *Sociology*, 2008, 41, (2) pp.295-312.

Many of the participants talked about moving to Britain because so many of their friends had made the same move, so it seemed almost like the obvious thing to do.

A lot of my friends have moved, they're not teachers, they've moved to work in business in London, so I kind of felt like, to move up with my Irish friends, London would be a good place to come also job-wise, I just felt, I had more opportunities (Deirdre).

However, for those who moved to a new area without any support networks in place the experience could be quite daunting.

When I moved to Essex and I knew nobody and it hit me like a ton of bricks, when I literally got to the house I was going to be living in, and I was really like laidback and all, when I got there, my mum, my uncle drove me over, they left. And I was like, 'oh my god, I'm on my own, what am I doing?' (Sorcha)

For participants who had arrived alone to study at a university without pre-existing networks, the early weeks were quite lonely: 'the first couple of weeks I really struggled... not knowing anybody... I think the weekends at uni used to be the worst' (Grainne).

Building new friendships through the PGCE could be very useful as an enduring source of friendship

I lived on campus as well which helped. You'd get to know a lot of people on campus when you come here, like a family, and then actually my friends through university, the majority of them were Irish, there were a few girls who were English. We all ...like bunched together straight away... so we were just hanging around together so that's what helped, I was with other Irish people who, you know, I wasn't lonely in the holidays, weekends, when I didn't go back home, you know (Aoife).

Ciara also found it very helpful and reassuring that there were so many other Irish people on her PGCE course: 'I suppose I just didn't know what to expect really, but it was helpful that there was a lot of other Irish there, definitely. So last year I was living with loads of Irish, this year, loads of Irish around me as well, so it's really helpful, like, it just makes you feel more at home here I think, definitely' (Ciara).

People seemed to build up strong and enduring friendships through their PGCE courses: 'coming over not knowing anybody and you know, uni is a good place to make solid friendships. Like you're here every day with them, we're all doing the same things, going through the same thing and socialise in the same kind of places' (Blaithin).

However, the extent to which these student friendships endured depended in part on on-ward geographical mobility. Cait did her PGCE in a small city in the south coast of England. She found her first year in Britain, as a full time student was quite hectic. When the course was finished all her classmates moved away, getting jobs in other towns, while she got a teaching job locally near the university:

I actually find it hard to make friends over here but you see all the friends that I would have made that would have been my own age, with my own interest I would have met at uni... they've all gone and I'm kind of still here... it is a bit sad but last year, before I had a boyfriend or anything, and all of my friends had gone, I really found it hard. I was on Skype all the time crying, like 'I hate it' (Cait).

Thus, it is important to note that building support networks is not simply linear³⁰. One does not simply accrue friendships over time³¹. On the contrary, close friendship groups may be lost as people move from university to work or from one school to another. Many participants were quite mobile. They moved to new locations in pursuit of career opportunities. Taking a teaching post in a different city or even in a different area of London could rupture friendship networks.

Catrina had strong networks when she first moved to Britain to join her boyfriend. But later on her relationship broke down, and Catrina moved to a small town in the south of England where she was employed as a full time teacher in an A-Level college:

So after we'd broken up... I wasn't necessarily moving in those circles anymore, so I did become very isolated and that was difficult, and moving to [small town] made me further isolated, because I didn't know anybody, other than the women I worked with. And we didn't have much of a social thing outside of work (Catrina).

Within the data there was a noticeable trend that teachers based in London appeared to have ready access to a lively social scene, including an Irish scene. They were also more likely to have contacts with relatives and other Irish people they had known at home, as well as having the opportunity to extend their circle of friends through work and university based ties. Several people mentioned seeking out Irish contacts through popular Irish pubs: 'like everyone knows about the first week over here 'Waxys' (pub) in Leicester Square and you meet someone from down the road at home, cos it's such like a touristy spot as well. But like that would be the main connections, it would be just socially like out in the pubs' (Aine, focus group).

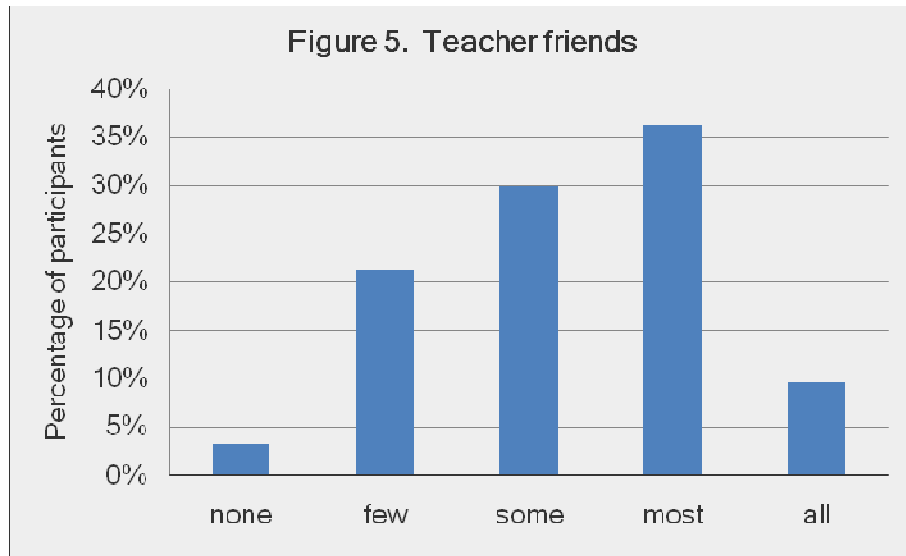
Teachers based in smaller cities and towns in other parts of England were more likely to report feeling lonely and finding it more difficult to make new friends. As one teacher who works in a city on the south coast of England said:

[Town] isn't a happening sort of place, there wouldn't be that many opportunities for you to kind of go out and make friends, like there are not that many groups to join, not the sort I'm interested in anyway, but if you were somewhere like London, a city, somewhere that was bigger and busier, where there's a social scene in general, I think it wouldn't be hard to make friends (Cait).

As a result of people making new friends through their PGCEs and then at school, it is hardly surprising that most people reported having largely teacher-based friendship networks. As seen in the table below, almost a half of all survey participants said that all or most of their friends were teachers. When asked what proportion of his friends were teachers, Rory replied: 'A lot. Teachers hang out with teachers, yeah.' He added that teachers understood each other; they could empathise with the stresses of the job: 'Well, some people don't understand how difficult it is being a teacher. A lot of people think we just work 9-3 and then just don't do anything else'.

³⁰ Ryan, L. (2011) 'Migrants' social networks and weak ties: accessing resources and constructing relationships post-migration' *Sociological Review* 59 (4): 707-724

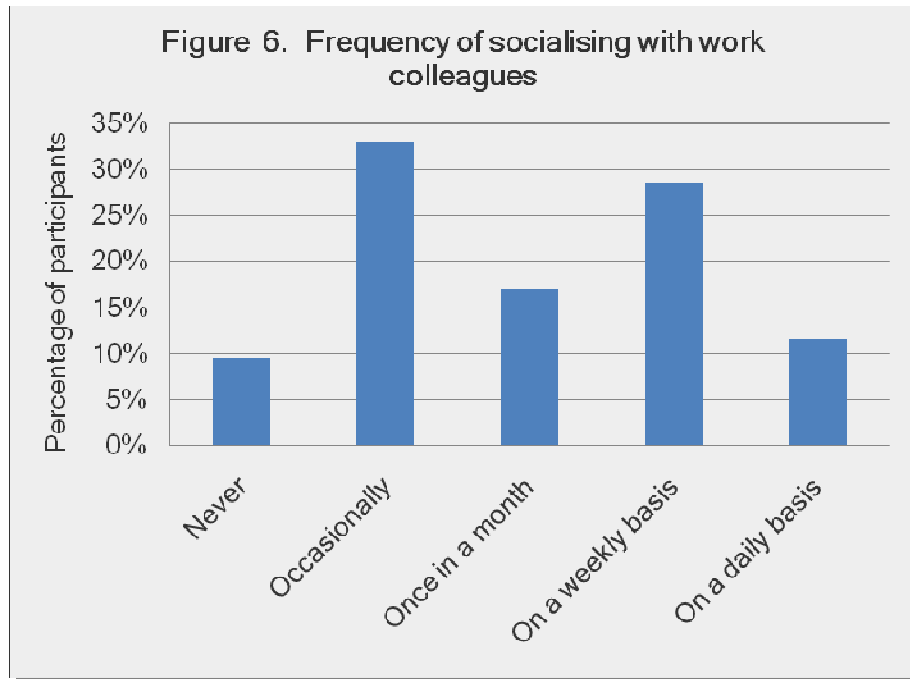
³¹ Ryan, L and J. Mulholland (2013) 'French Connections: The networking strategies of French highly skilled migrants in London' *Global Networks*, DOI: 10.1111/glob.12038



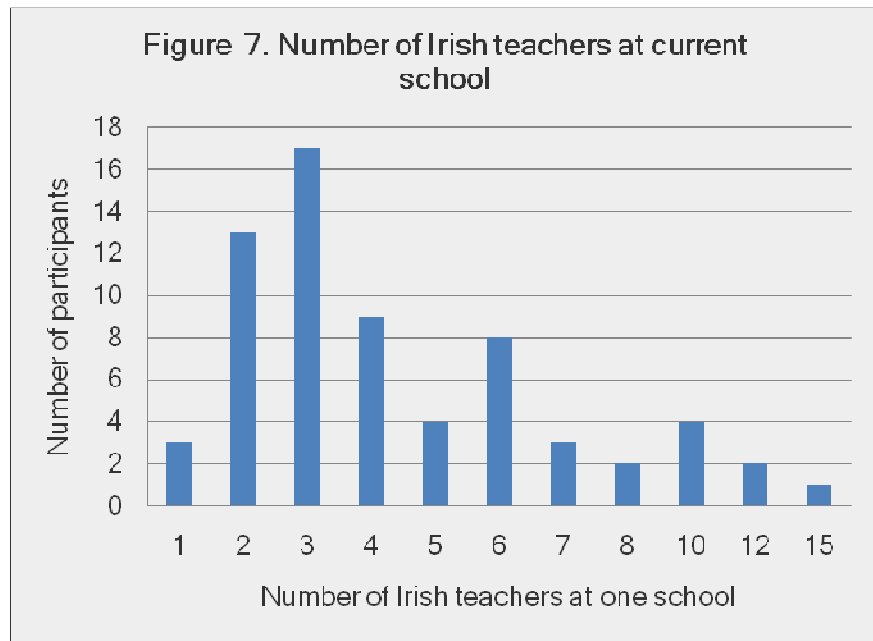
For most participants school provided an important place in which to build new friendships and expand their social circle. Having arrived in Essex not knowing anyone Sorcha quickly built up a good circle of friends through her colleagues:

There were Irish teachers, and some South Africans, there was some English teachers as well, we just had a group and we just literally clicked, and it was Friday nights in the pub after school and you know, we 'd go into London to see a show and all those kind of things(Sorcha).

Most participants reported that they regularly (ranging from once a week to once a month) socialised with colleagues outside work. Going for a drink on a Friday night after work was mentioned by many interviews.



The numbers of Irish teachers now working in British schools is clearly borne out in the table below which shows that only 3 of the survey respondents were the only Irish teacher in their schools, these tended to be located outside of London and the south-east of England.



Given the numbers of Irish teachers in schools, the numbers of Irish students on teaching training courses in many British universities, it is hardly surprising that many participants reported meeting and socialising with significant numbers of Irish people in Britain. Interview data suggest that these Irish contacts were a combination of new friendships developed post-migration and existing friendships that had transferred from Ireland through on-going migration patterns.

