Introduction
This paper gives an overview of the process of migrating to Ireland in conformity with Irish law and immigration requirements. While the emphasis is on longer-term migration, some aspects of shorter-term sojourns in Ireland are also covered.

Some basics
Where do non-nationals stand in Irish law? That depends, of course, on which category of non-national. It makes a difference whether one is a citizen of an EEA country, a non-EEA citizen married to an EEA national, or none of the above. For a broad statement of the situation of non-nationals generally, we can turn to a line of judgments down through the years. “The State ...”, according to the judgment of Costello J in Pok Sun Shum³, “must have very wide powers in the interest of the common good to control aliens, their entry into the State, their departure and their activities within the State”. The Supreme Court, quoting this passage in its judgments in the Article 26 Referral of the Illegal Immigrants (Trafficking) Bill 1999⁴ which surveyed the case and statute law on the matter, said that this

... reflects an inherent element of State sovereignty over national territory long recognised in both domestic and international law.

For this reason, in the sphere of immigration, its restriction or regulation, the non-national or alien constitutes a discrete category of persons whose entry, presence and expulsion from the State may be the subject of legislative and administrative measures which would not, and in many of its aspects could not, be applied to Irish citizens.

The Court makes clear that this does not leave non-nationals without rights. It goes on to say:

It would be contrary to the very notion of a state founded on the rule of law, as this State is, and one in which ... justice is administered in courts established by law, if all persons within this jurisdiction, including non-nationals, did not, in principle, have a constitutionally protected right of access to the courts to enforce their legal rights. ... [W]here the State ... make[s] decisions which are legally binding on, and addressed directly to, a particular individual within the jurisdiction, whether a citizen or non-national, such decisions must be taken in accordance with the law and the Constitution. It follows that the individual legally bound by such a decision must have access to the courts to challenge its validity. Otherwise, the obligation on the State to act lawfully and constitutionally would be ineffective.⁵

Another line of judgments, including that of Gannon J in Osheku⁶, makes it clear that the control of non-nationals is in the first instance a matter for the Executive. The powers and functions of the Executive in this regard are generally exercised by or under the direction of the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform on behalf of the Government. Keane J (as

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² EEA: the European Economic Area, consisting of the 15 EU member states along with Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein.

³ [1986] ILRM 593 at 599

⁴ [2000] 2 IR 360 at pp. 382, 383

⁵ Ibid. at 385

he then was), in his Supreme Court judgment in *Laurentiu*\(^7\), made it clear that such a power can be exercised by the Executive in the absence of legislation. While the following was uttered in the context only of the power to deport non-nationals, it is by extension applicable to all other aspects of the State’s powers to control non-nationals:

> But that is not to say that [the power’s] exercise cannot be controlled by legislation ...: any other view would be inconsistent with the exclusive law-making power vested in the Oireachtas. The Oireachtas may properly decide as a matter of policy to impose specific restrictions on the manner in which the executive power in question is to be exercised. ...\(^8\)

For non-nationals generally, the State’s executive powers to control their entry into, stay in and removal from the State is to some degree governed by statute, the main provisions in question being the Aliens Act 1935 and the Aliens Orders made thereunder, the Immigration Act 1999 and the Illegal Immigrants (Trafficking) Act 2000.

The general situation for non-nationals is however subject to a number of significant exceptions:

- As a member state of the European Union, Ireland obliges itself to offer freedom of movement within the terms of the Treaties and of the various relevant EU Directives and Regulations to citizens of other member states and in certain circumstances to members of their families who are not EU nationals.
- The EU provisions also apply, by extension, to EEA nationals and their families.
- A special, and historical, subset of EU nationals, to which Ireland applies a particularly relaxed regime, is UK citizens.
- As a party to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, Ireland obliges itself to offer protection to non-nationals on its territory who have a well-founded fear of persecution, and to permit applicants for recognition as a refugee to remain while their applications are being considered.

More anon of each of these categories (except the last; the processes under the Refugee Act 1996 are covered adequately elsewhere).