Table 13– Ethnic distribution of social networks

How many of your friends in Britain are...	Irish	of Irish descent	British	from other migrant groups
None	9	15	3	19
%	10%	17%	3%	22%
Few	18	18	21	39
%	19%	20%	23%	46%
Some	20	31	41	25
%	21%	35%	44%	29%
Most	44	22	26	2
%	47%	25%	28%	2%
All	3	3	2	0
%	3%	3%	2%	0%
Total	94	89	93	85

The clear trend in the data appears to be that survey participants had mostly Irish friends (47%) some of Irish descent and British (35% and 44% respectively) and a few from other migrant groups (46%). For example several interviewees mentioned having friends, often work colleagues, from Australia, South Africa or New Zealand.

FINDING A JOB

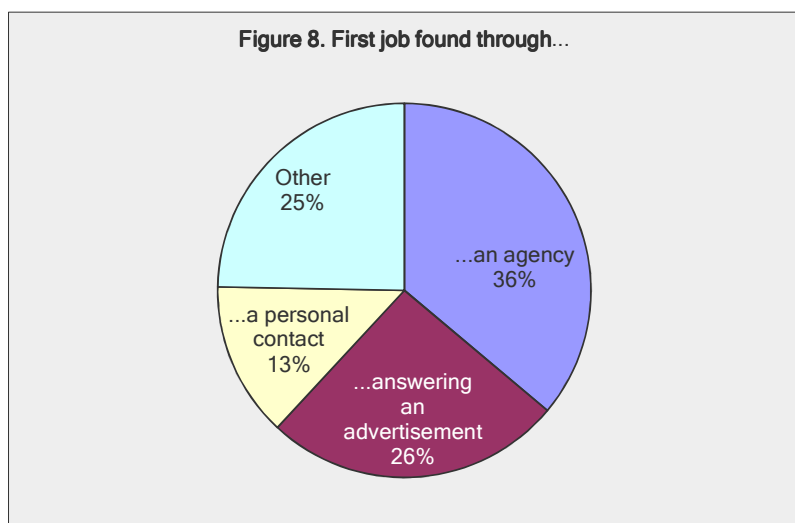
Most teachers got jobs very quickly and easily – many got jobs after making only a few applications. Indeed it was not usual for participants to get permanent posts on their first or second job interview.

Table 14– Finding employment in teaching in Britain

How long did it take you to find your first teaching job in Britain?	%
0-3 months	82.7%
4-6 months	5.8%
7-12 months	7.7%
More than 1 year	1.9%
Not currently teaching	1.9%
Total	100.0%

One third of survey participants used recruitment agencies³².

³²**Recruitment agencies used:** A Plus teachers, Academics, Addecco, ASQ, Capita, Career Teachers, Destination Education, Education Network, Education Plus, Edustaff, Engage Education, Engage Impact, Eteach, HAYS, Hourglass, Masterclass, PPA Education, Reed, Servoca, Smart Education, Synarbor, Teaching Personnel, TES, Tradewind, Horizon, Uteach, Vision Teaching



While many used agencies several just applied for teaching posts advertised in the Times Education Supplement: 'Through an ad in TES. Yeah, that was it and then just came for an interview and got the job' (Sile). Similarly, Seamus said: 'I just used the TES website. I just went through there.'

Eilish expressed almost a sense of disbelief about getting her first job: 'I know, it's crazy. I went for interview I think it was April 2009, and I went for the job on Monday and then two days later I got a phone call offering me the position and I wasn't qualified until June. And they offered me permanent contract with full pay' (Eilish).

Interestingly, a number of participants got jobs through their teaching placements:

So, luckily when I was in my second placement a job came up in that school so I actually didn't have to do any real searching, I think definitely you can get a post, I think it's harder to get a post at a really good school, but you know, I still think that jobs definitely are available for teachers in London (Laoise).

Similarly, Rory describes how easy it was to get his first teaching post in London:

It wasn't too difficult since I got a job at one of my placements schools. And I was very happy about that since it was good that I wasn't just starting off somewhere from scratch. I worked there for 8 weeks as a student and then they offered me a job for September. So I worked there for 3 years and then I went to New Zealand for a year (Rory).

EXPERIENCES OF TEACHING IN BRITAIN

Amongst all the participants there was a shared view that teaching in Britain was generally a more demanding job than teaching in Ireland. Rory put it simply: 'Well, teachers here definitely work a lot harder. They definitely do, there's no comparison. There's more pressure on teachers here.'

Similarly, Liadan suggested that teaching is: 'definitely tougher I would say definitely tougher in England than it is in Ireland'.

Back at home in the secondary schools I worked in, teachers seemed to leave by half 3 and you know you arrive at 8, it seemed a little bit more laid back I guess, whereas here the kind

of common things seem to be long working hours, I guess, higher demands, the kind of expectation of what you do, may be the kids you come across are more varied you know, the sort of the challenges are that little bit more(Laoise).

Stress and long working hours were mentioned by most of the participants: 'back home [Ireland] you're back home at 3.30 but I do a lot, once I'm there, I won't be back till 7 o'clock tonight... there is stress, like a lot of stress comes with it as well, you know, sometimes school puts things in place for you, you have to jump through so many different hoops where it should just be easy, an easy way and that drives me mad' (Aoife).

The amount of paper work and admin within British schools was widely commented upon.

I just think the amount of paperwork... I'm here until like 6 o'clock every day and you know, at home, everyone leaves at like 3 o'clock when the bell goes, you know. But I'm here half 5-6 every single day and it's stress on top of everything else. With the thought of Ofsted coming, we are due Ofsted in this school at the moment, so any single day, any single day it could be. We're all just stressed (Ciara).

A similar point was made by Liadan: 'I mean my school back home was closed at 4.30. And you know, you were getting between the caretaker and his dinner if you tried to stay longer so everybody was gone by half past four'. Liadan went on to contrast that with the long hours she worked every day and the demands of parents who expected to be able to contact her at school long after the school day had officially ended: 'I spend an awful lot of time at school I'm there early in the morning I'm there late in the evening and parents, some of the parents almost expect you're going to be there, like I got a phone call from an irate parent at 5 o'clock last Wednesday',

All the teachers complained about the large amount of time they spend writing reports, preparing for Ofsted (*Office for Standards in Education*) inspections and Government policies on education and continually changing curriculum

The pressure in every school is too much now, you know, we have these ministers in power and I read too much of Michael Gove³³, makes me want to hate him and this kind of thing. His demands now, it's getting ridiculous. No one has a clue if you're not really involved... And your job in school is great and then you have your second job - this admin ticking boxes for Ofsted(Blaithin).

Ofsted inspections kept teachers under constant pressure and scrutiny: 'It really doesn't create a nice environment for people to work in at all. Constantly being held up to scrutiny and not, not even realistic expectations' (Liadan).

Owen was among several teachers who criticised the Ofsted system of inspecting and grading schools: 'I have to put a huge amount of effort into paperwork... Ofsted is the worst thing about education in Britain. It does far more to undermine standards in education in Britain than it does to support them (Owen).

Owen went on to contrast the system of inspection in Ireland with the British system of publicly ranking schools by their Ofsted scores: 'The inspection system in Ireland is 'how do you do things here? ...ok, brilliant, have you thought about this?' and what you come back with, unless there is a

³³ Michael Gove was Secretary of State for Education at the time of the research

big problem, are strength and areas for improvement. Not ranks, you don't give them a number one to four, that's stupid, ultimately meaningless ... because they attach the same criteria to every single school'. As several teachers noted, Ofsted judges all schools on the same criteria regardless of the pupil intake or resources available to a particular school.

Liadan whose school had recently undergone an Ofsted inspection and been given a Satisfactory rating, noted that this system of public inspection sets schools in competition with each other:

It had been 'failing' previously but in the November they had become 'satisfactory' and then I started in the February, so you know, it was very much figures, statistics we have to do this, we have to do that... they keep sort of changing the Ofsted goalpost, so we're trying to keep one step ahead of them and if we keep one step ahead of them, you know, so definitely teaching over here is much more intense than teaching back home (Liadan).

Experiences – discipline/ shock of the new

Teaching here is a whole different ball game than teaching in Ireland. The behaviour in that particular school was really quite difficult at the time and I just was overwhelmed with everything (Sorcha).

There were many differences between teaching in Ireland and in Britain. The curriculum, the school hierarchy and structure, the diversity of pupils, the pressures associated with Ofsted inspections, the longer school day and shorter holidays, etc. But one of the key issues which many of the teachers mentioned was discipline.

Cliona recalled that, during her placement, she had had a particularly difficult school: 'I've had like chairs thrown at me...Yeah, yeah. I was given all the bottom set students with really bad behaviour and threw books at me and just really foul, their language and comments they would say to you about, you know, sexual behaviour and that kind of thing I've found really shocking.'

Similarly, during her student placement, Eilish was sent to a particularly challenging school:

They were taking in all students that had been expelled from other schools, 'cos they were trying to keep the school open. So they were willing to take any students from anywhere and so the students that they had, like had serious behaviour issues and that was nothing to do with the students it was just what they have been through. And their lifestyle and their family backgrounds, so it was a bit of a boiling pot, with kind of like trouble, and to deal with that, it was a lot of management issues, more so than teaching (Eilish).

Eilish went on to explain: 'Yeah, chairs thrown at me, I had a student put through a window in my classrooms. It was just crazy...'

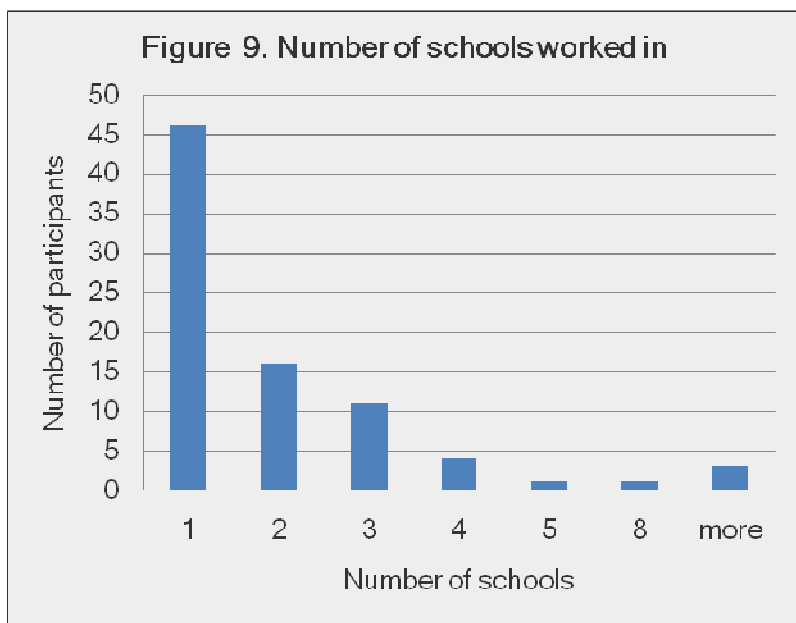
Many of these young teachers had themselves attended relatively small, single sex, faith schools in Ireland. They had no experience of the kind of large, comprehensive secondary schools they encountered in Britain. For Catriona the big difference was the lack of respect for authority among her pupils.

I didn't work in a bad school, I didn't suffer from very bad behaviour, but I can see that the behaviour difficulties that teachers can have are because pupils are just so much more adults, these teenagers that we're teaching ... you just have to find different ways of interacting with them. So, less of a culture of respect perhaps. Not that they're disrespectful

but just don't have the same sense of adults or you know, that sense of you are senior, that we might have been brought up with (Catriona).

However, it was also noted that schools varied enormously, and after a difficult student placement in a challenging school, most of the participants were careful about the kinds of schools they decided to work in. Eilish for example, having successfully completed her placement at the very challenging school, was offered a permanent job there. She turned this down and instead took up a post in a different school outside London where she is very happy.

Because of the number of teaching posts in Britain, most of the participants were able to be quite discerning about the schools they agreed to work in. Some had moved around several times until they found a school they liked. For example, over ten participants had worked in three different schools. This was usually not as a result of temporary contracts, which are less common in British than in Irish schools, but rather because teachers were seeking promotion or trying to move to a 'better' school.