The remainder of this paper addresses the processes governing the regular migration of the various categories of non-nationals to Ireland, concentrating on pre-entry clearance, the entry process itself and the obligations of the non-national while present in the State. The bulk of the relevant statutory provisions are to be found in the Aliens Act 1935 and the principal order made under it, the Aliens Order 1946\(^9\), as amended frequently since and as elevated to the status of primary statute by section 2 of the Immigration Act 1999. Other relevant provisions of Irish statute law are the EC Regulations\(^10\) governing the free movement of workers and of others.

The processes leading to termination of the status of a non-national in the State are addressed in a separate paper\(^11\) (other than by acquisition of citizenship, which is dealt with briefly below).

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\(^8\) *Ibid.* at p. 93.

\(^9\) SR&O 1946 No. 395, extensively amended since. The main amending SIs are the Aliens (Amendment) Order, 1975 (SI No. 128 of 1975) and the Aliens (Amendment) (No. 2) Order 1999 (SI No. 25 of 1999).

\(^10\) European Communities (Aliens) Regulations 1977 (SI No. 393 of 1977) and European Communities (Right of Residence for Non-Economically Active Persons) Regulations 1997 (SI No. 57 of 1997).

\(^11\) Ingoldsby B, *Leave to remain other than through the regular migration process* (paper for Law Society seminar on rights to reside in Ireland, 14 May 2002).
Common Travel Area arrangements

Before going into detail on the law as it applies to each stage of the migration process, it is no harm to describe in general terms what is signified by the Common Travel Area (CTA) arrangements. In essence, the CTA arrangements enable citizens of the UK and Ireland to move between the jurisdictions without a requirement to carry a passport and to establish themselves and enter the labour market in either jurisdiction as if they were citizens of that jurisdiction. The passport-free travel arrangements also apply as between these jurisdictions and the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands. Ireland’s implementation of these arrangements is to be found principally in the special provisions of the Aliens Order 1946 applying to arrivals from the UK.

These are arrangements, not an agreement, and do not have a formal basis in the international arena. Their existence and importance are however recognised internationally, most notably in the context of the special protocol negotiated by Ireland to the Amsterdam Treaty which permits Ireland to remain outside the main provisions of the Schengen acquis so that the CTA arrangements can be maintained. Ireland’s declaration at the time of the signing of that Treaty is significant in that it makes clear our intention to participate in Schengen to the greatest extent consistent with the maintenance of the CTA arrangements.

That it is in the interests of public policy to safeguard the existence of the Common Travel Area arrangements was accepted by the High Court in the case of Kweder: Geoghegan J said in that case (which concerned the refusal of a visa to a Syrian national, married to a UK national, but who was the subject of a UK deportation order):

I accept that the common travel area arrangements as between Ireland and the UK have been and are perceived by the general public to be of great advantage to this State. I, therefore, accept the submissions made on behalf of the Minister that this public policy is not merely legitimate but also fundamental. Provided proper regard is had to European Community Law such a public policy is not in any way incompatible with that law. In a literal sense, the continuance of the common travel area may not be threatened by a single or individual instance of back-door illegal immigration into the UK through initial entry into Ireland and the taking advantage of the common travel area. But an accumulation of such “back-door entries” would obviously threaten the continuance of the privilege. For that reason each individual instance of such back-door illegal entry or probable back-door illegal entry is a serious threat to the long term continuance of the common travel area and it is a legitimate act of public policy to take the necessary steps to prevent each individual instance of it.

Visas and other pre-entry clearance

A visa is an entitlement to present oneself at the Irish frontier for admission to the State. It is usually evidenced by a sticker placed in the passport of the visa applicant. It is not an entitlement to enter the State, as such. It is not a permission to remain in the State, as such. By the Aliens (Visas) Order 2002 certain categories of non-national, listed in a schedule to that Order, are not required to have a visa on entering the State: any non-national not listed there must have a visa to enter. Needless to say, Common Travel Area citizens and citizens of EEA countries are among those listed in the Schedule as exempt from the visa requirement. In fact, United Kingdom citizens are exempted from the Aliens Act by an order made under section 10 of the Aliens Act 1935. The list may be varied from time to time by the Minister: while most pre-existing Aliens Orders were elevated by section 2 of the Immigration Act 1999 to the status of primary statute and are thus now amendable only by primary statute, the

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12 Article 5(7) of SR&O 1946 No. 395, as amended by the Aliens (Amendment) Order 1975 (SI No. 128 of 1975) and the Aliens (Amendment) (No. 2) Order 1999 (SI No. 25 of 1999).
13 High Court unreported, 11 October 1994.
14 SI No. 178 of 2002.
Orders specifying visa-exempt categories were specifically excluded from the scope of that section.

While there is law governing the requirement to have a visa and the consequences of not having one for those who should, there is no statutory provision addressing the process of issuing visas; the matter is dealt with on an administrative basis. And presumably Keane J’s dictum in *Laurentiu*\(^\text{16}\) referred to above is relevant to this area.

A person applies for a visa to the Department of Foreign Affairs, most usually at the Irish diplomatic or consular post closest to the person. There is a standard form, which covers entry to the State for all purposes, whether that be a holiday visit, employment or self-employment, study, retirement or whatever. That form needs to be accompanied by whatever supporting documentation is relevant to the intended purpose of the entry to Ireland. An applicant who supplies insufficient information or documentation may be asked to provide further information. On occasion, an applicant may be asked to supply the name and address of a person in Ireland who may be contacted for further back-up information. The primary factors when considering visa applications include, where relevant, such matters as whether the person has sufficient funds to ensure that the State is not burdened during the proposed stay; whether the person is likely to return home after the purpose of the stay has been fulfilled; whether there is proper documentation to support or authorise the proposed activity during the stay; and of course security considerations. The decision on a visa application is taken either by or on the authority of the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform; the Department of Foreign Affairs has been given delegated sanction to make decisions in a variety of categories. If a visa application is refused, the person may seek to have the decision reviewed by an official of higher rank than took the initial decision. Of some 68,000 visa applications made worldwide in 2000, 90% were successful.

Some of the more significant purposes of entry are as follows:

- **Employment:** before a non-EEA national can take up employment in the State, the prospective employer must have obtained a work-permit in respect of that person. Work permits are issued by the Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Employment, and about 36,000 were issued in 2001. The work permit should normally be obtained before the visa is applied for, and it is rare for a visa application supported by a work permit to be refused. There are special arrangements for *working visas* for certain sectors of the employment market. Full details of the work permit process, including application forms, and of the special sectors to which work visas and work authorisations relate, are available from the website of the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment\(^\text{17}\). By arrangement between the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform and the Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Employment, certain categories of non-EEA nationals are not required to have a work permit in respect of their employment. These categories include people on intra-corporate transfers between an outside and an Irish branch of the same employer or group, those coming for training which entails paid employment, and people with permission to remain in the State on certain other bases.

- **Self-employment:** Where a non-EEA national proposes to establish himself or herself as self-employed, it is necessary to apply to the Minister for business permission in advance of, or at the same time as, applying for a visa. The considerations governing business

\(^{16}\) *Supra*, fn 8.

\(^{17}\) [http://www.entemp.ie/lfd/workpermits.htm](http://www.entemp.ie/lfd/workpermits.htm)
permission are set out in some detail on the Department’s website\(^{18}\). Briefly, the proposed business is expected to be viable and to support the applicant and dependants without recourse to State supports or other employment; must result in the transfer of at least €300,000 in capital to the State; must create employment for at least two EEA nationals; and must add to the commercial activity and competitiveness of the State. In the context of the provisions, in the various association agreements entered into between the European Union and Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, Czech Republic, Romania, Slovakia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania regarding establishment as self-employed within the Union, business applications which fall short of the capital and employment criteria may be considered; likewise if the proposal is from a person who is already legally resident in the State for five years in conformity with immigration laws. Applications from writers, artists and craftspeople are considered individually.

- **Study:** The primary concerns here are whether the applicant is coming for a *bona fide* course of study, whether the fees have been paid in advance, whether the applicant has sufficient funds and whether there is a strong likelihood that he or she will return when the course of study is completed.

- **Visit:** In considering applications for this purpose, the main factors are sufficiency of funds, likelihood of return home and probability of illegally entering the employment market.