Being in a nice working environment with good colleagues and enthusiastic children was important to all the participants. Most were very positive about their current school. It was remarkable how often they referred to their school as 'lovely' or stated that they 'loved' their school. Aoife's reaction was not unusual: 'I love teaching in this school I love everything about being in school, I love being a teacher... I love being part of the school'. Having this kind of emotional connection to the school and its pupils appeared to be very important to most participants. In particular, teachers working in primary schools often seemed to have a deep affection for their pupils.

Rory remarked: 'this year, I've been working with fabulous kids who really-really want to learn, they've got a great attitude towards progression and they're so polite, like today even just going in, I was working with year 1 children, they're fabulous, you know, and it's great when you're working with children who want to learn and want to do well'.

Rory contrasted his very positive experiences with those of his partner who is a secondary school teacher whose work load is more demanding and 'crazy'.

For teachers who had been trained in Ireland other aspects of British context also came as a surprise to them. Seamus arrived straight from Ireland, for an interview at a primary school, with little knowledge of the London context.

Part of the interview I had to do a lesson and just from the moment I walked in it was very different. Completely different! You know, even culturally, the different background of the pupils and I just came from very small close-knit community [in Northern Ireland] where I knew everybody and everybody knew me and then walking in here... the ethnic background of the pupils in London that was one thing... until you actually walk into the class when you see it for yourself, you can't be prepared for it as such. So it took me by surprise and when I met my class... just, mesmerising to hear all the different countries and communities that people were from.

Rory states that the diversity of pupils is one of things he most enjoys about teaching in London.

Laoise made the interesting observation that as a teacher one is confronted with all the diversity of society, in a way that may not be the case for other professions. Before qualifying as a teacher she had an office job, most of her colleagues were English, and she did not meet many people from diverse backgrounds. Like many teachers, she valued the ethnic diversity of her secondary school pupils: 'I think that, you know, especially when you're teaching literature and text, people can see it from lots of different point of view and they bring their own cultural understanding in different kinds of stories that they've heard in different kinds of ways of interpreting from their different backgrounds which is really lovely' (Laoise).

Unexpected expense of London

While jobs in London were very plentiful, the expense of living in this city came as a surprise to many of the participants:

Oh, it's scandalous, scandalous! Yeah, we have a one bed flat between two of us and it's my wage really and [girlfriend's] student loan but you know it's really just stretching on one full time wage to get through it's... just... it's crazy... crazy when you compare house prices and for what you're getting really ... well, I didn't realise that until I started doing it. I thought the wage I was offered was a very good wage and if I was making that money in Ireland I'd be very happy with it but it really doesn't stretch to London and by the time you pay all bills and you pay your transport, your food, you have nothing left over(Seamus).

This point was echoed by Blaitin:

It's very expensive here as well. Very expensive! My rent is £675 a month. For a room [in a flat share]. Like it's a big enough flat. But it's not even as nice as where we were last year. It's just money here, it's tough as well. It's tough to work and live... I can't afford going out all the time either... even to do anything, to go for meals, nice things like that, even the cinema. Like its just you have to kind of curb it. You know, the teaching wages, until you get to a certain point (on the pay scale), so when you're start of your career, too, it's not easy to do everything.

Nevertheless, most of the London-based participants enjoyed the city and what it had to offer: 'a million different things to do at the weekend' (Brenna). Clodagh remarked that London is 'I think it's a good place for like someone in their 20s to live.' This was echoed by Ciara who stated: 'like the

friends that I have here that would be Irish, I think all have plans to come home. You know, not immediately, but I don't think any of them are willing to settle here. I think maybe once they hit 30 that they'll be making real decisions to come back.' We will return to this point about future plans later in the report.

IRISH ORGANISATIONS

All participants were asked if they used or know of any Irish organisations in Britain. Aideen spoke for many when she said: 'I was never aware of any of them'. Similarly, Ciara observed: 'No. I wouldn't even know where to start. I don't know what is available to us to be honest'.

Table 15–Irish community links

	No	Yes
Do you attend any Irish clubs?	75	19
	79.8%	20.2% ³⁴
Are you a member of any Irish organisations?	80	14
	85.1%	14.9%
Do you engage in any Irish cultural activities or sports?	69	25
	73.4%	26.6% ³⁵
Are you actively involved in a parish or faith group?	77	17
	81.9%	18.1%

Table 16–Irish organisations

Have you approached any Irish organisations for information or support?	
No (and I do not know of any such groups)	79.8%
No (although I do know that such groups exist)	19.1%
Yes	1.1%

Several people stated that they did not need Irish organisations because they had a good support network of friends around them. For example, Sorcha: 'No, no, I haven't needed to go. I suppose, I've been quite lucky, if I didn't know any people here, if my housemates weren't sociable I might feel the need to kind of look into that, but no'.

Many added that they did not need Irish organisations because they could access information on-line:

³⁴ Questionnaire open ended question: answers included - Comhaltas, Father Murphy's Camogie Club, Football, GAA, Grange social club, Irish dancing class, Leicester Irish Centre, Munster Supporters Club, London Fianna Fail, Parnells ladies Gaelic football club, Southend Irish association

³⁵ Camogie and Gaelic Football (GAA), Football, watch Hurling occasionally, soccer, Irish dancing, music, Rose of Tralee, Rugby and celebrate St Patrick's Day, sports, going to Irish venues – The Swan

I probably don't feel the need and I'm sure they were much more useful before the internet, you know, and it's a lot easier now to arrange to meet with people, you know, and I mean, without Facebook there's a lot a people I wouldn't know that they were in London. So they're always there if you want to, want to meet up I guess. I haven't really felt the need to be honest (Liadan).

Others also referred to social networking sites and new technology to suggest that Irish migrants now-a-days were less lonely, isolated or home sick than may have been the case in previous generations, thus reducing the need for practical support: 'look, we've got Skype. I can see my mummy's face any time I want, you know, it's different now' (Owen).

Several people mentioned St Patrick's Day parade as one event when Irishness was more visible and celebrated in London. For some people who attended the parade it was the first time they observed a wider, and more diverse Irish community in London: 'we went to St Patrick's Day celebrations and on Trafalgar Square there were lots of little stands around the square, that was kind of the first time I was made aware of it and there's lots of places where you can go' (Blaithin).

But like many other participants, Blaithin added that recently arrived Irish migrants did not have the same needs as previous generations of migrants: 'people are a lot more easy going and through life experience people are more open-minded now, we don't have to go out to an Irish club to find... I don't think it's seen as a necessity now there are other outlets... We are more experienced in terms of travel and education now' (Blaithin).

However, some people did acknowledge that their needs might change as they got older, especially if they had children in Britain. This was discussed in the focus group:

Aine: If we had children and we wanted to...

Saoirse: If we had kids... if I had kids here I'd want them to do Irish dancing. Well, I would want them to appreciate... Irish music and sort of get involved in the GAA and so maybe that aspect of it would be important but I think for me personally now if I really wanted something I'd go and find it but there's nothing necessarily that I want, not at the moment.

Some avoided socialising through Irish networks or frequenting Irish places:

We're living in London; we're living in like a multicultural place. If you want to just hang around with just Irish people, just move to Ireland. You know, I don't even really going to Irish pubs or anything like that. Like I don't want to go to O'Neill's, or whatever because there's only Irish people there and I just think it's abit sad whenever you come over from Ireland and the only places you go to are to see other Irish people. Because obviously then you're not really, you know, getting to enjoy London to its fullest (Sile).

Nonetheless, despite what Sile says, many participants, as noted earlier, did have mainly Irish friends and did enjoy going to Irish pubs to socialise with other Irish people. In addition, some were interested to find out more about Irish organisations, especially sporting groups, mainly because they wanted to become involved in the social side of things.

For example, Deirdre was not involved in any Irish organisations at the moment, mainly because she was so busy: 'but just time and this year has been so crazy and most weekends I'm doing school work and stuff so I just haven't had a chance but it's definitely something I would think about joining

a club...like Gaelic– don't play but I hear it's just great fun and a big social buzz around it. Or hockey or something, but I think it's just getting the time and getting a place that's near me' (Deirdre).

The one Irish organisation that most participants were familiar with and many were actively involved in was the GAA³⁶. Two male interviewees, Seamus and Daragh played regularly for a GAA club in London, two female interviewees, Ciara and Brenna, also played for London-based ladies football teams. For these participants, the GAA was a key aspect of their social lives and enabled them to expand their network of friends among the newly arrived and second generation Irish in London.

Brenna explained how she joined the north London team: 'my family would have been involved, my aunt and her family who live in north London would have been involved and their sons played so; and then my two sisters both studied PGCEs over here as well, so they played for a year and then I just continue, I guess, what we'd done at home. So just keeping the connection there and I didn't really think about it, it just came as second nature, I just felt there's a club and I obviously going to join' (Brenna).

Similarly, Seamus was introduced to a London GAA club through family connections: 'my brothers both played for that team, and I'll always have that affiliation there. I came over and [brother] got me involved and I just started with them plus they're one of the best teams in London. So I wanted to go where there is a good standard'.

Rory was one of the very few who had actually attended an Irish centre on a regular basis. As a native Irish speaker he had wanted to find people to speak the language. He pointed out that although the needs of newly arrived Irish migrants had changed from previous generations, there was still a place for Irish organisations:

They probably don't have the same role and Irish people got a lot more respect here, I'm guessing these days than they used to have. And so it doesn't feel like so much like 'them' and 'us' and the fact that Irish people are better trained than they were back then and now doing different types of jobs, so it, I think there's still a need for it, it's just a different type of need... Its social, just the social thing and kind of just ways of meeting people... I think if you land, get off a plane, and you know one person. You know, it still has some importance I think'(Rory).

Several participants noted that they had been lonely when they first arrived and it would have been useful to know about Irish organisations providing a social space for young Irish people to meet up and make new friends.

I suppose maybe when I had first come over if there had been some sort of, I don't know, some sort of group that you could have got in touch with if you didn't know anyone, a group of people who would go to the pub with, a bit more informal, sort of get together every month or some time. Maybe would have been interesting, maybe in the past, possibly not at the minute. Maybe when I first arrived (Laoise).

Similarly, Grainne who arrived on her own in London to do her degree, experienced homesickness and loneliness at the beginning before establishing a group of friends on her course. She stated that

³⁶ Gaelic Athletic Association

an Irish student organisation might have been a good way to meet up with other people in a similar situation: 'at the beginning. Not so much now, but a way to start'.

THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF THE IRISH COMMUNITY

In the section above and throughout this research study it was apparent that participants had very particular views about previous generations of Irish migrants in Britain. This was neatly summed up by Sile:

The Irish, I suppose there's two types. There's obviously the older ones... I kind of categorise them, the ones, that go to the dances and go to the Irish centre and do all that sort of stuff. And they're the ones who kind of have got married or whatever but sometimes I kind of see them as kind of, I feel kind of sorry for them sometimes because I can see that maybe that's not what they wanted for their lives. So they didn't want necessarily to live here. And then obviously when you do live here for so long you just can't go back 'cos you've just changed and your relationships have changed and whatever. So that's them. And then the other ones, so the young people, I just see them as people that want to have a good time, want to have fun but maybe not necessarily want to put their roots down here (Sile).

A similar point was made by Aine in the focus group discussion. Referring to her grandaunt who came to London in the 1960s, Aine remarked:

She was coming here to work and that was it, there was nothing for her at home, the boys had the farm and if she wanted to make anything for herself, she had to come here and do it...but as for me it was more of a choice, and if push came to shove and I did get horrendously homesick tomorrow, I could go home. Whereas for her I think it just wasn't option, it was more, definitely more forced, and transport and everything wasn't what it is, there was no Ryanair (Aine).