- **Family re-unification:** Those who are already here on some legal footing may wish to have their dependent family join them. There is no general policy of restriction in operation in relation to family reunion where the family members in question are not subject to a visa requirement, subject to the worker being able to support the family without recourse to public funds. The spouses and children of the vast majority of foreign workers in the State fall into this category. There are restrictions on family reunion for visa-required family members since, by definition, such countries pose the greater immigration related risks. In the case of visa-required family members of non-EEA national workers, the general rule is that it is only after the worker has been in the State for twelve months and has been offered a contract for a further twelve months that they may be joined by their families. Again, this is subject to the worker being able to support the family without recourse to public funds. The waiting period is reduced to three months for the family members of workers operating in certain specified high-skill areas including persons covered by the working visa programme.

Non-EEA nationals who are outside the visa-required categories and wish to enter the work-force or establish themselves here as self-employed do not of course need a visa but should ensure, before they arrive, that the prospective employer has obtained a work permit or that they themselves have obtained business permission. Special *work authorisations* are available for such persons who are seeking employment in certain high-skill categories.

**Entry into the State**

The relevant statutory provisions are at Article 5 of the Aliens Order 1946\(^{19}\). For those who arrive from outside the Common Travel Area, there is a requirement to present oneself to an


\(^{19}\) SR&O 1946 No. 395, as amended by the Aliens (Amendment) Order 1975 (SI No. 128 of 1975) and the Aliens (Amendment) (No. 2) Order 1999 (SI No. 25 of 1999).
immigration officer for leave to land. Following are the principal reasons for which an immigration officer may refuse a non-EEA national leave to land:

- **Insufficient funds** to support himself or herself and any accompanying dependants. The amount of funds that a person would be expected to have available will vary relative to the purpose of stay as well as the duration of stay: thus a person coming for a visit would be expected to have sufficient to cover accommodation and living expenses for the entire duration of the proposed stay, something which would not be expected of a person with a work permit;

- **No work permit**, work authorisation or work visa, if the person’s intention is to take up employment;

- **Criminal record**: that the person has been convicted (whether in the State or elsewhere) of an offence punishable by imprisonment for a maximum period of at least one year;

- **No visa**, if the person is not among the classes of persons designated by order of the Minister as not requiring a visa;

- **A deportation order or exclusion order** is in force relating to the person. A deportation order (made under section 3 of the Immigration Act 1999) requires a person to leave the State and to remain thereafter outside the State. It remains effective unless varied or revoked by the Minister. Exclusion orders (designed to prevent notorious war criminals or the like from entering the State) are made under section 5 of the Immigration Act 1999;

- **No valid passport**: other forms of valid travel document recognised include those issued under the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees;

- **Intention to travel to the UK**, where the person would not qualify for admission to the UK. This is in protection of the CTA arrangements, and applies whether or not the intention is to travel immediately to the UK. It is similar to arrangements which the UK authorities have in place for persons arriving in the UK who intend to travel to Ireland;

- **National security or public policy** grounds;

- **Entry for purpose other than that stated**: if the immigration officer has reason to believe that the person, with intent to deceive, seeks to enter the State for a purpose or purposes other than those expressed.

Where leave to land is given, the immigration officer attaches conditions as to duration of stay and engagement in business. The duration of permission to remain granted at this stage varies relative to the nature of the visit, and will generally be no longer in any event than three months.

For persons arriving in the State from the UK, there is no requirement as such to present oneself to an immigration officer for leave to land. Article 5(7) of the Aliens Order 1946 however gives an immigration officer an optional power to examine such a person, and in such a case may refuse a non-EEA national leave to land for any of the reasons that apply to arrivals from elsewhere. These checks on arrivals from the UK are not conducted on a systematic basis. A non-EEA national arriving from the UK for employment or

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20SR&O 1946 No. 395, Article 5(1).
21Set out in full at ibid., Article 5(2).
22Currently the Aliens (Visas) Order 2002 (SI No. 178 of 2002).
23Aliens Order 1946, article 5(6).
self-employment purposes must obtain permission to remain within one month of arrival; for
other purposes, the period is three months.

The foregoing must be read in conjunction with the European Communities (Aliens)
Regulations 1977 and the European Communities (Right of Residence for
Non-Economically Active Persons) Regulations 1997 dealing with the free movement of
EEA nationals for work and other purposes. The effect of these provisions is that an EEA
national may be refused leave to land only if suffering from one of the scheduled diseases or
disabilities or if “his or her personal conduct has been such that it would be contrary to public
policy or would endanger public security” to grant leave to land. For EEA nationals, the
passport requirement is satisfied by presentation of a national identity card issued by the
person’s state of citizenship.

Other provisions which cut across the “leave to land” provisions of the Aliens Order 1946 are
sections 8 and 9 of the Refugee Act 1996. In particular, section 9(1) requires that where a
person arriving claims asylum, he or she must be given leave to enter the State.

While the primary focus of this paper is on regular migration to Ireland, it is necessary for
completeness to describe briefly the process that applies where for any of the reasons set out
in the Aliens Orders a person is refused leave to land. A refused person is informed as soon as
possible of the reasons for refusal, and may be arrested and detained, but only for the
purpose of removing him or her from the State, which must be as soon as practicable. The
usual course is to utilise the power at article 7 of the 1946 Order to require the carrier who
brought the person to the State to bring him or her back to the embarkation point.

While in the State
Non-nationals other than EEA nationals are required to register, within three months of
arrival, with their local Aliens Registration Office. In areas outside Dublin, this is the
Superintendent of the Garda District in which the non-national is staying. In the Dublin area,
that function is performed by the Immigration Registration Office, currently located in
Harcourt Square. New arrangements are now in place at that location which have eliminated
the severe queuing problems which many intending customers had up to recently
experienced.

On registration, the non-national must produce a passport or other similar document to the
Registration Officer, and supply biographical and address details as necessary. The
Registration Officer issues a registration certificate, which includes a photograph of the
holder and indicates the duration of the holder’s permission to remain in the State. For recent
registrations and renewals in the Dublin and Cork areas, the certificate is now in the form of a
card like a credit-card (this replaces the former “green book”, which was increasingly
recognised as an unsatisfactory format). Registration Officers in other parts of the country forward the information so that the new card can be issued centrally.

24 SI No. 393 of 1977.
26 SI No. 393 of 1977, regulation 4(i) and (ii); SI No. 57 of 1997, regulation 4(a) and (b).
27 Aliens Order 1946, article 5(3).
28 Ibid., article 5(4).
29 Ibid., article 5(5).
30 Ibid., article 11.
31 Ibid., article 11(6)(d).
Renewal of registration, and of permission to remain in the State, must be sought before the expiry of the current permission to remain, and will depend on the position relative to the purpose of stay (for instance, permission to remain will not be renewed if the employment to which a work permit related has terminated, unless there are new factors which would require renewal of permission). As time goes on, renewals will generally be for increasingly longer periods (e.g. after three years’ satisfactory residence, permission might be renewed for a further two years), ultimately, in some cases, ending with the person being given permission “without condition as to time”.

The non-national must keep the Registration Officer informed of changes in address or biographical details (e.g. marriage) as they arise.

Certain non-nationals are exempted from the registration requirement (apart from EEA nationals and their dependants, a matter addressed below). The exemptions include children under 16 and the female spouses or widows of Irish citizens. Asylum-seekers in possession of a temporary residence certificate issued under section 9(3) of the Refugee Act 1996 are deemed by paragraph (c) of that provision to have complied with the registration requirement.

**EEA nationals and their dependants**

The European Communities (Aliens) Regulations 1977\(^{32}\) and the European Communities (Right of Residence for Non-Economically Active Persons) Regulations 1997\(^{33}\) provide a special regime for EU nationals\(^ {34}\) and their dependants. The 1977 Regulations apply to self-employed persons established in the State, employees, and people supplying or receiving a service in the State. They also apply to those who had been employed or self-employed for specified periods in the State an who are retired or are unable to continue in employment or self-employment by reason of permanent incapacity or occupation-related incapacity or disease. Also covered are EEA national dependants of such persons. The 1997 Regulations apply to EEA nationals who are students, retired or otherwise not economically active and to the EEA national dependants of such persons.

Such persons may apply to the local Registration Officer for a residence permit which, once issued, is valid for five years and is renewable. A residence permit may be refused only, in effect, for similar reasons as for refusal of admission to such persons (see above).

Where an EEA national to whom either Regulations apply has a dependant who is a third-country national, the dependant may apply for a residence document; such a document has validity for the same duration as the residence permit issued to the EEA national in question. The third-country national may enter the work force without a work permit.