Many participants contrasted the previous generation as 'permanent' migrants, 'forced' to leave Ireland, and settle in Britain, not through choice but rather as victims of circumstances, in comparison to their own freedom of mobility, 'choice', independence. However, as noted elsewhere in the academic literature, many previous waves of migrants have positioned themselves in contrast to their predecessors. Breda Gray's (2004) research on 1980s migrants highlighted how they contrasted themselves as educated, professional, with freedom of mobility, in contrast to the more 'unfortunate' 1950s migrants³⁷. Here, in this new research we see recent, post-Celtic tiger migrants tend to categorise all previous waves of migrants, including the 1980s and 1950s migrants together, as very different from themselves.

Like several other participants, Rory also pointed to the changing economic and political landscape that Irish migrants now encounter in Britain:

I think it's because Irish people got more options here. And they don't have to do the dog's body type of jobs so much as maybe they used to. Like I mean there's so many Irish people living in London now, and they're doing well, working in well-paid jobs, they've got qualifications... the Irish in general these days are really successful...I mean, I feel successful... therefore Irish people are being more valued in terms of their contribution. And I think as

³⁷Gray (2004) Women and the Irish Diaspora

well the fact that the maybe in terms of you know, say bombing and the IRA over the years ... I think now that maybe there's less suspicion between Irish and English people than there used to be. And, maybe, that's probably broken down the barriers (Rory).

CELTIC TIGER GENERATION

Although recent Irish migrants may have more in common with previous generations than they realise, one big difference is the impact of the Celtic Tiger. This was eloquently explained by Liadan:

I think, because, for my generation, I just 12 at the time of the Celtic Tiger, so like that was a huge part of my growing up and my expectations were that I'd have no problems getting a job and you know, settling down and living my life in Ireland, and having a pretty good life in Ireland, you know being able to go on holidays abroad, and, and that sort of thing... now I'm living in London, I can barely afford to pay rent let alone a deposit for a house, it's, it's a hard thing to swallow... And it's, it's almost sort of like an identity crisis, for me, for the country as a whole because we got so proud of ourselves and how well we had done and now it's kind of right back where we started and I think, I just sometimes kind of feel a little bit like *'we couldn't make it, so here I am'*, you know(Liadan).

Many participants were angry about the recession in Ireland and how the opportunities Ireland had enjoyed were squandered and mismanaged by politicians and banks: 'I got very-very angry two weeks ago when this Anglo³⁸ tapes came out. I lost my job in short because of cutbacks. That's a simplistic but straight forward way to put it. That's why I'm over here. And that recession was avoidable. And certainly the bail-out was avoidable' (Owen). Similarly, Sorcha was angry about what had happened in Ireland: 'I am angry definitely, because I wanted to take a job in Ireland but I know realistically that I cannot get one.'

However, Rory suggested that the Celtic Tiger, far from being a great period in Irish history, had actually been very damaging for the country: 'it's been ruined by the Celtic tiger. Ruined! Sprawling!' Several people in fact referred to the greed and waste that were part of the boom years (Daragh, Blathin, for example). Others were hopeful that the good times would come around again and that the current recession was just part of a wider cycle.

We were the lucky ones, you know, like our age group, you know, we grew up in the Celtic Tiger we had all the privileges, you know, we had fantastic, fantastic times, definitely. .. Well, I think it has to come around again, you know, like we've been through it now for a few years and you know, it has to come around again. There was that situation in the 80s and then the 90s were excellent you know. So I just feel like it has to change sometime (Ciara).

³⁸ This is a reference to Anglo-Irish Bank and leaked recordings of meetings which reveal the true extent of the financial mismanagement at the bank.

EXPERIENCES OF ANTI-IRISH SENTIMENT

In general, most of the participants gave very positive accounts of their experiences in Britain.

Table 17– Anti-Irish sentiments, discrimination

	Have you encountered any anti-Irish sentiments:		Have you ever felt discriminated against as an Irish person:	
	Yes %	No%	Yes %	No%
(a) in your current work place?	22%	78%	9%	91%
(b) in your previous work place(s)?	19%	81%	11%	89%
(c) in Britain generally?	34%	66%	14%	86%

There was broad agreement that Irish people were welcomed in British society and widely regarded as hard working professionals. For example, in the focus group of secondary school teachers all participants stated that Irish people were well regarded in Britain. Brenna: ‘my perception of how other people regard us is really positive... generally are regarded as pretty hard working.’ This view was echoed by Saoirse: ‘they do see us as like happy, nice and again hard working people’.

Clodagh a recently arrived primary school teacher stated that Irish people had ‘quite a good reputation in the profession’. Eilish observed that ‘I’m very lucky like in the friends and jobs that we have here and like the social groups that we hang out with like they’re all really-really welcoming... So I’ve never experienced anything negative and I’ve found people in the south are really-really welcoming’ (Eilish).

It was widely asserted that Irish people do not experience discrimination in the job market. On the contrary, Irish people seemed to be highly valued and found employment in teaching quite easily. Some teachers also remarked that they had been promoted quickly, sometimes over older and more experienced English colleagues.

I’ve been teaching 3 years in September and last month I got promoted to GCSE Programme Manager and like the other person that went for it has 30 years’ experience and is an English person. So there is no glass ceiling. I am very-very lucky’ (Eilish).

Another secondary school teacher, Sorcha shared the view that Irish people were well regarded in Britain and did not face discrimination in the labour market: ‘No, I wouldn’t say discriminate, no, cos I think most schools have now at least a few Irish teachers and I think the Irish teachers are highly regarded over here’ (Sorcha). However, she added that a small minority of British people may still see Irish people as slightly inferior: ‘A small percentage. I don’t think the majority, but I do think a small percentage, maybe who think that we are a little bit backward, less educated, things like that’.

Clearly, some negative stereotypes of Irish people do persist:

English friends, it’s like ‘oh, I love the Irish they’re all so nice, they’re all so friendly’ and ‘they’re always up for the craic’ ... they do see us as big, big drinkers and big you know, out for the night outs, we are, you know, I mean the majority are like that... (Saoirse).

Among the participants there was a strong view that Irish people were perceived as hard working professionals but also as 'up for the craic' and big drinkers. While some participants like Saoirse above agreed that this drinking stereotype was fairly accurate, others disagreed.

Cait resented the drunken stereotype of Irish people but she was also critical of some Irish people who perpetuate this image of themselves: 'it's annoying they kind of see us in a stupid light or something. I don't know why maybe it's because we portray ourselves as having a *craic*³⁹ and fooling around drunk and all that kind of thing'.

Cait was among a number of participants who lived outside London. There was a definite trend that Irish teachers who lived in smaller and less cosmopolitan places seemed to encounter more anti-Irish stereotypes. Cait was one of several teachers who referred to the word '*potato*' (usually spoken in a high pitched, silly voice) as a recurring 'joke' amongst English people she encountered socially: 'You know if go out for a night out and people hear you are Irish the first thing they say is '*potato*'⁴⁰.

Participants outside London often found themselves working and living in largely white, English environments. As Irish people they often stood out as migrants, and as outsiders. Catriona taught in an A-Level college in a town in the south coast of England. She observed how attitudes towards the Irish changed after the recession in Ireland:

I was in the staffroom one day and one of the teachers... turned around and said, '*oh, now we'll see a lot more of your lot over here, now, won't we, now that it's going belly up in Ireland*' and a couple of days later then somebody else said something about, '*oh, yeah, I mean it's typical really, the Irish messing something like that up isn't it*' and it's just all of this stuff and I felt I couldn't really, you know, as an Irish person in this country, you have a sense of well, yes, we did cock that up, and a kind of sense of embarrassment. I just felt like, when things started to go badly, suddenly a lot of people had all these negative things to say about Irish people (Catriona).

It should be noted that Catriona was the only person who made this point or who observed any difference in how Irish people were perceived post-recession. This may be partly because most of the participants had come to Britain after the recession and so did not have the same reference point as Catriona who had been here longer. However, it could also be because teachers based in London tended to point out that Irish people were just among the many migrants in a huge city and, if anything, they tended to be less visible than some other migrant groups:

We are not really seen as immigrants as such...my English friends would never ever brand us as, as immigrants as such but they'd be more, you know, they'd be very 'ah, eastern Europeans' would be branded as immigrants or further afield (Brenna).

A similar point was made by Rory: 'In a way London feels very Irish, because they're so many Irish people over here, you know, and you got, the very least you got Irish bars... they've definitely claimed a part of London I think... because English people got used to the Irish people living here, after a while we become accepted'.

³⁹ Irish expression meaning 'fun' / 'enjoyment'

⁴⁰ The use of this word to describe Irish people gained in popularity following its use on a TV programme hosted by British comedian Keith Lemon. Lemon saying 'potato' in a high pitched, exaggerated 'Irish' accent even became available as a ring tone.

Within the ethnically diverse landscape of London Irish people are just some among the many different migrant groups across the city. In fact, as Brenna suggests the Irish may be less visible and less stigmatised than other migrants, including other European migrant groups.

However, outside of London, there was a clear trend for some participants to have more negative experiences. An extreme, and it must be said unusual, example of bullying involved Aideen who worked in a school in a small town in the north of England.

It was the teaching assistant that I was working with at the time. And she's been there for a number of years and it was my second year in teaching, my first year in this school and it was very much she wanted to show that she was boss rather than me. And to be honest, it wasn't really stemmed from the fact that I was Irish, but it was a lot of do with other things and just trying to be boss and trying to be in charge. There had been a couple of comments like basically it was said that I didn't teach history because it wasn't my history and I didn't think it was important enough and that I don't know about it and I wouldn't basically tell the children to do it... So there was kind of a lot of those things and then obviously I'm always very conscious I would pronounce things differently you know, to how people would pronounce things here, then it's the grammar of things and pronunciation of things I'm trying to teach as well but I always felt as if they'd been watching me (Aideen).

Clearly, this is a very particular case of an older teaching assistant feeling undermined by a newly qualified teacher and using the fact of her Irishness as a way to try to challenge the authority and professionalism of this young teacher. The teaching assistant was moved to another class. But it was clear interviewing Aideen that she had been badly shaken by the incident: 'it did hurt me, you know, that fact that apparently it's been said and it's been said to me by my head teacher... to be honest it was, it was a big issue'.

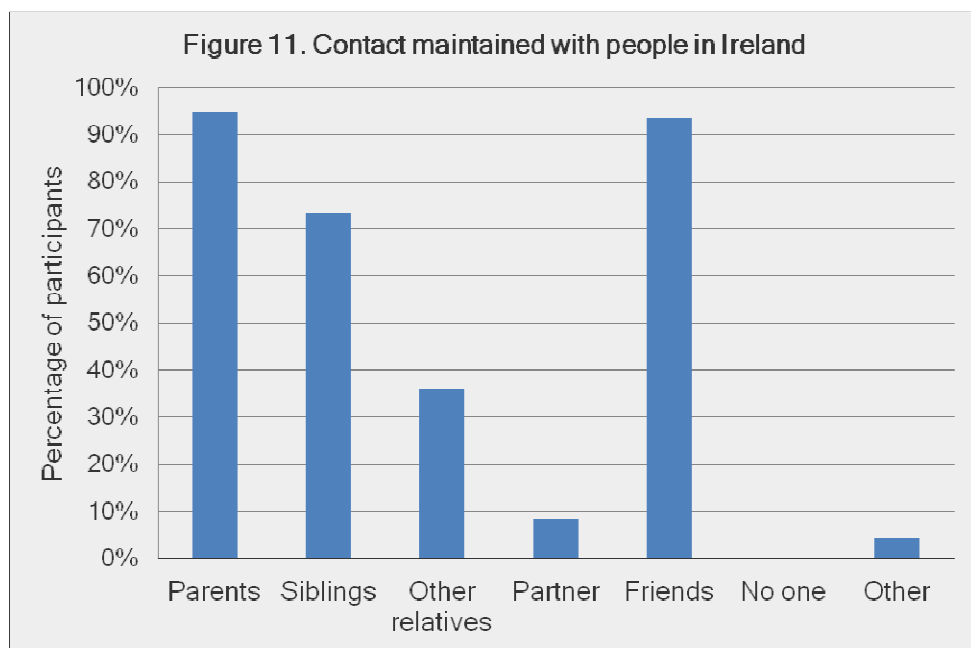
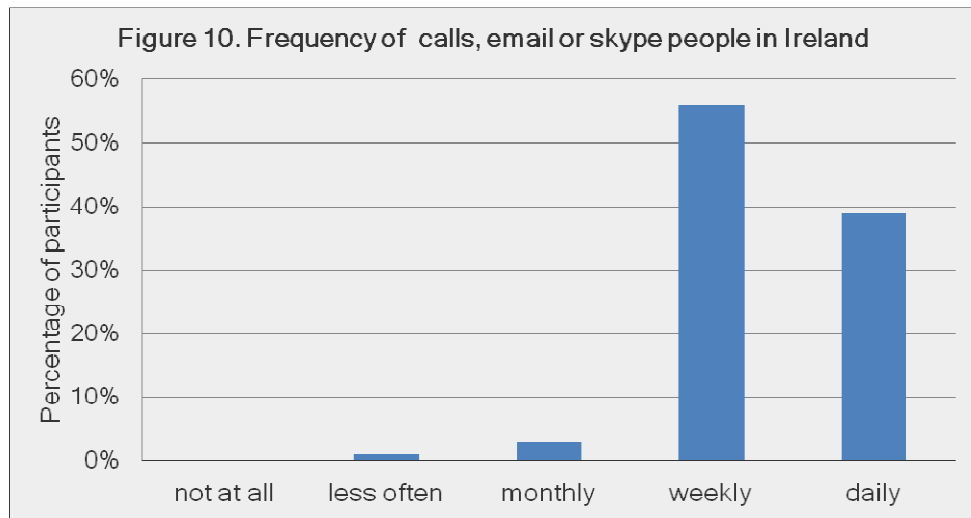
Her self-confidence, especially around subject knowledge, and pronunciation and accent had been seriously undermined: 'you know like the pronouncing the 'th' and anything like that, you know, that I am very conscious and I really pronounce you know, properly, because I know that somebody out there could be listening' (Aideen).

KEEPING IN TOUCH WITH HOME

In the context of rapidly expanding and increasingly affordable modes of electronic communication, it is not surprising that the study participants were in regular contact not only with people in Ireland but with friends and relatives scattered across the globe. This finding echoes that of the other recent surveys⁴¹ and research with other migrant groups⁴².

⁴¹ Glynn et al, 2013

⁴² Ryan, L. Klekowski von Koppenfels, A. and J. Mulholland (forthcoming) 'The distance between us': A comparative examination of the technical, spatial and temporal dimensions of highly skilled migrants' transnational social relationships' in **Global Networks**



Aoife was typical of many when she described her modes of international communication:

Mom, dad, we're on family WhatsApp, we are on that constantly, tweeting and sending pictures to each other, all on Skype, we do group chats with [sister] in new Zealand...I was on the phone with sister for an hour last night and then my mom, I speak to her every second day maybe and then again that's probably an another hour conversation, dad chips in a little bit, you know (Aoife).

Like many participants Aoife uses new technology to secure the best and cheapest telephone deals:

A lot of time we're not home, so we don't really use Skype as much, Viberis like a phone call, free phone calls for home. And then I've got free minutes on my phone for Ireland, my mom has free minutes on the house phone so you can spend up to an hour speaking to someone on an English landline or English mobile (Aoife).

Deirdre used a similar array of technology to keep in touch with her family in Ireland:

I have an iPhone so WhatsApp, my brothers, sister, mom. Viber, my sister and I Viber...can Viber another iPhone for free so it's completely free (Deirdre).

For some participants regular contact with home was the chief form of support when they first arrived in Britain. Cait described how she used to cry on Skype every night because she was so lonely in the seaside town in south of England. Over time, it may be expected, that migrants make new local friends and become less reliant on emotional support from contacts back in Ireland. Nonetheless, even for those who had been in Britain for several years, regular contact with friends and family in Ireland remained important.

Deirdre explained why this kind of regular communication was important for her: 'Cos I need that constant, you know like pep talks and stuff from mom... I think it's really important. And I hate missing out on stuff at home so it's really important for me... cos in my family we're quite close. So they'd have Sunday dinners and stuff and they'd always call me you know and stuff so [but] it stopped for a while cos I was like 'don't, it's so unfair' but no, it's nice...I love kind of getting calls from them' (Deirdre).

New technology did not suit everyone and for many of the participants telephone calls remained the most important and enduring form of communication. In some cases older relatives did not have or did not use the latest technological gadgets. Deirdre was among several participants who mentioned that a parent did not use or not like new technology and preferred to communicate by phone: 'Dad's completely behind with technology but so he'll call me every week' (Deirdre).

Desmond noted: 'My mom doesn't have Skype but you can still get cheaper calls, I think they're nearly free calls actually...I've got 60 minutes of free international minutes I can use. So I call her on the house phone that doesn't cost me anything, it's free'.

Despite their young age, not all the participants were technology enthusiasts:

I'm a bit old fashioned I don't even have an iPhone. So Facebook, email, Skype sometimes but that's can be a bit of head wrecking actually... it always cuts out, oh, it's more hassle than it's worth at times. It's better just to do send a big email and then you remember whatever (Clodagh).

Although new technology is often described as compressing time and distance (Larsen et al, 2008), the reality is that being in regular contact with home can also highlight the sense of distance and separation⁴³, constantly reminding migrants of what they are missing:

I hate that I'm not there all the time and missing things... there's little things like I see the odd time on Facebook that I wish I was there for them. But I have to remember you know that I'm having a great time over here (Sorcha).

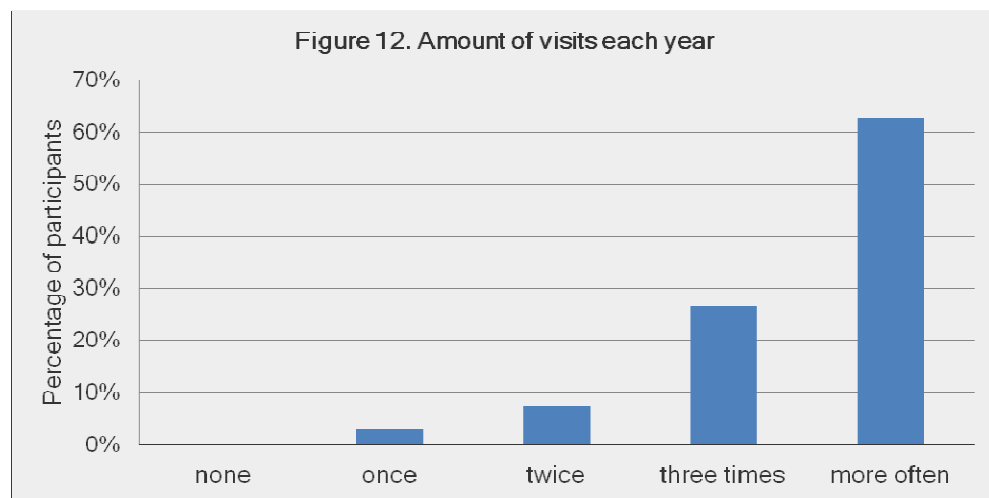
Some participants despite using technology and cheap phone calls to keep in touch, noted that nothing replaces the importance of visiting and being physically with loved ones:

⁴³ See Gray, 2013

I've got a group text... permanent kind of group text open with both my sisters and my mom so we're kind of communicating that way... to say what they did for the day or, so you just keep that kind of sense of you know what people are up to... That's been really important but you know, I think when I go home, it is important to kind of sit down spend time with my mom (Catriona).

Visiting Ireland

As noted elsewhere, migrants in Britain tend to travel back to Ireland more frequently than migrants located further afield, such as Canada or Australia⁴⁴. Most of our participants visited home regularly, on average about four times per year.



However, some went home more frequently than that. For example, Sile was not unusual in stating: 'I go home every six week to seven weeks whenever I've got my midterm break' (Sile). Our participants tended to visit home slightly more frequently than participants in other recent studies⁴⁵. This may be partly explained by their profession. As teachers they not only had long summer holidays (though at 6 weeks these holidays are shorter than school holidays in Ireland), but also two weeks at Christmas and at Easter as well as 3 half term, week long, breaks throughout the school year. The close proximity of London and the availability of regular and relatively cheap flights, especially to Dublin, were noted by many participants. Blaithin who had previously worked in Australia noted:

I do generally go in the half term. It's kind of the ideal job to have... in half term it's good, it's good to go home, have a change of scene and teaching is a busy job here so it is good to go home and get a bit of home comfort and catch up with family and friends and that's the beauty of being in London. Like last week I was home for my nephew's communion as well. So if I was somewhere else trying to work as a teacher, I might not have that opportunity as easy (Blaithin).

Interestingly, Blaithin observed that close proximity to Ireland made staying in London easier: 'I enjoyed Australia so much. But knowing how I am with my family and friends I don't think I would be able to live there long term. Whereas I could see myself living in London long term because it's so close to get home'.

⁴⁴ Glynn et al, 2013

⁴⁵ Glynn et al, 2013

However, some participants who had been in Britain for several years noted that their visits home were becoming less frequent: 'I don't know the months slip by sometimes, three-four-five months since you've been home and you're 'Oh right we need to book something quick' (Daragh).

As noted above, most participants maintained regular, even daily communication with their families in Ireland. However, visits home often reminded them of how their social circle had shrunk in Ireland as many friends and even siblings had migrated abroad.

In Galway, where I'm from, I would have two friends left. I could have said a hundred at one point, and either they've moved or I'm not in touch with them anymore...I probably wouldn't have been able to walk down the street without meeting somebody that I knew, any time on a night out, you'd always meet a load of people but that has plummeted (Owen).

The fact that so many of their friends have also left Ireland can mean that visits home are associated with seeing parents rather than meeting up with a wider circle of friends:

I feel like I've been away from Ireland for so long and a lot of my friends are kind of like scattered, one friend went to Glasgow, another to Liverpool, another one is in Birmingham, another one is now in Australia. So there's not really anyone in my home town, like of my close friends. So when I go back there it's really nice to see my family but for a short while. I can't really see myself there (Clodagh).

For several participants this meant that they had more friends in London now than left back in Ireland: 'I find that my social circle over here is a lot bigger and I'm a lot busier and I've got a lot more things to do than when I'm home' (Sorcha). For migrants like Sorcha visits home reminded her of how difficult things are in Ireland: 'it's so boring at home, there's not much going on. It's true, like it's really sad and depressing at the moment at home. So I'm totally happy to be here'.