The obtaining of a residence permit in accordance with the Regulations is not obligatory. The residence permit is merely evidence of the entitlements being exercised by the EEA national, and does not confer those entitlements.

**Termination of status as a non-national in the State**

There are a number of means whereby a non-national’s status in the State may come to an end. The person may leave voluntarily either before or on the expiry of the permission to remain: this is the simplest situation, and one in which there is no State involvement. A person may find himself or herself among the classes of persons, set out in section 3(2) of the

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\(^{32}\)SI No. 393 of 1977.

\(^{33}\)SI No. 57 of 1997.

\(^{34}\)extended to encompass EEA nationals by the European Communities (Amendment) Act 1993 (No. 25 of 1993))
Immigration Act 1999, against whom a deportation order can be made: discussion of that topic and the process involved is left for another paper. A third, and frequently used, way in which a non-national’s status in the State may end is by becoming an Irish citizen: this is discussed briefly in the following paragraphs.

There are two principal ways in which a non-national can acquire Irish citizenship. The first of these is by naturalisation under section 15 of the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act 1956. Naturalisation is in the absolute discretion of the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform, and may be granted if the person meets the following conditions:

- The person must be of full age;
- The person must be of good character;
- The person must have had a total of 5 years’ residence in the State in the 9 years preceding the application, the most recent full year of which was continuous;
- The person must intend in good faith to continue to reside in the State after naturalisation; and
- The person must make a declaration of fidelity to the nation and loyalty to the State (usually done before a District Court Judge in open court).

The application form must be signed by two referees who will be called on to vouch for the veracity of the statements made by the applicant. The process of considering an application includes obtaining a Garda report on the applicant to verify that the first four of the above conditions have been met. If the Minister, having considered the application and the documentation (including the Garda report) is satisfied to naturalise the applicant, the applicant is notified at that stage and can then arrange to make the necessary declaration of fidelity and loyalty. Once that has been done (and of course the appropriate fee paid), the certificate of naturalisation is issued.

By section 16 of the 1956 Act, the Minister may, in his or her absolute discretion, waive any or all of the conditions for naturalisation in certain circumstances. These circumstances are, in brief, where the applicant is of Irish descent or Irish associations, is acting on behalf of a minor child, is married to a naturalised Irish citizen, has been resident abroad in the public service, or is a refugee or stateless person.

The other principal method whereby a non-national may acquire Irish citizenship is by making a post-nuptial declaration following marriage to an Irish citizen. The declaration cannot be made until at least 3 years after the marriage, the marriage must be subsisting at the time of the declaration, and the Irish spouse must lodge an affidavit to the effect that the couple were living together as husband and wife at the time of the declaration. No conditions as to residence, good character or the like are required. It should be noted that on the commencement of relevant provisions of the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act 2001, on 30 November next, the system of post-nuptial declarations of citizenship will come to an end.

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35 Ingoldsby B, Leave to remain other than through the regular migration process (paper for Law Society seminar on rights to reside in Ireland, 14 May 2002).
37 as amended by the 1986 Act, section 5.
38 Section 8 of the 1956 Act, as amended by the 1986 Act, section 3.
39 No. 15 of 2001, available in .pdf format at http://www.irlgov.ie/oireachtas/frame.htm; this site is generally useful as a source of recent primary legislation.
40 Commencement order (SI No. 128 of 2002) made on 5 April 2002.
end (with a saver for marriages on or before that date) and will be replaced by a special naturalisation scheme for spouses of Irish citizens, featuring a reduced residence requirement.

**To conclude: some statistics**

It may be of interest to know that the vast majority of non-EEA nationals present in the State have entered through regular migration channels: this notwithstanding assertions in some quarters that because there is “no means of regular migration” to Ireland, third-country nationals are “forced” to make asylum claims in order to come here. At the end of 1999, the number of legally resident non-EEA nationals was 29,000; at the end of 2000, the number had risen to 47,000; and at end 2001, the figure was 90,000. Historically, the highest number of such registrations has been US citizens; in 2001, they were outstripped for first place by Chinese nationals. The figures for work permits issued show a similar pattern: 6,000 were issued in 1999; in 2000 the total was 18,000; and that doubled in 2001 to 36,000. Clearly, the regular migration process is effective as a means for non-nationals to share in Ireland’s late-found prosperity.