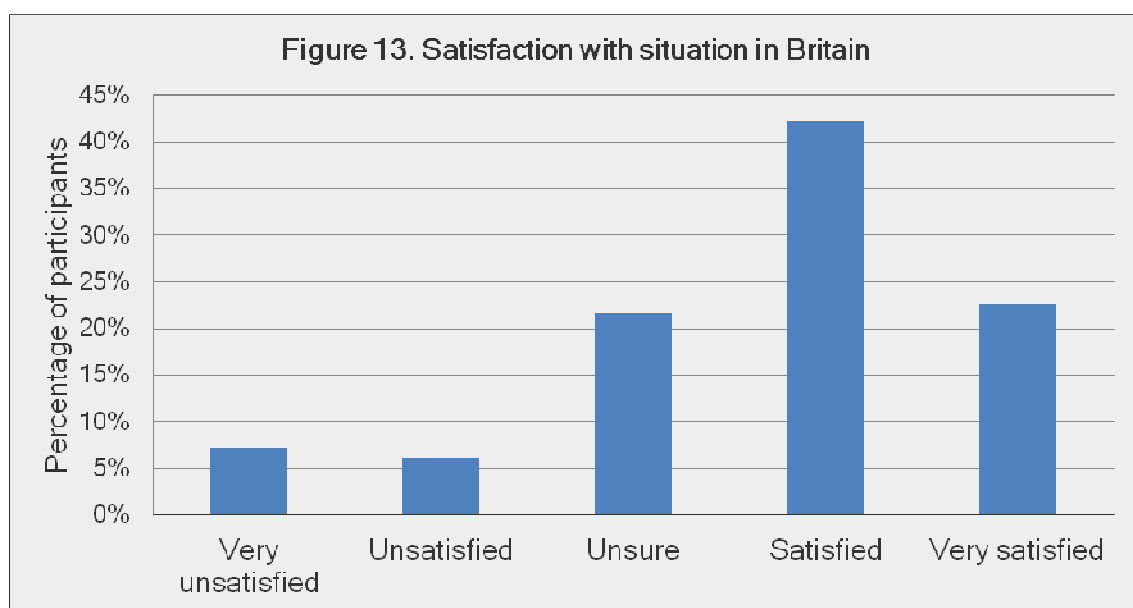
Because so many participants had friends and relatives in other parts of the world there was an attraction to spend holidays visiting places other than Ireland. When I interviewed Aideen she had just returned from visiting her brother in Canada. Shortly after our interview Aoife was going to spend the summer break travelling in the USA. Her parents from Dublin and her sister from New Zealand were planning to join her there for a family reunion. Both Cliona and Catriona had parents who had retired to the sun in Spain and France, respectively, and thus their family visits did not take place in Ireland.

FUTURE PLANS

Return to Ireland, staying in Britain or moving elsewhere

In line with data from other recent studies⁴⁶, the majority of our participants indicated that they were satisfied or very satisfied with their current situation in Britain.

⁴⁶ Generation Emigration, Glynn et al, 2013, Moore et al, 2012



Nonetheless, their feelings were complex and while satisfied with their lives in Britain most also felt a sense of loss at having left Ireland.

Table 18 – Feelings of loss or gain

Do you feel ...	Yes	No
... a sense of loss having left Ireland?	77.7%	22.3%
... a sense of gain having come to Britain?	76.6%	23.4%

This raises questions about their future migration plans; did they intend to stay in Britain, return to Ireland or indeed move on to another country?

Table 19 – Future migration plans

Future migration plans	%
Remain in Britain for less than 5 years	25.5%
Remain in Britain for more than 5 years	14.9%
Remain here for rest of working life	3.2%
Remain in Britain permanently	11.7%
Return to Ireland within 5 years	22.3%
Return to Ireland at some point in the future	37.2%
Unsure	22.3%
Move on to another country	20.2%
Total	100%⁴⁷

The majority of participants expected to return to Ireland, with a quarter expecting to return within five years. However, for most the duration of their stay in Britain was uncertain. Almost a quarter were simply 'unsure' about their future plans. About a quarter expected to remain in Britain for a

⁴⁷ The totals do not add up to 100% as participants could select more than one option

significant period of time – ranging from more than five years to the rest of their working lives. Interestingly 20% expected to move to another country.

The uncertainty was neatly captured by Deirdre:

I wish I knew but I don't know. It all depends. And I think I'd drive myself crazy and then dad says 'just relax, and take each day as it comes' I know I'm going to be here next year, and then after that I'm just going to see what happens. Because I don't want ...like it all depends on, you know...everything really. You know, my boyfriend probably is one of the main things. Cos he's here and he won't move to Ireland, I don't think, with work and stuff. And then with me and work, I wouldn't move back home without having a job. I couldn't do that to my parents. I feel like I'm independent now I wouldn't want to do that. So... it all depends on that. But I really don't know... originally would have said definitely but now I'm just completely not sure, don't know (laughs) (Deirdre).

Extending the expected length of stay

Most of the participants initially only planned to stay in Britain for a short period.

So basically I was only coming over for about three months just for a bit of fun...and then one day when I was working supply, one of the agencies just rung me up and said 'do you want to do long term?' and I said, 'yeah. Why not' and you know I didn't have to go through lots of interviews it was just my first interview, I got the job, and then just stayed and that was basically it (Sile).

For those who came to study, their initial plan was to get their qualification and then return to teach in Ireland.

Blaithin's experience was typical:

I kind of had a sketchy plan that I would qualify and do my PGCE here, and then I'd head home. But as the year went on, you know, I kind of liked the whole set up here, you know, got to know what was going around, met some nice friends in PGCE so yeah, initially that was my plan, but you know, it didn't work out that way (Blaithin).

The process of extending their stay was usually quite gradual and piece-meal, slowly extending one year at a time but with a degree of uncertainty regarding how long they would remain in Britain. For those who came to Britain to train as a teacher, having completed their PGCE, most decided to stay one more year to do their NQT:

Basically the way it is now is that you have to stay here to complete your NQT year. So you don't get a choice but yeah, I would have stayed anyway. If it wasn't a choice, I would have stayed to complete my NQT because if I went home and the situation was that I'd be waiting around months and months you know, subbing in lots of different schools, trying to get it done and can't, and it's just this way I have it done and... not have to worry about it anymore (Ciara).

The ease of completing the NQT year in London, with almost guaranteed employment, is a huge pull factor in keeping newly qualified teachers here for at least another year. Seamus described how he

and his girlfriend had arrived at their decision: 'Well, if she got work at home, she could do her induction year, which is equivalent of the NQT in Northern Ireland, but at the minute, we kind of think she'd be better doing a year in London, and then that would strengthen her application for going home again. Having a year with a full class' (Seamus).

The idea of only coming for a year, is now becoming a joke among those young migrants who have been here for several years and can see their stay extending. The following focus group extract clearly sums up that feeling.

Aine: I came 6 years ago... I came to study and I had the option to go back after the year if I wanted to which I did actually intend to do. I said I would do a year here and then I'd go home ...

Brenna: we all said that (laughing)

Saoirse: yeah (laughing)

Nonetheless, some of the more recent arrivals still feel very unsettled and are determined to go back to Ireland. They find it unimaginable to settle in London and, in particular, to have a family here. In fact, having children in London is something that most of the younger participants find impossible to even consider. Ciara recounted conversations she had with her Irish friends in London:

We had this discussion before about settling here and raising a family here and we just don't, I think we all had such brilliant childhoods in Ireland, and we want to have our children, if we ever have any, to experience that as well. I think it's different; you grow up different if you're going to grow up here than at home. Definitely without a doubt. So I just think we loved it so much at home (Ciara).

The urge to bring up children in Ireland so they can experience the same childhood as their parents has been noted by other migration researchers⁴⁸. This is often associated with a quiet, peaceful rural idyll in contrast to the hectic, noisy urban context in London. Sile hoped that she and her fiancé would move back to Ireland before starting a family of their own: 'the ideal, for me anyways, is that we go home like in about three years' time and that we would like, you know, bring up our children there'.

But this did not apply to everyone and some of those who have lived in the city for a longer period of time noted how their views of settling and having a family in London were beginning to change:

You know, I was gonna go back home to Ireland and even children, like raising children, I always thought I wanted to raise children in Ireland and educate them in Ireland as well. Like now as I've been here for a few years, I think it's not as important to me. Your priorities change a little bit and you know things change as time goes on. I think that if I have family I'll stay here. I don't think I'll go back home (Aoife).

Only one of the teachers I interviewed had a child. Daragh had recently become a father.

I was a country boy and, you know, going to milk the cows in the evening or going out behind the house into a field and playing hurling, I just thought you couldn't do things like

⁴⁸ Ni Laoire, C. (2007) 'The green, green grass of home: return migration to rural Ireland' *Journal of Rural Studies* 23(3).

that in London, and children would be going round trying to stab each other...but I'm really coming around the idea that you could properly raise your family in London.... I think for me, like the good things about London, about England, you know, and I don't think I'd like to lose it (Daragh).

Having now begun to settle and raise his family in London, Daragh commented on the shifting sense of home:

Home, yeah, I think that's the definition of whether you're Irish or not, you know, where you call home, you know, is home south London or is home Co. Clare and its very much 50-50 for me at the moment, now. I'd say home, when we're going 'home' for the weekend, and I very much mean Ireland but then if I was in Ireland and say what time I'm going to be 'home', it's not '*what time we're getting back to London*', so it feels very much like two homes rather than one feeling stronger than the other home (Daragh).

Hence, although several participants, particularly the more recently arrived, seemed unsettled and unsure how long they would remain in Britain, some people were clearly becoming settled and making plans to remain here for the foreseeable future. Laoise stated that going back to Ireland was not on the cards for her:

I think, I wouldn't really know what to do there, you know, my life is over here and I sort of, I don't really know what I'd do if I was to go back, you know, it would be odd, unless something drastic happened, I couldn't really imagine wanting to go back. It's sort of nice to visit but I kind of quite like being in London (Laoise).

The economic situation in Ireland as deterrent to returning home

Ciara was so keen to return to Cork that she had resigned from her teaching post in London and planned to go back home at the end of the school year: 'I just think there's nothing like your home (laughs), there isn't.' Interestingly, she also stated that it would be easier to get teaching jobs in Ireland by being physically present, making contacts, getting known in local schools:

In Ireland the way jobs are going now, you need to get your name into the school. They need to know you before they're going to employ you really... If I was to stay here another year, it would be another year's experience but I think it would be another year of them not knowing me at home, in schools at home... I'm better off just getting over it and having to sub in schools for a while to get them to know me (Ciara).

But she did not rule out coming back to London: 'I think I'd give it a year, at home and if nothing comes of it and I'm making no progress then I would come back' (Ciara).

Among the participants were several who had gone back to look for work in Ireland but eventually returned to London. Sorcha after teaching for one year in Essex decided to go back to Ireland to look for a teaching post: 'I tried really hard to get one. It just wasn't happening. ... I had a really awful time for about three months, just everything, like I had no money, and just wasn't happy and I'd gained weight and I was fighting with my parents'. Although she was 'really afraid to come back here because my first teaching experience was so difficult' she got increasingly frustrated with the job scene in Ireland and made the decision to look for teaching posts in London. She is now teaching her chosen subject, graphic design and is very happy in her new school in Surrey.

A few years ago Desmond had also given up his job in Britain and moved back to Dublin to try to get a teaching job:

There were just no jobs, I mean, I sent off CVs, I got a few emails back saying 'you've not been successful' and I got one email back, they sent this same email to every candidate and it was like a 100 applicants for the same job which does not happen in Britain for science teachers. I sort of gave up on that I said that's a bit over the top, having that many candidates for one job. So I said '*its just not gonna happen*' you know (Desmond).

He returned to Britain and quickly secured a full time post as a science teacher.

In the context of scarcity of jobs and large numbers of applicants, most teachers spoke about the prevalence of 'pull' in Ireland.

...Everything about the system at home really annoys me. It's so back handed and it's all about who you know... the school, it seems like they have to already know you before they even employ you... the whole system is just ridiculous like, really annoys me. But yeah, it's all about who you know in terms of getting a job at home (Cait).

This meant that some jobs were already assigned to someone before even being advertised. Clodagh gave an example of a job she saw advertised in her local newspaper in Ireland where the requirements were so specific she felt sure the job description had been written with a particular candidate already in mind:

I think you've got to know the right people in Ireland. Yeah, definitely, it seems, seems that way anyway... Like in the '*Irish News*' or somewhere and I just thought 'how are they getting away with that?!' ...asking for those things for a class teacher, like no class teacher needs to have that. That should not be a requirement. Grade 6 piano and it was something else, just like some kind of sports coaching thing as well(Clodagh).

However, even with pull there was still no guarantee of getting a permanent job in Ireland.

I'm 100% sure that if you know a head teacher at home or if you're really 'well in' with someone they might just put you in on a year's contract. I mean as far as I know, even those people are only getting kind of maternity cover, and that's considered to be, it's as good as it gets at the moment....As far as I can see at home among my friends there's no one getting full time jobs that it's a 3 months here, a month there, or three days a week and you take what you are given, you know rather than having a choice(Daragh).

The system of 'pull' in Ireland was contrasted with the more open and meritocratic system in British schools:

I think that's a fantastic thing about schools [in England] is that you don't have to know someone; you don't have to be their head teacher's cousin to get the job. You know, it's the best people get the jobs. It's the best teachers that are employed. And I think that's a serious, serious disadvantage for at home. Because I know schools, like the primary school in my local area, there's four teachers and three of them are related to the principle... I just think you know, are they the best people for the job? You know, they are not (Ciara).

However, while critical of pull, some were not averse to using it themselves. For example, Seamus who hoped to get a job back in Ireland at his old school saw the merit of having good contacts and prior experience at a school: 'it's kind of if you get your foot in the door, I think it's a big thing... And in a way I think it's nice too because if you're doing a good job, you'll get talked about for doing the right things. But I can see the disadvantage too because of people feeling they don't get a fair opportunity and that kind of thing' (Seamus).

Sorcha criticised the pull system but hoped that her cousin might have been able to get her a job in Ireland:

I feel there's a lot of pull. Yeah, there is. There's definitely 'pull' in Ireland. In my old secondary school, my cousin is an art teacher as well, and then my art teacher, who taught me, she was at retirement age and so we kind of thought maybe my cousin would move up to the head of art and I might be able to take her areas. And I think I probably would have got that job but the school had to cut the second teacher... But you probably would get further on your merit here, than you would in Ireland (Sorcha).

Other participants raised subject specific issues and felt that they had better chances for promotion and career progression by remaining in Britain

Aoife had trained as a PE teacher in London. She suggested that PE was not regarded as a proper subject within the Irish educational system and hence her job prospects would be limited in the Irish context.

But PE teachers aren't even proper PE teachers. They're geography teachers or maths teachers like was in our case... like there was no head of department job, there's no way to really progress if you're a PE teacher, if you're a PE teacher you have to have a second subject, that you'll actually be your main subject and PE is just on the side. So that didn't appeal to me, I thought I haven't spent four years training to be a PE teacher for that (Aoife).

Cliona is an RE teacher in a large secondary school in London. She teaches RE to students at GCSE and A-Level:

But also there's no jobs back home. And also my subject is very different back home, I don't want to be teaching catechism in a Catholic school. And I don't think the subject is as respected academically back home as it is over here. So when I say to people from Ireland I teach religious studies, they make those assumptions that you're a bible basher, you're a nun... whereas over here it's a respected subject in terms of its academic rigour. That's not the same back home (Cliona).

Sorcha who teaches graphic design in a comprehensive school in Surrey observed that this subject was well resourced in her school and this probably would not be the case in Ireland.

We teach graphic design, that is not even a subject in Ireland really and I have a trolley of laptops I can bring in to the class and we have Photoshop and Illustrator, all the programmes, they need, we've got colour printing for the kids, got a dark room for photography, about 20 Cannon cameras, just knowing that we have all that... so it's just so much easier to teach and it's so much easier to get lovely art work out of the kids (Sorcha).

Clearly, by doing research with teachers in Britain, we have only spoken to those who are still working in this country. There may well be others who have successfully gone back to Ireland and found work but those do not appear in our data.

Moving on elsewhere

Many of the participants in this study were quite well travelled. For example, before coming to London several had worked in other countries: USA (Daragh), New Zealand (Rory, Clodagh), Australia (Desmond, Blaithin), while after qualifying as a teacher in Britain, Cora had worked in Dubai for a year before returning to Britain after being offered a permanent teaching post. Thus, it would be misleading to present their migration experiences in terms of simply moving from Ireland to Britain. This is also true of their future migration plans. While some participants were homesick and desperate to get back to Ireland, this was not the case for all these young teachers. Several took a more global attitude to migration and regarded the world as their oyster. It was striking that a number of interviewees were already making plans to move on elsewhere. For example, Rory, whose partner is a New Zealander, and who had previously spent a year teaching there, had resigned from his London teaching post and was moving back to New Zealand during the summer holidays. Rory and his partner had planned to remain in New Zealand for the foreseeable future but did not rule out returning to London at some point in the future. Interestingly, they had no plans to ever move to Ireland: 'once I go to NZ, but that's one thing that spurs me on to go because I think why not, because I don't have to stay here [London] and I don't want to go back there [Ireland]. There's nothing there for me' (Rory). He was particularly looking forward to the quality of life in New Zealand: 'when we were in NZ, it's not perfect, of course over there either; it's very far away for one thing. But just to go for a swim after school one day and you can't do that here -not in the sea. You know, things like that and good lifestyle, friendly people, more space, you can see hills' (Rory).

Cait had also recently resigned her post and was about to take up a teaching job Abu Dhabi: 'I think I've kind of exhausted my time over here....I think I'm about that stage in my life now I'm 24, I could stay on here and have a career and go up the ladder and all that but I'm not ready for it and I just want to do more travelling, just see a bit of the world, and make some money cos over there it's a good salary and they pay your rent etcetera' (Cait).

Similarly, Cora who had been teaching in a school in a small city on the south coast of England was about to move further afield: 'teaching at an International School out there in Jakarta. It's a brilliant school, great opportunity, I'm still young enough and I've no responsibilities and ties, so now is a time to do it. There's a lot of travelling and things that I want to do, so that's the reason really I'm going and, and the chance to save up some money'. Cora did not rule out returning to London or indeed moving back to Ireland at some point in the future:

Maybe, maybe London... stay in England and teaching generally the opportunities are here compared to home. I'm just leaving myself open at the minute. I mean I could travel a bit more, maybe get a job or maybe stay on in Indonesia for another couple of years if I really like it. but I mean maybe I was thinking half about coming home, and maybe trying to get onto the supply register at that point when I have some money to back me up' (Cora).

Although Cliona and her husband had no plans to leave south London just yet, they did have a long term dream of moving to Spain:

we have a plan now, our, you know, little dream to move to Spain... maybe that's just because we're suffering from 'SAD', and the weather is just being horrible for the 'two year winter'. I lived in Portugal as a little girl with my parents and we went to an international school so maybe that's playing into it, I don't know but we both love Spain. We go every year. We got married there and he'd [husband] set up a photography business and I could teach in an international school there, so we'll see. That's the plan anyway' (Cliona).

Cliona's sister had recently moved to France and her father had retired to Spain, so these might be factors encouraging her to follow their move. Like a few other participants, Cliona had no plans to return to Ireland partly 'because there are no jobs there' also because she regarded Ireland as very expensive 'the tax rates and all that were so high'. In addition, she found that amenities and services were not as good as in Britain: 'The health service over here is so good, back home it's not very good and again it's something else you have to pay for. So it just seems like you work very hard but you don't get very much for your money'.

CONCLUSIONS

Key findings:

1. Most of the participants had come to Britain as graduates and completed their teacher training here. While we cannot generalise from this relatively small sample (114 participants), nonetheless, this data points to the significance of higher education and training as factors in motivating some migration. Irish students have been under-researched in Britain.
2. the data point to the need for good advice and information, especially for younger students choosing to study at British universities.
3. most had regarded their migration as temporary, usually just for a year or two, but in many cases this was slowly being extended.
4. The majority of participants had secured permanent teaching jobs relatively quickly and easily.
5. This contrasted with the situation in Ireland where many had failed to secure any work beyond short term contracts, such as maternity cover or subbing. Those participants who had tried to secure employment in Ireland were very critical of the role of 'pull' in some Irish schools.
6. While economic reasons informed most migration decision making, this was not the only reason that people had left Ireland. Other factors included wanting to travel, gain new experiences, pursue further training or to join a partner.
7. The participants in this study sharply contrasted teaching in Ireland and Britain: the curriculum, the school hierarchy and structure, the diversity of pupils, the pressures associated with Ofsted inspections, the longer school day and shorter holidays.
8. While the majority had travelled to Britain alone, most had pre-existing networks and these not only encouraged but often facilitated the move by providing information, advice and in some cases accommodation. Thus, the role of networks remains important even for highly qualified migrants.
9. The participants in this study were geographically dispersed around Britain. While London is the main destination, we should not ignore the fact that young Irish migrants are also moving to other parts of the country.

10. Few used Irish organisations as sources of information or support. Nonetheless, several were actively involved in Irish associations most notably the GAA – this applied to both male and female participants.
11. Although most said they did not need to access practical support through Irish organisations, several noted that Irish social groups could serve an important need, especially for newly arrived people, those located in places outside London where it was harder to make friends, and young students who may feel quite lonely.
12. Recently arrived migrants define their mobility in terms of choice, freedom and transience, in contrast to previous waves of migrants whom they associate with forced migration from Ireland and permanent settlement in Britain.
13. Many commented that as the ‘Celtic Tiger’ generation they never anticipated having to leave Ireland in search of work, several felt angry about the state of the Irish economy.
14. The vast majority of participants said they felt no discrimination as Irish people in Britain and that Irish teachers were widely regarded as hard working professionals. However, a few, particularly those outside London, commented on the persistence or even resurgence of anti-Irish stereotypes.
15. Almost all participants used new communication technologies to main regular contact with family and friends, not just in Ireland but scattered throughout the world.
16. These teachers visited Ireland very often, partly because of their opportunities for frequent holidays, several remarked that proximity to home was a distinct advantage of Britain over other more far flung destinations.
17. While most people intended to return to live in Ireland eventually, they were generally uncertain about when that might be. A significant number hoped to return home within 5 years, but many anticipated a prolonged stay in Britain, while others planned to move on elsewhere. The global reach of these migrants is noteworthy with a significant proportion having lived or intending to live in a country other than Ireland or Britain.
18. Although most found it impossible to imagine settling down and having children in Britain, a number of those who had been here for several years had begun to consider this possibility

RECOMMENDATIONS

The arrival of significant numbers of young professional migrants poses many opportunities but also some challenges for Irish organisations and other services providers in Britain. The recommendations below are categorised into practical support and policy development and are directed at:

- Second and Third Level Education providers in Ireland and the Irish National Teachers' Organisation
- Universities, training and educational providers in Britain
- Teacher Recruitment agencies, Trade Unions, Employers and professional support organisations in Britain
- Irish Organisations in Britain
- Other organisations working with and on behalf of BME communities

- The Irish Government and the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs

Practical Support:

1. **Better information provision while still in Ireland** – Young Irish students applying for university courses in Britain need higher quality information and advice about the full extent and variety of training options, qualifications and choices available to them so that they can make appropriate choices about the most suitable course of study and qualification for their needs.
2. **Specific supports in place on arrival and throughout course of study** – Young, English-speaking students arriving from Ireland may still face isolation and require specific support on taking up training places in Britain. There is an opportunity for Universities and providers here to create ways of working with existing Irish organisations in Britain to best support the needs of these young migrants.
3. **Partnership working in the Irish Sector**– It is clear that many young Irish professionals want an opportunity to meet and socialise with other Irish people but they may be unaware of the many different Irish organisations in Britain or do not believe such organisations can provide what they require. Irish organisations in Britain need to be better at developing ways of fully engaging with newly arrived migrants, but require support to do this. There is an opportunity for the Emigrant Support Programme to strategically develop a proactive approach to creating social and support partnerships across organisations, which collectively meet the needs of young immigrants as well as those of the older Irish community.
4. **Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) Support Position**– Some Irish organisations have proved very successful in attracting newly arrived Irish migrants, the GAA stands out as a primary example. There is now an opportunity for the organisation to take the lead on facilitating young Irish migrants to obtain information about the wider range of services and support available to them in Britain. There is a real opportunity for the GAA to work with leading Irish organisations to develop and pilot a support officer post of this nature in Britain, which could then be rolled out to other locations such as Canada and Australia.
5. **Creation of an Irish Teachers Network**– There is an opportunity for the development of an Irish teachers' network in line with similar networks set up by Irish professionals in Britain, such as the London Irish Business Society (LIBS). Such a network could provide peer support, signposting, career advice as well as social opportunities.
6. **Cross sector partnerships**– Teacher recruitment agencies and school employers play a huge role in creating a smoother transition for newly arrived Irish teachers to Britain. There is a clear opportunity for more partnership working across the sectors to ensure that new arrivals are made aware of the wide range of support services which may be available to them, from, for example, Irish organisations throughout Britain.

Policy Development:

7. **Tackling negative stereotyping in professional settings** – While most participants had not experienced outright discrimination, there is an underlying 'casual racism' which continues to feature in day to day interaction for Irish people in Britain, even in professional settings. There is a need for dialogue about the impact and implications of persistent negative

stereotyping, for example, anti-Irish ‘jokes’ and banter, and a recognition by employers and trade unions in Britain that this may negatively impact on experiences in the work place and should be addressed.

8. **Leadership from the Irish political system**– The anger and frustration felt by many Irish migrants is well documented by a range of research and other initiatives and there needs to be clear recognition of this by Irish political leaders. While working overseas may be seen as (and often is) a positive experience for young Irish people, this should not be regarded by politicians as an alternative to providing job opportunities at home, nor should it be a way of overlooking the complex issues that come with emigration. The research findings of this study support earlier recommendations⁴⁹ for a ministerial position to work with emigrants and Irish organisations outside Ireland as well as their call for a joined-up approach across Irish government departments in tackling the issues associated with modern Irish emigration.
9. **Wider migrant support in Britain** – Migrants in Britain, including the Irish, are often highly-skilled, well-educated and work in a multitude of professional settings, where they are successful and important contributors to the wider economy. In the current anti-migration climate, it is important that the positive role of migrants to British society is highlighted and celebrated. There are opportunities for groups such as Irish teachers and Irish organisations and professional networks to contribute to the wider dialogue and challenges faced by all migrant groups in Britain.

⁴⁹such as The National Youth Council of Ireland’s ‘Time To Go?’ Report

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Irish teachers in Britain

A study of recently arrived Irish teachers in Britain

This work has been funded through the Third Sector Research Centre. The research will be carried out by the Social Policy Research Centre, at Middlesex University, in partnership with the Federation of the Irish Societies.

In the years since the collapse of the Celtic Tiger economy there has been a significant increase in Irish migration to Britain. However, little is known about the experiences of these 'post-Celtic tiger', 'post-Peace Agreement' migrants. In an attempt to gain a deeper insight into the experiences of migrants who have arrived since the 'economic downturn' we are carrying out a study on teachers. Irish teachers in Britain is an under-researched group but there is some anecdotal evidence that their numbers are increasing (Irish Post newspaper, 26.02.13).

Through an on-line survey, in-depth interviews and a focus group this project aims to examine the needs, attitudes and experiences of this group – in particular their sense of Irishness, connections to Ireland, involvement in Irish networks and/ or organisations in Britain including cultural engagement, their migration trajectories, career aspiration, family strategies and future plans for settlement or return.

The findings of the study will be published in a report and other academic papers and will be used to inform the policy initiatives and funding applications of the Federation of Irish Societies.

The project has been given ethical approval by the Middlesex University Ethics Committee. All participants will be anonymized and all materials will be stored on a password protected computer to safeguard confidentiality.

The questionnaire will take approximately 15-20 minutes to complete.

The research project will be managed by Prof Louise Ryan working along with her colleague, Edina Kurdi (e.kurdi@mdx.ac.uk). If you would like any further information on this project please contact l.ryan@mdx.ac.uk

Irish teachers in Britain

*1. What is your gender?

Female

Male

*2. How old are you?

age in years:

*3. Were you born in Ireland?

Yes

No, Please specify country:

Irish teachers in Britain

***4. Which county in Ireland were you born?**

Irish teachers in Britain

***5. What is your marital status?**

Married

Single

In partnership

Divorced

Widowed

Other (please specify)

***6. Do you have children?**

Yes

No

Irish teachers in Britain

***7. What age and gender are they? (use table below)**

	Age	Gender
1	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
3	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
4	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
5	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Irish teachers in Britain

***8. What is your current occupation?**

***9. Which of the following categories best describes your employment status?**

Employed, working full time

Employed, working part time

Student

Other (please specify)

***10. Where did you complete your studies? Please tick relevant boxes.**

	Master's	Undergraduate	teacher training (e.g.: Higher Diploma in Education/PGCE)	other qualification
Ireland	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Britain	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
other country	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Other please specify country and qualification

***11. Are you registered with the Teaching Council of Ireland?**

Yes

No

***12. Can you give some reasons why/why not?**

Reason 1

Reason 2

Reason 3

Reason 4

Reason 5

Irish teachers in Britain

***13. What were your main subject areas in your highest qualification as well as in your teaching qualification? (e.g.: business administration or mathematics, etc...)**

highest qualification subject 1

highest qualification subject 2

highest qualification subject 3

teaching qualification subject 1

teaching qualification subject 2

teaching qualification subject 3

***14. Did you undertake any study in Britain?**

Yes

No

Irish teachers in Britain

***15. What were the reason for studying in Britain?**

Reason 1

Reason 2

Reason 3

Reason 4

Reason 5

16. How did you manage financing studies in Britain?

Self funded

Parents helped

Partner helped

I got a loan

I got other means on funding (please specify)

Irish teachers in Britain

***17. What was your occupation before leaving Ireland?**

Teacher

Other (please specify)

Irish teachers in Britain

***18. In what year did you qualify?**

Year

***19. How many years did you work as a teacher in Ireland?**

Number of years

***20. Was this position/s... (Please tick all that apply)**

Full time

Part time

Substituting/Supply teaching

Maternity cover

Other (please specify)

Irish teachers in Britain

***21. When did you leave Ireland? (Please enter the year, e.g.: 2008)**
Year

***22. When did you arrive in Britain? (Please enter the year, e.g.: 2008)**
Year

***23. Did you migrate or work in any other country before coming to Britain?**
 No
 Yes, please specify where to

***24. What were your main reasons for leaving Ireland?**
Reason 1
Reason 2
Reason 3
Reason 4
Reason 5

***25. What were your main reasons for coming to Britain?**
Reason 1
Reason 2
Reason 3
Reason 4
Reason 5

***26. How satisfied are you with your situation in Britain now?**
Very unsatisfied Unsatisfied Unsure Satisfied Very satisfied

Please comment on your answer

Irish teachers in Britain

***27. Did you migrate to Britain...**
 with family?
 with friend?
 with a partner?
 with a relative?
 by yourself?
 with someone else? (please specify)

***28. Did you know anyone in Britain prior to arrival?**
 No
 Yes, please specify

***29. Did you have a job arranged before arriving in Britain?**
 Yes
 No

Irish teachers in Britain

***30. Was this job a teaching position?**

- Yes
- No

Irish teachers in Britain

***31. How long did it take you to find your first teaching job in Britain?**

- 0-3 months
- 4-6 months
- 7-12 months
- More than 1 year
- Not currently teaching

Irish teachers in Britain

***32. Are you still looking for a teaching post in Britain? Please explain reasons for you answer.**

***33. How did you find your first teaching post?**

- Through an agency
- Answered an advertisement
- Through a personal contact
- Other (please specify)

Irish teachers in Britain

***34. Please give details of the agency or advertisement**

***35. Have you used (other) recruitment agencies while looking for work?**

- No
- Yes, please name the ones you have used

***36. Are you currently working in a...**

- primary school
- secondary school
- college
- other educational establishment
- Other (please specify)

Irish teachers in Britain

***37. What groups and subjects do you teach?**
 Age groups:
 Subjects:

***38. Is your current post in a faith school?**
 No
 Yes, please specify

39. In what local authority is your school located?
 Local Authority
 Other (please specify)

***40. Is your current contract...**
 permanent?
 fixed term?
 Other (please specify)

***41. How many years have you been working as a teacher in Britain?**
 Number of years:

***42. Please tell me about the schools you have worked in**
 How many different schools have you worked at in Britain?
 In which local authorities were they located?

***43. At your current school are you the only Irish teacher?**
 Yes
 No. Please specify number of Irish teachers

Irish teachers in Britain

***44. Do you socialise with your work colleagues?**
 On a daily basis
 On a weekly basis
 Once in a month
 Occasionally
 Never

***45. Please indicate on a scale ranging from "none" to "all": How many of your friends in Britain are teachers?**

	none	few	some	most	all
	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***46. Please indicate on a scale ranging from "none" to "all": How many of your friends in Britain are...**

	none	few	some	most	all
Irish?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
of Irish descent?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
British?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
from other migrant groups?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***47. Do you attend any Irish clubs?**
 No
 Yes, please specify

***48. Are you a member of any Irish organisations in Britain?**
 No
 Yes, please specify which clubs are these

***49. Have you approached any Irish organisations for information or support about housing, benefits, or other issues you have come across while living in London?**
 No (and I do not know of any such groups)
 No (although I do know that such groups exist)
 Yes, please specify

Irish teachers in Britain

***57. Do you feel ...**

	Yes	No
... a sense of loss having left Ireland?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... a sense of gain having come to Britain?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please explain your answers

58. What are your future migration plans? Please tick all that apply.

Remain in Britain for less than 5 years

Remain in Britain for more than 5 years

Remain here for rest of working life

Remain in Britain permanently

Return to Ireland within 5 years

Return to Ireland at some point in the future

Unsure

Move on to another country (if so please indicate where and when)

Irish teachers in Britain

59. Do you have any other comments that you may wish to share?

60. We would like to know more about your experience in Britain. We will be conducting interviews and focus groups in June 2013. If you are interested and would like to be contacted about participating in either an interview or a focus group, please leave your email address here. Alternatively you could contact us directly:

Prof Louise Ryan: l.ryan@mdx.ac.uk, Edina Kurdi: e.kurdi@mdx.ac.uk

Irish teachers in Britain

***57. Do you feel ...**

	Yes	No
... a sense of loss having left Ireland?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... a sense of gain having come to Britain?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please explain your answers

58. What are you future migration plans? Please tick all that apply.

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Appendix 2: Statistics on migration

Census data

Table A – Riborn migrants by period of arrival (yearly arrival average)

Country	1961- 1970	1971- 1980	1981- 1990	1991- 2000	2001- 2003	2004- 2006	2007- 2009	2010- 2011
London	2,349	1,211	1,955	1,189	1,579	2,128	2,843	3,132
South East	1,006	476	866	557	605	735	844	876
North West	1,003	366	431	322	459	530	630	582
East	815	350	611	358	372	463	563	571
South West	404	195	295	209	242	289	339	329
Wales	197	97	149	126	171	195	255	298
Yorkshire and The Humber	398	149	172	148	198	247	224	282
West Midlands	909	259	287	199	238	266	305	280
East Midlands	431	163	222	162	171	208	232	194
North East	84	48	60	59	83	130	150	129
England and Wales	7,595	3,313	5,048	3,330	4,118	5,191	6,385	6,671

Source: UK Census, 2013 (as at 2011)

Table B – RI born migrants, residing in England and Wales by period of arrival (yearly arrival average)

Country	1961- 1970	1971- 1980	1981- 1990	1991- 2000	2001- 2003	2004- 2006	2007- 2009	2010- 2011
London	2,349	1,211	1,955	1,189	1,579	2,128	2,843	3,132
England and Wales	7,595	3,313	5,048	3,330	4,118	5,191	6,385	6,671
London (% of Eng&Wal)	30.9%	36.6%	38.7%	35.7%	38.3%	41.0%	44.5%	46.9%

Source: UK Census, 2013 (as at 2011)

